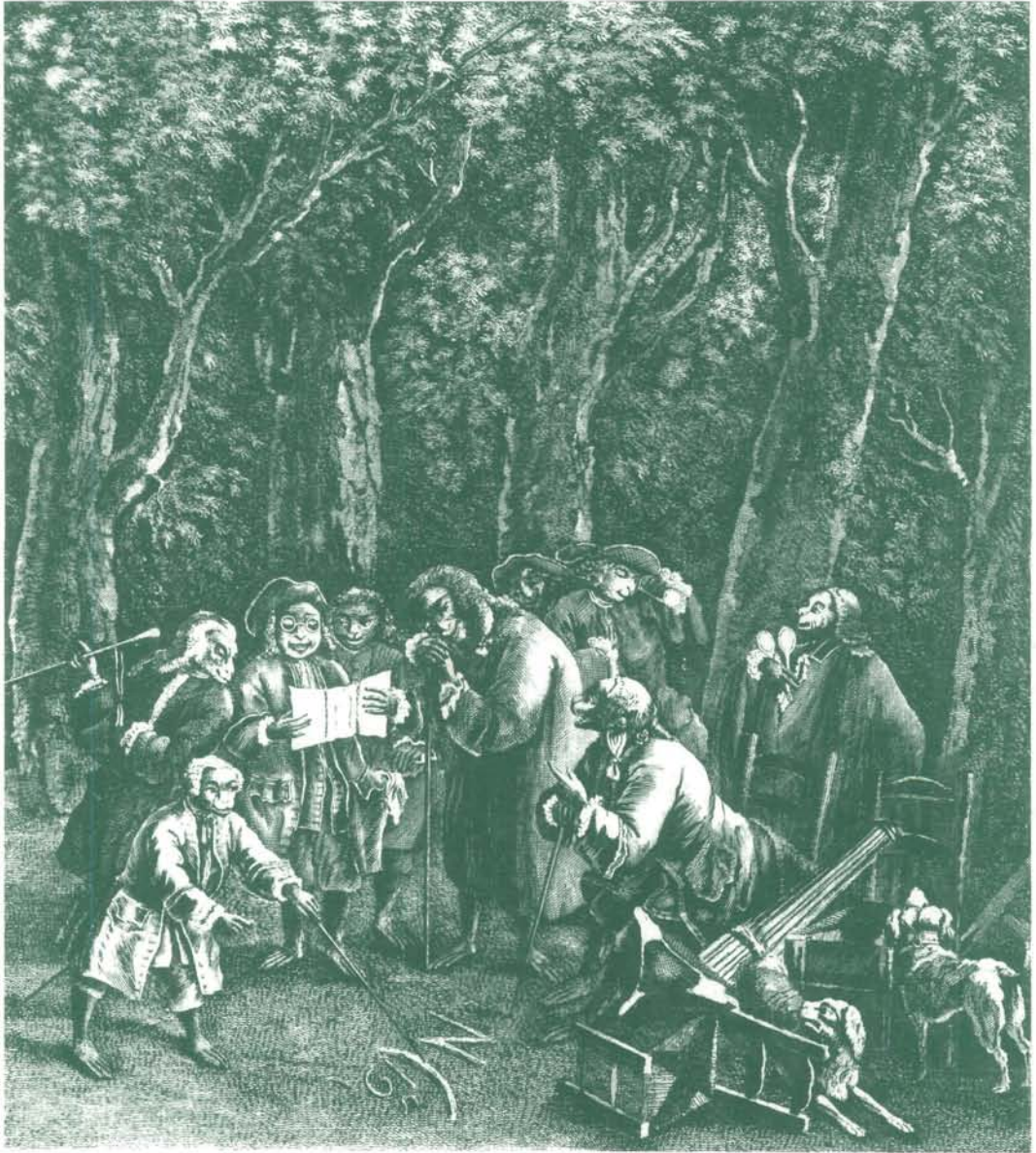


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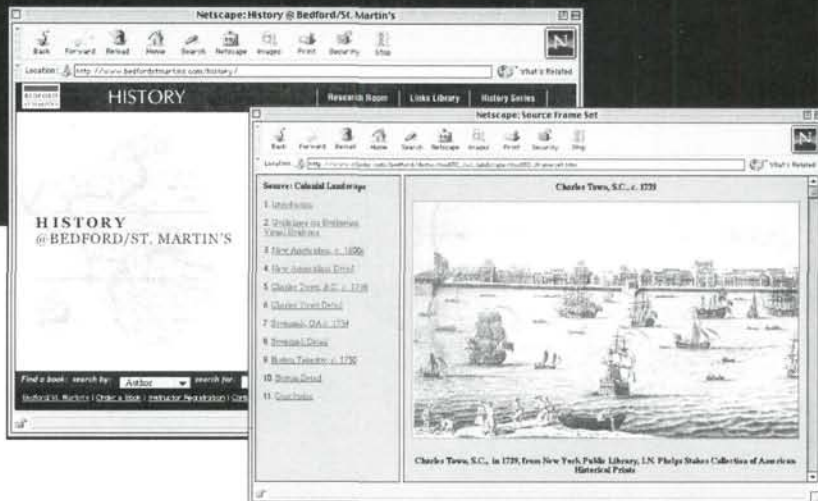
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In This Issue

This issue contains the AHA Presidential Address, two articles, an *AHR Forum*, and a review essay. **Robert Darnton**'s presidential address analyzes the information culture of eighteenth-century Paris. It is also the basis of the first electronic article published by the *AHR*. Readers can go to the journal's web page (<http://www.indiana.edu/~ahr/>) and find a button marked *Darnton*. By clicking on it, readers can find an electronic version of the address as well as an additional essay by Darnton, an interactive map of Paris that includes café sites where police gathered information about political activities, police reports, and songs that conveyed political news. In addition, the site contains information about an online discussion of the address with Darnton that the *AHR* will host March 13–27, 2000. The articles analyze medieval concepts of bodily pain and the experiences of slaves and other maritime workers in the Indian Ocean. The *Forum* looks at revolutions in the Americas. It contains essays on revolutions in the United States, Haiti, and Mexico, as well as a general assessment of these struggles. The review essay examines recent histories of modern China. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Presidential Address

Robert Darnton begins his address by reminding us that, although we tell ourselves we have just entered the “information age” as the new century begins, we forget that information ages existed in the past. The information merely took different forms and spread by different media. In eighteenth-century Paris, the subject of his essay, most of it traveled through oral networks, which intersected with various print media to form complex communication systems. Thanks to the richness of the police archives, it is possible to follow messages as they were diffused through the most important modes of oral communication, gossip and songs. They fed print media, notably a literature of libel, which provided a powerful and seditious version of contemporary history. Darnton thus argues that the study of news and the media in eighteenth-century Paris opens up a new approach to classic questions about the origins of the French Revolution and, at the same time, demonstrates the promise of a new subdiscipline, the history of communication, which can be applied to research in virtually any field of study.

Articles

Esther Cohen analyzes the manifestations of physical pain in the later Middle Ages (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries) as they appeared in learned discourse and in evidence of actual and normative behavior. She maintains that what we term “physical pain” was an oxymoron for late medieval people: it was consistently viewed as stemming from the soul, not the body. Learned discourses in theology, law, and medicine produced interpretations, uses, and applications of pain theory that were all based on this premise. At the same time, Cohen explains, there were strict norms for describing expressions of pain in art, literature, and drama. Yet she also contends that narrative sources give a more realistic description of actual behavior, proving that it did not invariably conform to the norms. Whenever a description of someone deviating from the norm is encountered, Cohen notes, their behavior elicits disapproval to the point of condemnation. Usually, the behavior is interpreted as madness. Thus she concludes that expressions of pain were allowed within certain parameters but not beyond all society’s conventions. Cohen’s essay convincingly demonstrates that expressions of pain, in all their variety of forms and symbols, ought to be considered cultural artifacts and not simply instinctive reactions shorn of normative trappings.

Janet J. Ewald focuses on African and Asian seamen and port laborers to test the changing boundaries of the Indian Ocean world from the last half of the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. By showing how African workers helped maintain newly vigorous commercial systems, she locates East Africa firmly within the historical boundaries of the northwestern Indian Ocean, from which it has been excluded in much of the scholarship. Some of the men she studies were freeborn, others were slaves or freedman, and many of them passed across these social boundaries in the course of their lives. In spite of the apparent blurring of the boundary between slave and free, she demonstrates that comparing slaves and freedmen with other migrant workers reveals how slavery made a difference in lives, work, and commerce. Ewald’s essay makes a major contribution to scholarship about the Indian Ocean basin and studies of comparative slavery and other forms of controlled labor. It also highlights the attractions of the histories of oceans as a means of studying and teaching world history.

AHR Forum

Jack P. Greene begins the *Forum* “Revolutions in the Americas” by arguing that the American Revolution can best be explained from the perspective not of the American nation to which it led but of the wider British Empire in which it occurred. He emphasizes the extent to which the early modern British Empire was a consensual empire, in which what was legal or constitutional was determined by negotiation between a weak center and largely self-governing polities in the peripheries. He thus interprets the revolution as a settler revolt against efforts by the metropolitan government to diminish settler authority in those polities and to

deny free white colonists the traditional rights and systems of law that, for the English—and, after the act of union in 1707, the British peoples—had long defined their Englishness. Greene also emphasizes the radical character of the social politics that developed during the colonial era and stresses the extraordinary continuity between those politics and the republican regimes that emerged during and after the revolution.

Franklin W. Knight takes the *Forum* to Haiti by placing the Haitian Revolution within the context of changes during the eighteenth century as well as the widespread series of revolutions on both sides of the Atlantic that accompanied those changes. He argues that, compared with the American, French, and Latin American revolutions, the Haitian revolt represented fundamental changes in all aspects of society, politics, and economics. The pervasive presence of colonial slavery and inescapable considerations of race, Knight maintains, created a deep fissure within the French Revolution and propelled its colonial counterpart in Saint Domingue on a singular course. Consequently, the coincidence of factors that resulted in such a revolution in Saint Domingue was not duplicated elsewhere, but the Haitian Revolution had far-reaching consequences across the Atlantic world and especially throughout the Americas. Apart from eroding general support for slavery, Knight contends, the success of a non-white state in Haiti exacerbated race relations and accentuated white self-consciousness among ruling elites everywhere. Thus he concludes that Haiti and its revolution are enormously important in the history of the modern world and should not be overlooked.

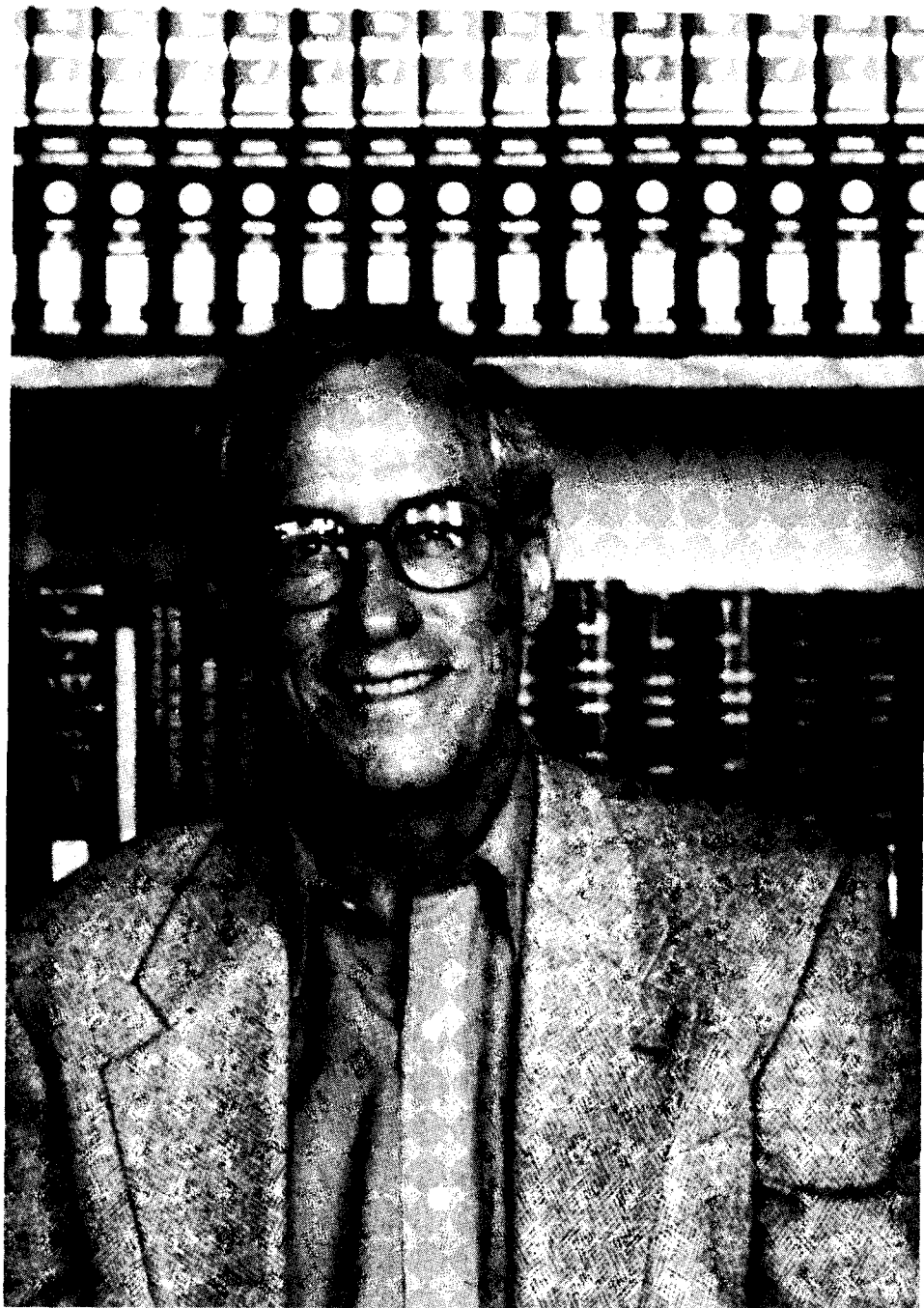
Virginia Guedea adds Mexico to the *Forum* by analyzing the process by which New Spain became independent Mexico. Although emancipation from Spain was achieved after eleven years of fighting, her primary focus is not on that armed struggle but rather the political transformations New Spain endured as a result of the crisis that engulfed the Spanish Empire during those years. She argues that the crisis, and changes it caused throughout the empire, intensified political activity in New Spain and generated new forms of political life and thought that created a new political culture. And even though almost all of the Spanish dominions responded to the crisis in the same way, Guedea contends that differences emerged among them and led to distinct experiences. In New Spain, she explains, the overthrow of Viceroy José de Iturrigaray in 1808 radicalized the confrontation between the defenders of imperial interests and autonomists. Two years later, an armed insurrection began. Guedea demonstrates how those disaffected from the colonial regime took advantage of the possibilities for political action that emerged inside and outside the system and how, in the end, they opted for independence from Spain. The revolutionaries did so, she concludes, because they realized that the changes they sought could not be obtained while they remained at the mercy of the political fluctuations of the Iberian Peninsula.

Jaime E. Rodríguez O. concludes the *Forum* with an assessment of the essays that compares and contrasts the processes of independence of the United States, Haiti, and Spanish America. He analyzes the exogenous factors that shaped post-

independent society and government in the three areas. And he maintains that, despite contrasts between the three, relative economic abundance in the New World and distance from the Old World afforded members of these societies more political autonomy and economic opportunities than their metropolitan counterparts. Rodríguez also explains that the movements that ended in the independence of the three regions began as reactions of the settler societies of the New World to attempts by British, French, and Spanish monarchies to create centralized colonial systems. Finally, he argues that the fate of the new nations of America depended to a very significant degree on the timing of their independence. By providing an overarching analysis of the three essays, Rodríguez suggests the implications of the *Forum* for understanding not only these revolutions but also those that erupted in other times and places.

Review Essay

Merle Goldman uses a review of recent studies of modern China to argue that in the post-Mao era, which began in the late 1970s, there has been a revival of historical trends that were interrupted by China's 1949 Communist revolution. She insists that, contrary to pundits who, at the conclusion of the Cold War, talked about "the end of history," just the opposite has taken place. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the general bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism, she maintains, the People's Republic of China has resumed its history where it left off in the mid-twentieth century. The Chinese have rewoven historical patterns that were diverted or unraveled by the establishment of the Communist Party state. Despite the fact that the Communist Party still rules, Goldman asserts, China's late twentieth-century expanding economy, international involvements, landholding system, intellectual and cultural pluralism, emerging civil society, and embryonic democratic procedures resemble more the pre-1949 period than the era of Mao Zedong. As a result, she suggests, these changes make the study of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Chinese history more relevant for understanding contemporary events than China's immediate past. Goldman, though, cautions that these developments also demonstrate that history does not repeat itself. She notes that they are taking place within a very different political, economic, international, and technological context than that of the early twentieth century. Understanding these new circumstances, she concludes, is critical to any assessment of the impact of the past on the present in China.



ROBERT DARNTON

Presidential Address
An Early Information Society:
News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris

ROBERT DARNTON

STANDING HERE ON THE THRESHOLD of the year 2000, it appears that the road to the new millennium leads through Silicon Valley. We have entered the information age, and the future, it seems, will be determined by the media. In fact, some would claim that the modes of communication have replaced the modes of production as the driving force of the modern world. I would like to dispute that view. Whatever its value as prophecy, it will not work as history, because it conveys a specious sense of a break with the past. I would argue that every age was an age of information, each in its own way, and that communication systems have always shaped events.¹

That argument may sound suspiciously like common sense; but, if pushed hard enough, it could open up a fresh perspective on the past. As a starting point, I would ask a question about the media today: What is news? Most of us would reply that news is what we read in newspapers or see and hear on news broadcasts. If we considered the matter further, however, we probably would agree that news is not what happened—yesterday, or last week—but rather stories about what happened. It is a kind of narrative, transmitted by special kinds of media. That line of reasoning soon leads to entanglement in literary theory and the World Wide Web. But if projected backward, it may help to disentangle some knotty problems in the past.²

I would propose a general attack on the problem of how societies made sense of events and transmitted information about them, something that might be called the

¹ People have complained about a surfeit of information during many periods of history. An almanac of 1772 referred casually to “notre siècle de publicité à outrance,” as if the observation were self-evident: Roze de Chantoiseau, *Tablettes royales de renommée ou Almanach général d'indication*. rpt. in “Les cafés de Paris en 1772” (anonymous), *Extrait de la Revue de poche du 15 juillet 1867* (Paris, n.d.), 2. For a typical remark that illustrates the current sense of entering an unprecedented era dominated by information technology, see the pronouncement of David Puttnam quoted in *The Wall Street Journal*, December 18, 1998, W3: “We are on the threshold of what has come to be called the Information Society.” I should explain that this essay was written for delivery as a lecture and that I have tried to maintain the tone of the original by adopting a relatively informal style in the printed version. More related material is available in an electronic edition, the first article published in the new online edition of the *American Historical Review*, on the World Wide Web, at www.indiana.edu/~ahr, and later at www.historycooperative.org.

² I have attempted to develop this argument in an essay on my own experience as a reporter: “Journalism: All the News That Fits We Print,” in Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York, 1990), chap. 5. See also Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York, 1978); and Helen MacGill Hughes, *News and the Human Interest Story* (Chicago, 1940).

history of communication. In principle, this kind of history could provoke a reassessment of any period in the past, for every society develops its own ways of hunting and gathering information; its means of communicating what it gathers, whether or not it uses concepts such as “news” and “the media,” can reveal a great deal about its understanding of its own experience. Examples can be cited from studies of coffeehouses in Stuart England, tea houses in early republican China, marketplaces in contemporary Morocco, street poetry in seventeenth-century Rome, slave rebellions in nineteenth-century Brazil, runner networks in the Mogul Raj of India, even the bread and circuses of the Roman Empire.³

But instead of attempting to pile up examples by roaming everywhere through the historical record, I would like to examine a communication system at work in a particular time and place, the Old Regime in France. More precisely, I would ask: How did you find out what the news was in Paris around 1750? Not, I submit, by reading a newspaper, because papers with news in them—news as we understand it today, about public affairs and prominent persons—did not exist. The government did not permit them.

To find out what was really going on, you went to the tree of Cracow. It was a large, leafy chestnut tree, which stood at the heart of Paris in the gardens of the Palais-Royal. It probably had acquired its name from heated discussions that took place around it during the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735), although the name also suggested rumor-mongering (*craquer*: to tell dubious stories). Like a mighty magnet, the tree attracted *nouvellistes de bouche*, or newsmongers, who spread information about current events by word of mouth. They claimed to know, from private sources (a letter, an indiscreet servant, a remark overheard in an antechamber of Versailles), what was really happening in the corridors of power—and the people in power took them seriously, because the government worried about what Parisians were saying. Foreign diplomats allegedly sent agents to pick up news or to plant it at the foot of the tree of Cracow. (See Figure 1.) There were several other nerve centers for transmitting “public noises” (*bruits publics*), as this variety of news was known: special benches in the Tuileries and Luxembourg Gardens, informal speakers’ corners on the Quai des Augustins and the Pont Neuf, cafés known for their loose talk, and boulevards where news bulletins were bawled out by peddlers of *canards* (facetious broadsides) or sung by hurdy-gurdy players. To tune in on the news, you could simply stand in the street and cock your ear.⁴

³ Brian Cowan, “The Social Life of Coffee: Commercial Culture and Metropolitan Society in Early Modern England, 1600–1720” (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2000); Qin Shao, “Tempest over Teapots: The Vilification of Teahouse Culture in Early Republican China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 57 (November 1998): 1009–41; Lawrence Rosen, *Bargaining for Reality: The Construction of Social Relations in a Muslim Community* (Chicago, 1984); Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, Arthur Brakel, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (New York, 1996); and Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁴ Planted at the beginning of the century and cut down during the remodeling of the garden in 1781, the tree of Cracow was such a well-known institution that it was celebrated in a comic opera by Charles-François Panard, *L’arbre de Cracovie*, performed at the Foire Saint-Germain in 1742. The print reproduced above probably alludes to a theme in that vaudeville production: the tree went “crack” every time someone beneath its branches told a lie. On this and other contemporary sources, see François Rosset, *L’arbre de Cracovie: Le mythe polonais dans la littérature française* (Paris, 1996), 7–11.



FIGURE 1: "L'arbre de Cracovie," c. 1742. The Tree of Cracow as depicted in a satirical print. The figure of Truth, on the far left, pulls on a rope to make the tree go "crack" every time something false takes place beneath it. According to the caption, the falsehoods include an innkeeper who claims he does not water down his wine, a merchant who sells goods for no more than what they are worth, a truthful horse dealer, an unbiased poet, etc. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), 96A 74336.

But ordinary hearsay did not satisfy Parisians with a powerful appetite for information. They needed to sift through the public noise in order to discover what was *really* happening. Sometimes, they pooled their information and criticized it collectively by meeting in groups such as the famous salon of Mme. M.-A. L. Doublet, known as "the parish." Twenty-nine "parishioners," many of them well connected with the Parlement of Paris or the court and all of them famished for news, gathered once a week in Mme. Doublet's apartment in the Enclos des Filles Saint-Thomas. When they entered the salon, they reportedly found two large registers on a desk near the door. One contained news reputed to be reliable, the other, gossip. Together, they constituted the menu for the day's discussion, which was prepared by one of Mme. Doublet's servants, who may qualify as the first "reporter" in the history of France. We don't know his name, but a description of him survives in the files of the police (and I should say at the outset that police archives provide most of the evidence for this lecture—important evidence, I believe, but the kind that calls for especially critical interpretation): He was "tall and fat, a full face, round wig, and a brown outfit. Every morning he goes from

The best general account of *nouvellistes* is still in Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les nouvelles* (Paris, 1905), and *Figaro et ses devanciers* (Paris, 1909). As an example of how remarks made beneath the tree of Cracow spread throughout Paris and Versailles, see E. J. B. Rathery, ed., *Journal et mémoires du marquis d'Argenson* (Paris, 1862), 5: 450.

house to house asking, in the name of his mistress, ‘What’s new?’”⁵ The servant wrote the first entries for each day’s news on the registers; the “parishioners” read through them, adding whatever other information they had gathered; and, after a general vetting, the reports were copied and sent to select friends of Mme. Doublet. One of them, J.-G. Bosc du Bouchet, comtesse d’Argental, had a lackey named Gillet, who organized another copying service. When he began to make money by selling the copies—provincial subscribers gladly paid six livres a month to keep up with the latest news from Paris—some of his copyists set up shops of their own; and those shops spawned other shops, so that by 1750 multiple editions of Mme. Doublet’s newsletter were flying around Paris and the provinces. The copying operations—an efficient means of diffusion long after Gutenberg and long before Xerox—had turned into a minor industry, a news service providing subscribers with manuscript gazettes, or *nouvelles à la main*. (See Figure 2.) In 1777, publishers began putting these *nouvelles* into print, and they circulated as the *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l’histoire de la république des lettres en France*, a bestseller in the underground book trade.⁶

Anecdotal as they are, these examples show that news (*nouvelles*) circulated through several media and by different modes—oral, manuscript, and print. In each case, moreover, it remained outside the law. So we also should consider the political constraints on the news.

This is a rich and complicated subject, because research during the last twenty years has transformed the history of early modern journalism.⁷ Simplifying radically, I would insist on a basic point: information about the inner workings of the power system was not supposed to circulate under the Old Regime in France. Politics was the king’s business, “le secret du roi”—a notion derived from a late medieval and Renaissance view, which treated statecraft as “arcana imperii,” a secret art restricted to sovereigns and their advisers.⁸

⁵ Pierre Manuel, *La police de Paris dévoilée* (Paris, “l’An second de la liberté” [1790]), 1: 206. I have not been able to find the original of this spy report by the notorious Charles de Fieux, chevalier de Mouhy, in Mouhy’s dossier in the archives of the Bastille: Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (hereafter, BA), Paris, ms. 10029.

⁶ This description relies on the work of Funck-Brentano, *Les nouvellistes*, and *Figaro et ses devanciers*, but more recent work has modified the picture of the “parish” and its connection to the *Mémoires secrets*. See Jeremy D. Popkin and Bernadette Fort, eds., *The “Mémoires secrets” and the Culture of Publicity in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1998); François Moureau, *Répertoire des nouvelles à la main: Dictionnaire de la presse manuscrite clandestine XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Oxford, 1999); and Moureau, *De bonne main: La communication manuscrite au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1993). After studying the voluminous text of the *nouvelles à la main* produced by the “parish” between 1745 and 1752, I have concluded that the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter, BNF) contains little information that could not have passed through the censorship administered by the police: BNF, ms. fr. 13701–12. The published version of the *Mémoires secrets*, which covered the period 1762–1787 and first appeared in 1777, is completely different in tone. It was highly illegal and sold widely: see Robert Darnton, *The Corpus of Clandestine Literature in France 1769–1789* (New York, 1995), 119–20.

⁷ In the case of France, a vast number of excellent books and articles have been published by Jean Sgard, Pierre Rétat, Gilles Feyel, François Moureau, Jack Censer, and Jeremy Popkin. For an overview of the entire subject, see Claude Bellanger, Jacques Godechot, Pierre Guiral, and Fernand Terrou, *Histoire générale de la presse française* (Paris, 1969); and the collective works edited by Jean Sgard, *Dictionnaire des journaux, 1600–1789*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1991); and *Dictionnaire des journalistes, 1600–1789*, 2 vols. (1976; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1999).

⁸ Michael Stolleis, *Staat und Staatsräson in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1990); and Jochen Schlobach, “Secrètes correspondances: La fonction du secret dans les correspondances littéraires,” in Moureau, *De bonne main*.



FIGURE 2: A group of *nouvellistes* discussing the news in the Luxembourg Gardens. Courtesy of the BNF, 88C 134231.

Of course, some information reached the reading public through journals and gazettes, but it was not supposed to deal with the inside story of politics or with politics at all, except in the form of official pronouncements on court life. All printed matter had to be cleared through a baroque bureaucracy that included nearly 200 censors, and the censors' decisions were enforced by a special branch of the police, the inspectors of the book trade. The inspectors did not merely repress heresy and sedition; they also protected privileges. Official journals—notably the *Gazette de France*, *Mercure*, and *Journal des savants*—possessed royal privileges for the coverage of certain subjects, and no new periodical could be established without paying them for a share in their turf. When the revolutionaries looked back at the history of the press, they saw nothing but newslessness before 1789. Thus Pierre Manuel on the *Gazette de France*:

A people that wants to be informed cannot be satisfied with the *Gazette de France*. Why should it care if the king has performed the ritual of foot-washing for some poor folk whose feet weren't even dirty? Or if the queen celebrated Easter in company with the comte d'Artois? Or if Monsieur deigned to accept the dedication of a book that he may never read? Or if the Parlement, dressed in ceremonial attire, harangued the baby dauphin, who was dressed in swaddling clothes? The people want to know everything that is actually done and said in the court—why and for whom the cardinal de Rohan should have taken it into his head to play games with a pearl necklace; if it is true that the comtesse Diane appoints the generals of the army and the comtesse Jule the bishops; how many Saint Louis medals the minister of war allotted to his mistress for distribution as New Year's presents. It was the sharp-witted authors of clandestine gazettes [*nouvelles à la main*] who spread the word about this kind of scandal.⁹

These remarks, written at the height of the excitement over a newly freed press, exaggerate the servility of journalism under the Old Regime. Many periodicals existed, many of them printed in French outside France, and they sometimes provided information about political events, especially during the relatively liberal reign of Louis XVI (1774–1792). But if any ventured criticism of the government, they could easily be snuffed out by the police—not simply by raids on bookshops and arrests of peddlers, which frequently occurred, but by being excluded from the mail. Distribution through the mail left their supply lines very vulnerable, as the *Gazette de Leyde* learned when it tried and failed to cover the most important political story of Louis XV's reign, the destruction of the parlements from 1771 to 1774.

So newspapers of a sort existed, but they had little news—and the reading public had little faith in them, not even in the French journals that arrived from Holland. The general skepticism was expressed clearly in a report from a police spy in 1746:

It is openly said that France pays 2,000 livres [a year] to Sieur du Breuil, author of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, which is vetted by the French representative at The Hague. Besides that, France gives 12,000 to 15,000 livres to Mme. Limiers, who does the *Gazette d'Utrecht*. This money comes from the revenue of the gazettes, which the postal service sells for 17 sous 6 deniers [per copy] to David, its distributor in Paris, and which he sells to the public for 20

⁹ Manuel, *La police de Paris dévoilée*, 1: 201–02.

sous. When the gazettes did not appear as usual yesterday, it was said that the minister had had them stopped.¹⁰

In short, the press was far from free; and it was also underdeveloped, if you compare it with the press in Holland, England, and Germany. The first French daily newspaper, *Le journal de Paris*, did not appear until 1777. The first German daily appeared more than a century earlier, in Leipzig in 1660. Yet a substantial reading public had existed in France since the seventeenth century; and it expanded enormously in the eighteenth century, especially in cities and in northern France, where nearly half of all adult males could read by 1789. This public was curious about public affairs and conscious of itself as a new force in politics—that is, as public opinion—even though it had no voice in the conduct of the government.¹¹

So a basic contradiction existed—between the public with its hunger for news on the one side and the state with its absolutist forms of power on the other. To understand how this contradiction played itself out, we need to take a closer look at the media that transmitted news and the messages they conveyed. What were the media in eighteenth-century Paris?

WE TEND TO THINK OF THEM BY WAY OF CONTRAST to the all-pervasive media of today. So we imagine the Old Regime as a simple, tranquil, media-free world-we-have-lost, a society with no telephones, no television, no e-mail, Internet, and all the rest. In fact, however, it was not a simple world at all. It was merely different. It had a dense communication network made up of media and genres that have been forgotten—so thoroughly forgotten that even their names are unknown today and cannot be translated into English equivalents: *mauvais propos*, *bruit public*, *on-dit*, *pasquinade*, *pont-neuf*, *canard*, *feuille volante*, *factum*, *libelle*, *chronique scandaleuse*. There were so many modes of communication, and they intersected and overlapped so intensively that we can hardly picture their operation. I have tried to make a picture, nonetheless—a schematic diagram, which illustrates how messages traveled through different media and milieus. (See Figure 3.)

Now, this model may look so complicated as to be absurd—more like a diagram for wiring a radio than the flow of information through a social system. Instead of elaborating on it, let me give you an example of the transmission process, something you might liken to a modern news flash. I quote from *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry*, a top bestseller on the eve of the French Revolution (about which, more later):

We find in the manuscript gazette that has often guided us in assembling the materials for our history, an anecdote [about Mme. du Barry] that illustrates the general opinion of the

¹⁰ A. de Boislisle, ed., *Lettres de M. de Marville, Lieutenant-Général de Police, au ministre Maurepas (1742–1747)* (Paris, 1896), 2: 262.

¹¹ On literacy, see François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, *Lire et écrire: L'alphabétisation des Français de Calvin à Jules Ferry*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977); on public opinion, Keith M. Baker, "Public Opinion as Political Invention," in Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990); and Mona Ozouf, "L'Opinion publique," in Keith Baker, ed., *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, Vol. 1 of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (Oxford, 1987).

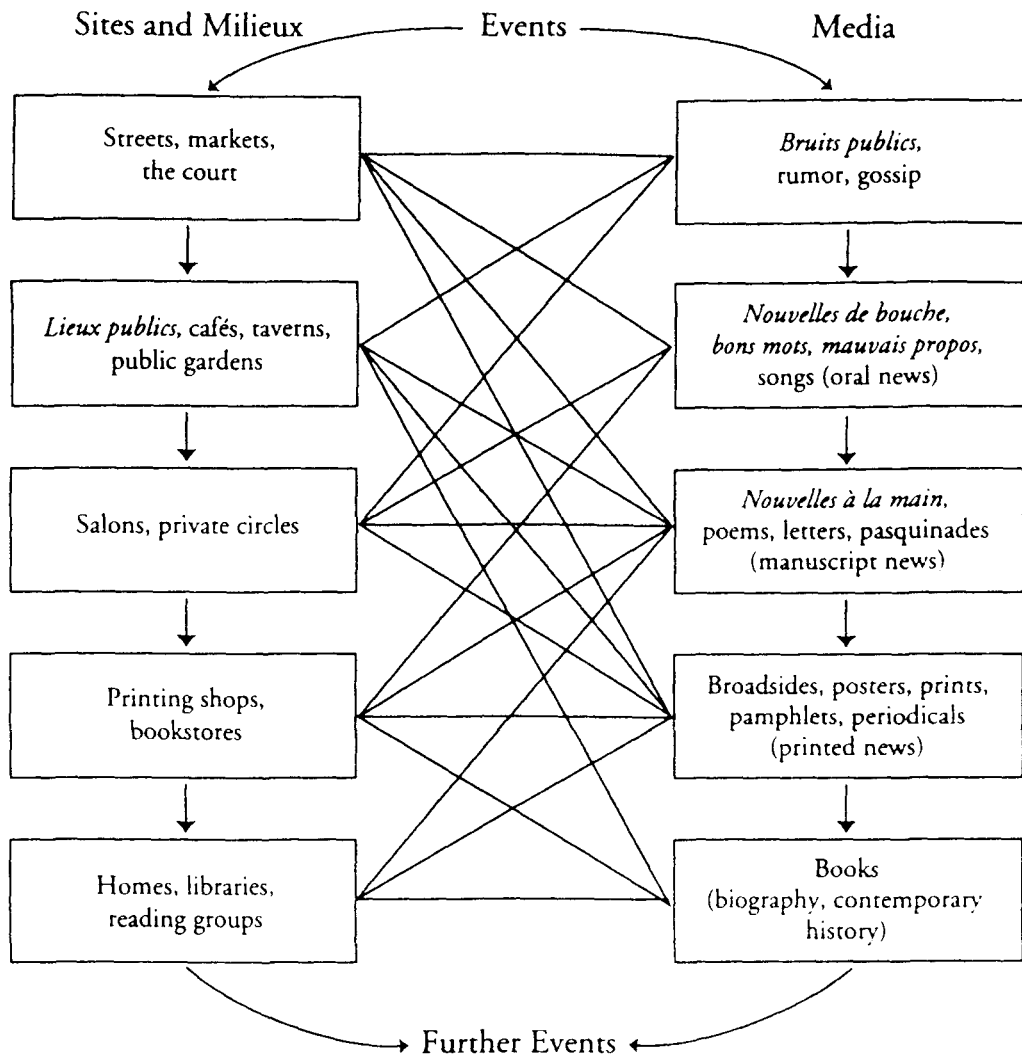


FIGURE 3: A schematic model of a communication circuit. From Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, 1995), 189.

public about her dominance of the king. It is dated March 20, 1773: "There is a report, carefully spread about by some courtiers, which proves that Mme. du Barry has not lost any favor or familiarity with the king, as some had suspected. His Majesty likes to brew his own coffee and, by means of this innocent amusement, to get some relief from the heavy burdens of government. A few days ago, the coffeepot began to boil over while His Majesty was distracted by something else. 'Hey France!' called out the beautiful favorite. 'Look out! Your coffee's bugging off.' [*La France, ton café fout le camp.*] We are told that 'France' is the familiar expression utilized by this lady in the intimacy of the king's private chambers [*petits appartements*]. Such details should never circulate outside of them, but they escape, nonetheless, thanks to the malignity of the courtiers."¹²

¹² [Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert], *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* (London, 1775), 215.

The anecdote is trivial in itself, but it illustrates the way a news item moved through various media, reaching an ever-wider public. In this case, it went through four phases: First, it began as *mauvais propos*, or insider gossip at court. Second, it turned into a *bruit public*, or general rumor in Paris—and the text uses a strong expression: “the general opinion of the public.” Third, it became incorporated in *nouvelles à la main*, or manuscript news sheets, which circulated in the provinces, like Mme. Doublet’s. Fourth, it was printed in a *libelle*, or scandalous book—in this case, a bestseller, which went through many editions and reached readers everywhere.

The book *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* is a scurrilous biography of the royal mistress pieced together from bits of gossip picked up by the greatest *nouvelliste* of the century, Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert. He went around Paris collecting tidbits of news and scribbling them on scraps of paper, which he stuffed into his pockets and sleeves. When he arrived in a café, he would pull one out and regale the company—or trade it for another item collected by another *nouvelliste*. Mairobert’s biography of du Barry is really a scrapbook of these news items strung together along a narrative line, which takes the heroine from her obscure birth as the daughter of a cook and a wandering friar to a star role in a Parisian whorehouse and finally the royal bed.¹³

Mairobert did not hesitate to vent his political opinions in telling his story, and his opinions were extremely hostile to Versailles. In 1749, a police spy reported that he had denounced the government in the following terms: “Speaking about the recent reorganization of the army, Mairobert said in the Café Procope that any soldier who had an opportunity should blast the court to hell, since its sole pleasure is in devouring the people and committing injustices.”¹⁴ A few days later, the police hauled him off to the Bastille, his pockets bulging with poems about taxes and the sex life of the king.

Mairobert’s case, and dozens like it, illustrates a point so self-evident that it has never been noticed: the media of the Old Regime were mixed. They transmitted an amalgam of overlapping, interpenetrating messages, spoken, written, printed, pictured, and sung. The most difficult ingredient in this mixture for the historian to isolate and analyze is oral communication, because it usually disappeared into the air. But, evanescent as it was, contemporaries took it seriously. They often remarked on it in letters and diaries, and some of their comments conform quite closely to the model that I just presented in the form of a flow chart. Here, for example, is a contemporary description of how news traveled by word of mouth: “A vile courtier puts these infamies [reports of royal orgies] into rhyming couplets and, through the intermediary of flunkies, distributes them all the way to the marketplace. From the markets they reach artisans, who in turn transmit them back to the noblemen who first wrought them and who, without wasting a minute, go to the royal chambers in Versailles and whisper from ear to ear in a tone of consummate

¹³ This and the following remarks about Mairobert are based on his dossier in the archives of the Bastille: BA, ms. 11683, and on his dossier in the papers of Joseph d’Hémery, inspector of the book trade: BNF, ms. acq. fr. 10783. See also the article on him in the *Dictionnaire des journalistes*, 2: 787–89.

¹⁴ “Observations de d’Hémery du 16 juin 1749,” BA, ms. 11683, fol. 52.



FIGURE 4: Conversation in a café. Courtesy of the BNF, 67B 41693. Here is an excerpt from “Mapping Café Talk” (available at www.indiana.edu/~ahr): *Café de Foy, Palais-Royal*. “Some said that they had heard the Controller General [Le Peletier de Fots, appointed on June 15, 1726, at the time of the revaluation of the currency] was teetering and might fall. Others said, ‘Come on, that’s nothing more than what you hear in the current songs. It looks very unlikely; and if he left the government, the cardinal [André Hercule Fleury, the dominant figure in the government by June 1726] would leave also. It’s nothing more than a false alarm.’”

hypocrisy, ‘Have you read them? Here they are. This is what is circulating among the common people in Paris.’”¹⁵

Fortunately for the historian, if not for the French, the Old Regime was a police state—“police” being understood in the eighteenth-century manner as municipal administration—and the police appreciated the importance of public opinion. They kept track of it by posting spies wherever people gathered to discuss public affairs—in marketplaces, shops, public gardens, taverns, and cafés. Of course, spy reports and police files should not be taken literally. They have built-in biases, which sometimes reveal more about the police themselves than the persons they were observing. But if handled with care, the archives of the police provide enough information for one to see how oral networks functioned. I would like to draw on them in order to discuss two modes of communication that functioned most effectively in eighteenth-century Paris: gossip and songs.

¹⁵ *Le portefeuille d'un talon rouge contenant des anecdotes galantes et secrètes de la cour de France*, rpt. as *Le coffret du bibliophile* (Paris, n.d.), 22.

FIRST, GOSSIP. The papers of the Bastille are full of cases like Mairobert's: people arrested for *mauvais propos*, or insolent talk about public figures, especially the king. The sample is biased, of course, because the police did not arrest people who spoke favorably of Versailles; and a similar slant may distort the other principal source, spy reports, which sometimes concentrated on irreligion and sedition. Usually, however, the spies recounted casual discussions about all sorts of subjects among ordinary Parisians; and, during the early years of Louis XV's reign, the talk sounded favorable to the monarchy. I have studied reports on 179 conversations in 29 cafés between 1726 and 1729. (For a list, see Figure 5.) The sample is far from complete, because Paris had about 380 cafés at that time; but it indicates the topics and the tone of the talk in cafés located along the most important channels of communication, as one can see from the map in Figure 6. (For extensive excerpts from the spy reports and a detailed mapping of the cafés on segments of the Plan Turgot, see the web version of this lecture.)¹⁶

Most of the reports were written in dialogue. Here is an example:

At the Café de Foy someone said that the king had taken a mistress, that she was named Gontaut, and that she was a beautiful woman, the niece of the duc de Noailles and the comtesse de Toulouse. Others said, "If so, then there could be some big changes." And another replied, "True, a rumor is spreading, but I find it hard to believe, since the cardinal de Fleury is in charge. I don't think the king has any inclination in that direction, because he has always been kept away from women." "Nevertheless," someone else said, "it wouldn't be the greatest evil if he had a mistress." "Well, Messieurs," another added, "it may not be a passing fancy, either, and a first love could raise some danger on the sexual side and could cause more harm than good. It would be far more desirable if he liked hunting better than that kind of thing."¹⁷

As always, the royal sex life provided prime material for gossip, but the reports all indicate that the talk was friendly. In 1729, when the queen was about to give birth, the cafés rang with jubilation: "Truly, everyone is delighted, because they all hope greatly to have a dauphin . . . In the Café Dupuy, someone said, 'Parbleu, Messieurs, if God graces us with a dauphin, you will see Paris and the whole river aflame [with fireworks in celebration].' Everyone is praying for that."¹⁸ On September 4, the queen did indeed produce a dauphin, and the Parisians went wild with joy, not merely to have an heir to the throne but also to have the king in their midst; for Louis celebrated the birth with a grand feast in the Hôtel de Ville following the fireworks. Royal magnificence choreographed to perfection in the heart of the city—that was what Parisians wanted from their king, according to the

¹⁶ BA, ms. 10170. This source, the densest I have been able to find, covers the years 1726–1729. For help in locating the cafés and in mapping them, I would like to thank Sean Quinlan, Editorial Assistant at the *American Historical Review*, and Jian Liu, Reference Librarian and Collection Manager for Linguistics, Indiana University Libraries, who worked with the staff of the AHR in preparing the electronic version of this address. The detailed mapping, with excerpts from reports on conversations in eighteen of the cafés, can be consulted in the link entitled "Mapping Café Talk," at www.indiana.edu/~ahr.

¹⁷ BA, ms. 10170, fol. 175. For reasons of clarity, I have added quotation marks. The original had none, although it was clearly written in dialogue, as can be seen from the texts reproduced in the electronic version of this essay, at the link entitled "Spy Reports on Conversations in Cafés," www.indiana.edu/~ahr.

¹⁸ BA, ms. 10170, fol. 176.

1. Coton, rue Saint-Denis: 29 reports
2. Foy, Palais-Royal: 28 reports
3. Rousseau, rue Saint-Antoine: 27 reports
4. Veuve Joseph, Pont Notre Dame: 9 reports
5. Feret, butte Saint-Roche: 7 reports
6. Gradot, quai de l'Ecole: 7 reports
7. Dupuy, rue Saint-Honoré, près les Quinze-Vingts (?): 7 reports
8. Au prophète Elie, rue Saint-Honoré, au coin de la rue du Four: 6 reports
9. Conti, Pont Neuf, au coin de la rue Dauphine: 6 reports
10. Paul, rue des mauvaises-Paroles, contre la Grande Poste: 5 reports
11. Marchand, quai Pelletier: 5 reports
12. Régence, rue Saint-Honoré, Place du Palais-Royal: 5 reports
13. Poncelet, quai de l'Ecole: 4 reports
14. Moisy, rue Saint-Séverin: 4 reports
15. Veuve Laurent, rue Dauphine, au coin de la rue Christine: 4 reports
16. Baptiste, rue Dauphine: 4 reports
17. Ferré, Pont Saint-Michel: 3 reports
18. La Haude, rue Saint-Martin: 3 reports
19. Lescures, près de la Comédie: 3 reports
20. Marion, derrière la Barrière des Sergents: 2 reports
21. Bourbon, rue Bourtibourg: 2 reports
22. Procope, rue de la Comédie: 2 reports
23. Clorjean, rue royale Saint-Antoine: 1 report
24. Grignon, au coin de la rue Jean Saint-Denis: 1 report
25. La Perelle, rue Saint-Honoré: 1 report
26. Maugis, rue Saint-Séverin: 1 report
27. Gantois, rue Mazarine: 1 report
28. Le Roy, rue des Arts: 1 report
29. Duture, rue Dauphine: 1 report

FIGURE 5: List of the 29 cafés.

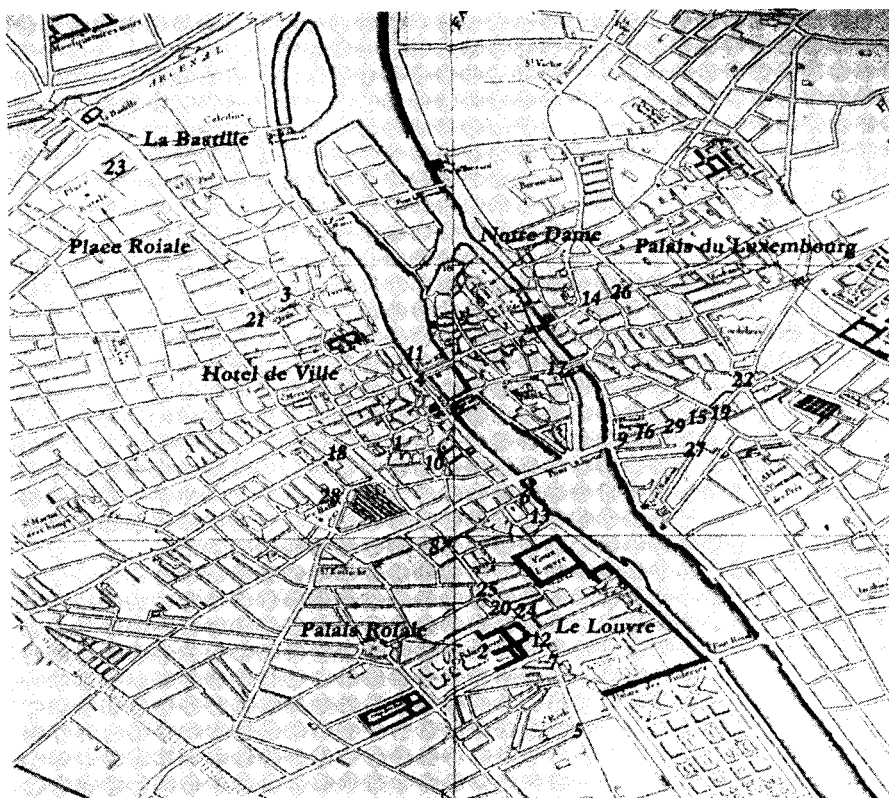


FIGURE 6: Map of Paris with cafés indicated by number. Map designed by Jian Liu and researched by Sean Quinlan.

spy reports: "One of them said [in the Café de Foy], 'Parbleu, Messieurs, you could never see anything more beautiful than Paris yesterday evening, when the king made his joyful entry into the Hôtel de Ville, speaking to everyone with the greatest affability, dining to a concert by two dozen musicians; and they say the meal was of the utmost magnificence.'"¹⁹

Twenty years later, the tone had changed completely:

In the shop of the wigmaker Gaujoux, this individual [Jules Alexis Bernard] read aloud in the presence of Sieur Dazemar, an invalid officer, an attack on the king in which it was said that His Majesty let himself be governed by ignorant and incompetent ministers and had made a shameful, dishonorable peace [the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle], which gave up all the fortresses that had been captured . . . ; that the king, by his affair with the three sisters, scandalized his people and would bring down all sorts of misfortune on himself if he did not change his conduct; that His Majesty scorned the queen and was an adulterer; that he had not confessed for Easter communion and would bring down the curse of God upon the kingdom and that France would be overwhelmed with disasters; that the duc de Richelieu was a pimp, who would crush Mme. de Pompadour or be crushed by her. He promised to show Sieur Dazemar this book, entitled *The Three Sisters*.²⁰

¹⁹ BA, ms. 10170, fol. 93.

²⁰ BNF, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1891, fol. 419.

What had happened between those two dates, 1729 and 1749? A great deal, of course: a flare-up of the Jansenist religious controversy, a running battle between the parlements and the crown, a major war, some disastrous harvests, and the imposition of unpopular taxes. But I would like to stress another factor: the end of the royal touch.

LET ME TELL YOU A STORY. Call it "The Three Sisters." Once upon a time, there was a nobleman, the marquis de Nesle, who had three daughters, one more beautiful than the other—or, if not exactly beautiful, at least ready and eager for sexual adventure. But that is a delicate subject, so I had better disguise their names and set the story in Africa.

So: Once upon a time, in the African kingdom of the Kofirans, a young monarch, Zeokinizul, began to eye the ladies in his court. (If you choose to unscramble the names—Kofirans/Français, Zeokinizul/Louis Quinze—that is up to you.) The king was a timid soul, interested in nothing except sex, and he was pretty timid at that, too. But the first sister, Mme. de Liamil (Mailly) overcame his awkwardness and dragged him to bed. She had been coached by the chief minister, a mullah (prelate) named Jelfur (Fleury), who used her influence to fortify his own. But then the second sister, Mme. de Leutinemil (Vintimille), decided to play the same game; and she succeeded even better, thanks to tutoring from a still more wicked courtier, the kam de Kelirieu (duc de Richelieu). She died, however, after giving birth to a child.

So the king took up the third sister, Mme. de Lenertoula (La Tournelle, later the duchesse de Châteauroux), the most beautiful and ambitious of them all. She, too, accepted counsel from the wicked Kelirieu, and she conquered the king so completely that soon she was ruling the kingdom. Blinded by passion, Zeokinizul took her with him to the front, when he set off to repulse an invasion of the Maregins (Germans). His subjects grumbled that kings should leave their mistresses at home when they did battle. In fact, the attempt to make love as well as war proved to be more than Zeokinizul's constitution could bear. He fell ill, so deathly ill, that the doctors gave him up for lost, and the mullahs prepared to give him the last rites. But it looked as though the king might die unshriven, because Mme. de Lenertoula and Kelirieu refused to allow anyone near the royal bedside. Finally, one mullah broke into the bedroom. He warned Zeokinizul of the danger of damnation. As the price for administering confession and extreme unction, he demanded that the king renounce his mistress. Lenertoula departed under a volley of insults, the king received the sacraments, and then—miracle!—he recovered.

His people rejoiced. His enemies retreated. He returned to his palace . . . and began to think it over. The mullah had been awfully insistent about hellfire. Mme. de Lenertoula was awfully beautiful . . . So the king called her back. And then she promptly died. End of story.

What is the moral of this tale? For Parisians, it meant that the king's sins would bring down the punishment of God; and everyone would suffer, as Bernard proclaimed during the discussion of *The Three Sisters*, the version of the story that he declaimed in the shop of the wigmaker Gaujoux.

For historians, the story can be taken as a symptom of a rupture in the moral ties that bound the king to his people. After the death of Mme. de Châteauroux on December 8, 1744, Louis never again set foot in Paris, except for a few unavoidable ceremonies. In 1750, he built a road around the city so that he could travel from Versailles to Compiègne without exposing himself to the Parisians. He had also ceased to touch the sick who lined up in the Great Gallery of the Louvre in order to be cured of the King's Evil, or scrofula. This breakdown in ritual signaled the end—or at least the beginning of the end—of the *roi-mage*, the sacred, thaumaturgic king known to us through the work of Marc Bloch. By mid-century, Louis XV had lost touch with his people, and he had lost the royal touch.²¹

That conclusion, I admit, is much too dramatic. Desacralization or delegitimation was a complex process, which did not occur all at once but rather by fits and starts over a long time span. In recounting this tale about Louis's love life, I did not mean to argue that he suddenly lost his legitimacy in 1744, although I believe he badly damaged it. My purpose was to suggest the way stories struck the consciousness of Parisians by the middle of the century.

To modern Americans, the story of the three sisters may read like an unconvincing blend of folklore and soap opera. But to eighteenth-century Parisians, it served as a gloss on current events—Louis XV's brush with death at Metz in August 1744, the disgrace of Mme. de Châteauroux, the general rejoicing at the king's recovery, and the general consternation at his decision to recall his mistress. The story also conveyed a prophecy of doom. Louis XV had compounded adultery with incest, because fornicating with sisters had an incestuous character in eighteenth-century eyes. Thus the report of a spy who warned the police about the public's consternation at the king's affair with Mme. de Châteauroux in 1744: "Businessmen, retired officers, the common people are all complaining, speaking ill of the government and predicting that this war will have disastrous consequences. Clergymen, especially the Jansenists, take that view and dare to think and to say aloud that the evils that will soon overwhelm the kingdom come from above, as punishment for the incest and irreligion of the king. They cite passages from Scripture, which they apply [to the present circumstances]. The government should pay attention to this class of subjects. They are dangerous."²²

Sin on such a scale would call down punishment from heaven, not merely on the king but on the entire kingdom. Having been anointed with the holy oil preserved since the conversion of Clovis in the cathedral of Reims, Louis XV had sacred power. He could cure subjects afflicted with scrofula, simply by touching them. After his coronation in 1722, he had touched more than 2,000, and he continued to touch the diseased for the next seventeen years, particularly after taking Communion on Easter. In order to exercise that power, however, he had to cleanse himself

²¹ Marc Bloch, *Rois thaumaturges: Etude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale* (Paris, 1924). On contemporary indignation about the route around Paris, see BNF, ms. fr. 13710, fol. 66. For a sober account of Louis XV's relations with the Nesle sisters (there were actually five of them, but contemporary *libelles* usually mentioned only three or sometimes four), see Michel Antoine, *Louis XV* (Paris, 1989), 484–92. My interpretation of political and diplomatic history in these years owes a good deal to Antoine's definitive study.

²² BA, ms. 10029, fol. 129. The incest theme appears in some of the most violent poems and songs attacking Louis XV in 1748–1751. One in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, ms. 649, p. 50, begins, "Incestueux tyran, traître inhumain, faussaire . . ."

from sin by confession and Communion. But his confessors would not admit him to the Eucharist unless he renounced his mistresses, and he refused to renounce them after 1738, when he began openly to exhibit his adultery with Mme. de Mailly. From that time on, Louis never again took Easter Communion and never again touched the sick. The Metz crisis revived hope that he would recover his spiritual potency, but its denouement, the death of Mme. de Châteauroux, and the succession of mistresses that began with the installation of Mme. de Pompadour in 1745 signaled the end of Louis's effectiveness as a mediator between his people and their angry God. That was the conclusion reached by Bernard after declaiming *The Three Sisters* to his audience in the wigmaker's shop.

At this point, I should pause to deal with an objection. You may concede that the police reports provide evidence about the public's fear of divine retribution for the king's sins, but you also might protest that my version of "The Three Sisters" does not necessarily coincide with the story recounted in the 1740s by Parisians. Perhaps in a fit of postmodern permissiveness, I simply made it up.

I did not. Like many of you, I deplore the current tendency to mix fiction with fact, and I disagree with those who take liberties with evidence on the grounds that history requires unavoidable doses of tropes.²³ I therefore looked far and wide for a book entitled *Les trois soeurs*. I failed to find it, but I did come up with four other books published between 1745 and 1750 that tell the story of Louis' love affairs. They are all *romans à clef*, or novels in which real persons appear as fictitious characters. The story may be set in Africa (*Les amours de Zeokinizul, roi des Kofirans*, 1747), Asia (*Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de Perse*, 1745), fairyland (*Tanastès, conte allégorique*, 1745), or an exotic island (*Voyage à Amatonthe*, 1750). But they all read like a commentary on current events, and they all condemn the king. The story of "The Three Sisters" as I recounted it is a faithful synopsis of *Les amours de Zeokinizul*, and it fits the narrative line of all the others.²⁴

The meaning of those novels for their readers can be ascertained with some accuracy, because they all have keys. A collection of keys is available in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 7067, and many of the copies of the novels have keys printed at the end, entered in handwriting, or inserted in the binding. (See Figure 7.) Decoding with a key, however, turns out to be a less mechanistic process than you might expect. If you work through a novel with a key in hand, you find yourself reading simultaneously at different levels and reading between the lines. A stilted story can come alive, once it is found to conceal another, naughtier story; and the inside stories proliferate as you penetrate deeper and deeper into the text. Some

²³ These issues have been dramatized most recently in the controversy aroused by the duplicitous mixture of fact and fiction in Edmund Morris, *Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan* (New York, 1999): see Kate Masur, "Edmund Morris's *Dutch*: Reconstructing Reagan or Deconstructing History?" *Perspectives* 37 (December 1999): 3–5. For my part, I would not deny the literary quality of history writing, but I think the invention of anything that is passed off as factual violates an implicit contract between the historian and the reader: whether or not we are certified as professionals by the award of a PhD, we historians should never fabricate evidence.

²⁴ Four editions of *Les amours de Zeokinizul, roi des Kofirans: Ouvrage traduit de l'Arabe du voyageur Krinelbol* (Amsterdam, 1747, 1747, 1748, and 1770) can be consulted in the BNF, Lb38.554.A-D. All but the first have elaborate keys, usually inserted into the binding from a separate copy, sometimes with manuscript notes. Some notes also appear in the margins of this and the other three works, which also have keys.

<i>Kismare</i>	Marquise.
<i>Kofir</i>	Paris.
<i>Kofrans</i>	François.
<i>Kranfs</i>	Francs.
<i>Krinelbol</i>	Crebillon.
L	
<i>Lenertoula</i>	la Tournelle.
<i>Leofanil</i>	Noailles.
<i>Leutinmil</i>	Ventimille.
<i>Liamil</i>	Mailli.
<i>Liegnelau</i>	l'Evangile.
<i>Lundamberk</i> (<i>Kam</i> de)	le Duc de Cumberland.
M	
<i>Manoris</i>	Romains.
<i>Maregins</i>	Germaines ou Allemands.
<i>Meani</i> (<i>Kam</i> de)	le Duc du Maine.
N	
<i>Neitilane</i>	Italienne.
<i>Nbir</i>	le Rhin.
<i>Nodais</i>	Danois.
O	
<i>Omeriserufs</i>	Sou-Fermiers.
<i>Ourtavan</i>	Vantadour.
P	
<i>Pemenrals</i>	Parlement.
<i>Pepa</i>	Pape.
R	
<i>Reinarol</i>	Lorraine.
S	
<i>Sefems</i>	Messes.
<i>Sicidem</i>	Medicis.
<i>Sokans</i>	Saxons.

<i>Suefi</i>	Jefus.
T	
<i>Tesoulou</i>	Touloufe.
<i>Tueska</i>	l'Escaut.
V	
<i>Vameric</i>	Maurice Comte de Saxe.
<i>Visir (un)</i>	Mr. de Maurepas.
<i>Vorompdap</i>	Pompadour.
<i>Vofaie</i>	Savoie.
Z	
<i>Zeokinizul</i>	Louis quinze.
<i>Zeocirizul</i>	Louis treize.
<i>Zekitarafoul</i>	Louis quatorze.

Le traducteur (*Crebillon*) s'est trompé, si on en croit une méchante histoire de la favorite qui vient de paroître. *Vorompdap* est demeurée fidèle au Roi, le quel a recompensé son amour par sa constance; son Epoux vit Voluptueusement dans un palais magnifique éloigné seulement de quelques lieues de *Koffi*; la gazette dit qu'en 1764 il a chassé les prémices de la célèbre *Volzika*, jeune merveille de l'Opéra qui fait depuis long-temps les délices du public. Peut être qu'il y avoit une lacune dans le manuscrit, notre auteur les aime, car il a bien dit du mal des femmes; on sait d'ailleurs que les Orphelins lui reprochent qu'il ne finit pas bien ses ouvrages. Ah! quel conte!

FIGURE 7: Part of a key to the anagrams in *Les amours de Zeokinizul, roi des Kofrans: Ouvrage traduit de l'Arabe du voyageur Krinelbol* (Amsterdam, 1746), attributed to Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle and to Claude-Prospér Jolyot de Crebillon, fils. Photo courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

references are obvious, but others are ambiguous, and some are unexplained. In fact, the keys occasionally contradict each other or contain manuscript corrections. So reading with a key becomes a kind of puzzle-solving; and the heart of the mystery turns out in the end to be "le secret du roi"—the private life of the king, which is the ultimate mainspring of power. The *Vie privée de Louis XV*, a best-selling *libelle* of the 1780s, incorporated all this literature from the 1740s, often word for word, in a four-volume history of the entire reign.

Sophisticated literature of this sort might seem to be far removed from the raw gossip that coursed through the cafés, but by 1750 these "public noises" conveyed the same themes: the ignominy of the king, the degradation of him by his mistresses, and the manipulation of the mistresses by vile courtiers. Consider a few examples taken from police reports on what Parisians were saying about Mme. de Pompadour in 1749:²⁵

Le Bret: After running down Mme. de Pompadour by loose talk in various locales, he said that she had driven the king crazy by putting all sorts of notions in his head. The bitch is

²⁵ The following quotations come from BNF, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1891, fols. 421, 431, 433, 437.

raising hell, he said, because of some poems that attack her. Does she expect to be praised while she is wallowing in crime?

Jean-Louis Le Clerc: Made the following remarks in the Café de Procope: That there never has been a worse king; that the court, the ministers and the Pompadour make the king do shameful things, which utterly disgust his people.

François Philippe Merlet: Accused of having said in the tennis court of Veuve Gosseume that Richelieu and the Pompadour were destroying the reputation of the king; that he was not well regarded by his people, since he was driving them to ruin; and that he had better beware, because the twentieth tax could cause some mischief to befall him.

Fleur de Montagne: Among other things, he said that the king's extravagant expenditures showed that he didn't give a f— for his people; that he knows they are destitute and yet he is piling on another tax, as if to thank them for all the services they have rendered him. They must be crazy in France, he added, to put up with . . . He whispered the rest into someone's ear.

The congruence of themes from the *mauvais propos* and the *libelles* should not be surprising, because talking and reading about private lives and public affairs were inseparable activities. It was a public reading of a *libelle* that touched off the seditious talk in the wigmaker's shop. Moreover, "public noises" fed into the confection of the texts. According to the police, the *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de Perse* was generated from the information gathered in the circle of Mme. de Vieuxmaison, much as the *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France* came out of the salon of Mme. Doublet. Mme. de Vieuxmaison appears in the police files as "small, very white, blond, with a perfidious physiognomy . . . She is very clever and being [also] very wicked, she writes poems and couplets against everyone . . . Her circle . . . is the most dangerous in Paris and is strongly suspected of having produced the *Anecdotes de Perse*."²⁶

The most remarkable example of talk translated into text was *Tanastès*, a *roman à clef* about the king and the three sisters by Marie Madeleine Joseph Bonafon, a twenty-eight-year-old chambermaid in Versailles. The police could not believe that a female domestic servant could compose such a work. Having traced it back to her, locked her into the Bastille, and summoned her for cross-examination, they found themselves faced with an enigma: a working-woman author—could it be true? They kept returning to this question in the interrogations. Had Mlle. Bonafon really written books? they asked. Yes, she replied, and she named them: *Tanastès*, the beginning of another novel entitled *Le baron de XXX*, several poems, and three unpublished plays. Baffled, the police continued questioning:

Asked what it was that gave her a taste for writing? Hadn't she consulted someone who was familiar with the composition of books in order to learn how to go about organizing the ones she intended to write?

Answered that she did not consult anyone; that since she reads a great deal, this had given her a desire to write; that she had imagined, moreover, that she could make a little money by writing . . .

²⁶ BNF, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 10783.

Had she written the book out of her own imagination? Hadn't someone supplied her with written material to work over? Who was it that had given [that material] to her?

Replied that no memoirs had been given to her, that she had composed her book by herself, that in fact she had fashioned it in her imagination. Agreed, however, that having her head full of what people were saying in public about what had happened during and after the king's illness, she had tried to make some use of it in her book.²⁷

Once it began to circulate, the book—and especially the key, which was printed and sold separately—reinforced the “public noises.” From talk to print to talk, the process built on itself dialectically, accumulating force and spreading ever wider. It is difficult to follow, owing to the sparseness of evidence about oral exchanges that occurred 250 years ago. But enough documentation has survived to suggest that by 1750 the talk of the town had turned decisively against the king.

NOW LET'S CONSIDER SONGS. They, too, were an important medium for communicating news. Parisians commonly composed verse about current events and set it to popular tunes such as “Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre” (“The Bear Went Over the Mountain” in America, “For He's a Jolly Good Fellow” in England). Songs served as mnemonic devices. In a society that remained largely illiterate, they provided a powerful means of transmitting messages, one that probably functioned more effectively in eighteenth-century Paris than commercial jingles do in America today. Parisians of all stripes, from sophisticated salon lions to simple apprentices, shared a common repertory of tunes, and anyone with a bit of wit could improvise couplets, or the standard French ballad made up of eight-syllable lines with interlocking rhymes, to melodies carried in the head. As Louis-Sébastien Mercier remarked, “No event takes place that is not duly registered in the form of a *vaudeville* [popular song] by the irreverent populace.”²⁸

Some songs originated in the court, but they reached the common people, and the common people sang back. Artisans composed songs and sang them at work, adding new verses to old tunes as the occasion arose. Charles Simon Favart, the greatest librettist of the century, got his start as a boy by putting words to popular melodies while rhythmically kneading the dough in his father's bakery. He and his friends—Charles Collé, Pierre Gallet, Alexis Piron, Charles-François Panard, Jean-Joseph Vadé, Toussaint-Gaspard Taconnet, Nicolas Fromaget, Christophe-Barthélemy Fagan, Gabriel Charles Lattaignant, François-Augustin Paradis de Moncrif—

²⁷ BA, ms. 11582, fols. 55–57. See also Mlle. Bonafons' remarks in her second interrogation, fols. 79–80: “A elle représenté qu'il y a dans cet ouvrage des faits particuliers dont son état ne lui permettait pas naturellement d'avoir connaissance. Interpellée de nous déclarer par qui elle en a été instruite. A dit qu'il ne lui a été fourni aucuns mémoires ni donné aucuns conseils, et que c'est les bruits publics et le hazard qui l'ont déterminée à insérer dans l'ouvrage ce qui s'y trouve.”

²⁸ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, new edn. (Neuchâtel, 1788), 1: 282. Mercier also remarked (6: 40): “Ainsi à Paris tout est matière à chanson; et quiconque, maréchal de France ou pendu, n'a pas été chanssonné a beau faire, il demeurera inconnu au peuple.” Among the many historical studies of French songs, see especially Emile Raunié, *Chansonnier historique du XVIII^e siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1879–84); Patrice Coirault, *Formation de nos chansons folkloriques*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1953); Rolf Reichardt and Herbert Schneider, “Chanson et musique populaire devant l'histoire à la fin de l'Ancien Régime,” *Dix-huitième siècle* 18 (1986): 117–44; and Giles Barber, “‘Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre’ or, How History Reaches the Nursery,” in Gillian Avery and Julia Briggs, eds., *Children and Their Books: A Collection of Essays to Celebrate the Work of Iona and Peter Opie* (Oxford, 1989), 135–63.

outdid each other at improvising bawdy ballads and drinking songs at first in Gallet's grocery store, later in the Café du Caveau. Their songs made the rounds of taverns, echoed in the streets, and found their way into popular theaters—at the Foire Saint-Germain, along the vaudeville shows of the boulevards, and ultimately in the Opéra Comique. At a more plebeian level, ragged street-singers, playing fiddles and hurdy-gurdies, entertained crowds at the Pont Neuf, the Quai des Augustins, and other strategic locations. Paris was suffused with songs. In fact, as the saying went, the entire kingdom could be described as “an absolute monarchy tempered by songs.”²⁹

In such an environment, a catchy song could spread like wildfire; and, as it spread, it grew—inevitably, because it acquired new phrasing in the course of oral transmission and because everyone could join in the game of grafting new stanzas onto the old. The new verses were scribbled on scraps of paper and traded in cafés just like the poems and anecdotes diffused by the *nouvellistes*. When the police frisked prisoners in the Bastille, they confiscated large quantities of this material, which can still be inspected in boxes at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal—tiny bits of paper covered with scribbling and carried about triumphantly, until the fatal moment when a police inspector, armed with a *lettre de cachet*, commanded, “Empty your pockets.”³⁰ A typical scrap of verse, the latest stanzas to “Qu'une bâtarde de catin”—one of the most popular songs attacking Mme. de Pompadour, the king, and court—was seized from the upper left vest pocket of Pidansat de Mairobert during his interrogation in the Bastille.³¹

Mairobert lived like a literary hack—“rue des Cordeliers, at a laundrywoman's place on the third floor,” according to his police dossier—and described himself as “without fortune, reduced to what he could provide by his talent.”³² But he frequented the elegant company in Mme. Doublet's salon, and other song collectors belonged to the highest ranks of the court. The greatest of them all was the comte de Maurepas, minister of the navy and the king's household, one of the most powerful men in Versailles. Maurepas epitomized the court style of politics under Louis XV. Witty, canny, and unscrupulous, he covered his maneuvering with an air of gaiety that endeared him to the king. He also held on to Louis'

²⁹ This *bon mot* may have been coined by Sébastien-Roch Nicolas Chamfort: see Raunié, *Chansonnier historique*, 1: i.

³⁰ One box in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 10319, contains dozens of these snippets, thrown together helter-skelter, which comment in rhyme on all sorts of current events: the amorous adventures of the regent, Law's fiscal system, the battles of the Jansenists and Jesuits, the tax reforms of the abbé Terray, the judicial reforms of the chancellor Maupeou—set to all kinds of popular tunes: “La béquille du Père Barnabas,” “Réveillez-vous belle endormie,” “Allons cher coeur, point de rigueur,” “J'avais pris femme laide.” The repertory of melodies was inexhaustible, the occasions for drawing on it endless, thanks to the inventiveness of the Parisians and the rumor mill at work in the court.

³¹ BA, ms. 11683, fol. 59, report on the arrest of Mairobert by Joseph d'Hémery, July 2, 1749. The verse on the scrap of paper comes from a separate dossier labeled “68 pièces paraphées.” In a report to the police on July 1, 1749, a spy noted (fol. 55): “Le sieur Mairobert a sur lui des vers contre le roi et contre Mme. de Pompadour. En raisonnant avec lui sur le risque que court l'auteur de pareils écrits, il répondit qu'il n'en courait aucun, qu'il ne s'agissait que d'en glisser dans la poche de quelqu'un dans un café ou au spectacle pour les répandre sans risque ou d'en laisser tomber des copies aux promenades . . . J'ai lieu de penser qu'il en a distribué bon nombre.”

³² BA, ms. 11683, fol. 45.

Apostille du parlement de 89
 Toulouse à l'enregistrement
 de l'édit du vingtième.
 Sans crime on peut habir la foi,
 Chacun son ami de chef soi.
 Duprochain conompre la femme,
 pille, vole n'est plus infame:
 jouir à la fois des trois saurs.
 n'est plus contre les bonnes mœurs.
 De faire ces métamorphoses
 no sçeur n'avions pas l'esprit;
 ce nous attendons un édit
 qui permette toutes ces choses. /
 C
 Signé de Montaleu y^e président.

FIGURE 8: The police lifted this scrap of paper from a pocket of the abbé Guyard when they frisked him in the Bastille on July 10, 1749. The verse was dictated to Guyard by Pierre Sigorgne, a professor in the University of Paris, who had memorized a whole repertory of anti-government songs and poems and declaimed them to his students. This poem, a burlesque edict by the parlement of Toulouse, attacks the recent twentieth tax and various abuses of power, which it attributes to the immorality of the king as exemplified by his affair with the three daughters of the marquis de Nesle. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 11690, 1749.

favor by regaling him with the latest songs, even songs that made fun of Maurepas himself and especially those that ridiculed his rivals.³³

³³ Maurepas' love of songs and poems about current events is mentioned in many contemporary sources. See, for example, Rathery, *Journal et mémoires du marquis d'Argenson*, 5: 446; and Edmond-Jean-François Barbier, *Chronique de la régence et du règne de Louis XV (1718–1763)*, ou *Journal de Barbier, avocat au Parlement de Paris* (Paris, 1858), 4: 362–66.

This was a dangerous game, however, and it backfired. On April 24, 1749, the king dismissed Maurepas from the government and sent him into exile by *lettre de cachet*. Contemporaries interpreted Maurepas' fall as a spectacular upheaval in the power system of Versailles. What had caused it? they asked. The answer, as it appears in letters and diaries, was unanimous: not political conflict, not ideological opposition, not questions of principle or policy or even patronage . . . but songs. One song, in particular, written to the tune, "Quand le péril est agréable":³⁴

Par vos façons nobles et franches,
Iris, vous enchantez nos cœurs;
Sur nos pas vous semez des fleurs.
Mais ce sont des fleurs blanches.

To the modern reader, the text, and the entire episode, is utterly opaque. Translated literally, the song sounds like an innocent exercise in gallantry:

By your noble and free manner,
Iris, you enchant our hearts.
On our path you strew flowers.
But they are white flowers.

To insiders in Versailles, however, the meaning was obvious, and it showed that the current wave of songs had gone beyond the boundaries of the permissible, even among the nastiest wits at court. The song cast Pompadour as Iris (some versions referred to her by her ignoble maiden name, Poisson, "Fish") and alluded to an intimate dinner in the private chambers of the king, where Louis was supposed to be protected from gossip by a barrier of secrecy. The little party consisted of the king, Pompadour, Maurepas, and Pompadour's cousin, Mme. d'Estrades. After arriving with a bouquet of white hyacinths, Pompadour distributed the flowers to her three companions: thus the "white flowers" in the song. But "fleurs blanches" also meant signs of venereal disease in menstrual discharge ("flueurs").³⁵ Of the three witnesses, only Maurepas was capable of turning this episode into verse and leaking it to the court. So whether or not he had actually composed the song, it produced such outrage in the private chambers that he was stripped of power and banished from Versailles.

Of course, there was much more to this than met the ear. Maurepas had enemies, notably his rival in the government, the comte d'Argenson, minister of war and an ally of Mme. de Pompadour. Her position as *maîtresse en titre*, a quasi-official role

³⁴ Rathery, *Journal et mémoires de marquis d'Argenson*, 5: 448, 452, 456. The following version is taken from d'Argenson's account of this episode, 456. See also Barbier, *Chronique*, 4: 361–67; Charles Collé, *Journal et mémoires de Charles Collé* (Paris, 1868), 1: 71; and François Joachim de Pierre, Cardinal de Bernis, *Mémoires et lettres de François-Joachim de Pierre, cardinal de Bernis (1715–1758)* (Paris, 1878), 120. A full and well-informed account of Maurepas' fall, which includes a version of the song that has "Pompadour" in place of "Iris," appears in a manuscript collection of songs in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, ms. 649, 121–27.

³⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (Nîmes, 1778), 1: 526: "FLEURS, au pluriel, se dit pour flueurs et signifie les règles, les purgations des femmes . . . On appelle fleurs blanches une certaine maladie des femmes." Rather than a sexually transmitted disease like gonorrhea, this *maladie* might have been clorosis, or green-sickness.

designated by formal presentation at court, had not yet solidified to the point where she could consider herself invulnerable to gossip. A campaign of derision, orchestrated by Maurepas and conducted by means of songs, might persuade the king to renounce her in order to win back the respect of his subjects. Such at least was the opinion of some Parisians, who noted that the white flower song belonged to a flood of hostile verse that coursed through the city during the first six months of 1749.³⁶

The tide did not turn after the fall of Maurepas—perhaps, according to some observers, because his partisans kept up the crescendo of songs after he had disappeared in order to prove that he had not been responsible for them in the first place. But whatever the tactics pursued at court, the singing in Paris caused the government serious concern. With the backing of the king, d'Argenson organized a campaign to wipe it out. He went into action as soon as he learned that Parisians had taken up a new song with the first line, “Monstre dont la noire furie” (Monster whose black fury), the monster being Louis XV. From the ministry in Versailles to police headquarters in Paris, an order went out: find the author of the verse that began with those words. The order passed down the chain of command from the lieutenant general of police to a squad of inspectors and spies. And before long, Inspector Joseph d'Hémery received a note from an undercover agent: “I know someone who had a copy of the abominable verse against the king in his study a few days ago and who spoke approvingly of them. I can tell you who he is, if you want.”³⁷ Just two sentences, without a signature, on a crumpled piece of paper, but they earned the spy twelve louis d'or, the equivalent of nearly a year's wages for an unskilled laborer, and they triggered an extraordinary poetry-hunt and manhunt, which produced the richest dossiers of literary detective work that I have ever encountered. By following the police as they followed the poem, I will try to reconstruct a network that shows how messages traveled through an oral communication system in eighteenth-century Paris.³⁸

After a good deal of hugger-mugger, the police arrested the person who had possessed a handwritten text of the verse, a medical student named François Bonis. In his interrogation in the Bastille, he said he had got it from a priest, Jean Edouard, who was arrested and said he had got it from another priest, Inguibert de Montange, who was arrested and said he had got it from a third priest, Alexis Dujast, who was arrested and said he had got it from a law student, Jacques Marie Hallaire, who was arrested and said he had got it from a clerk in a notary's office, Denis Louis Jouet, who was arrested . . . and so on down the line, until the trail gave out and the police gave up, fourteen arrests from the beginning. Each arrest generated its own dossier, and each dossier contains new evidence about the modes of communication. The overall pattern can be seen in the flow chart in Figure 9.

³⁶ In addition to the references given above, note 30, see Bernard Cottret and Monique Cottret, “Les chansons du mal-aimé: Raison d'Etat et rumeur publique (1748–1750),” in *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités: Mélanges Robert Mandrou* (Paris, 1985), 303–15.

³⁷ BA, ms. 11690, fol. 66.

³⁸ I have discussed this affair at length in an essay, “Public Opinion and Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” to be published sometime in 2001 by the European Science Foundation. Its text, which contains references to a great deal of source material, can be consulted in the electronic version of this essay, on the AHR web site, www.indiana.edu/~ahr. Most of the documentation comes from the dossiers grouped together in BA, ms. 11690.

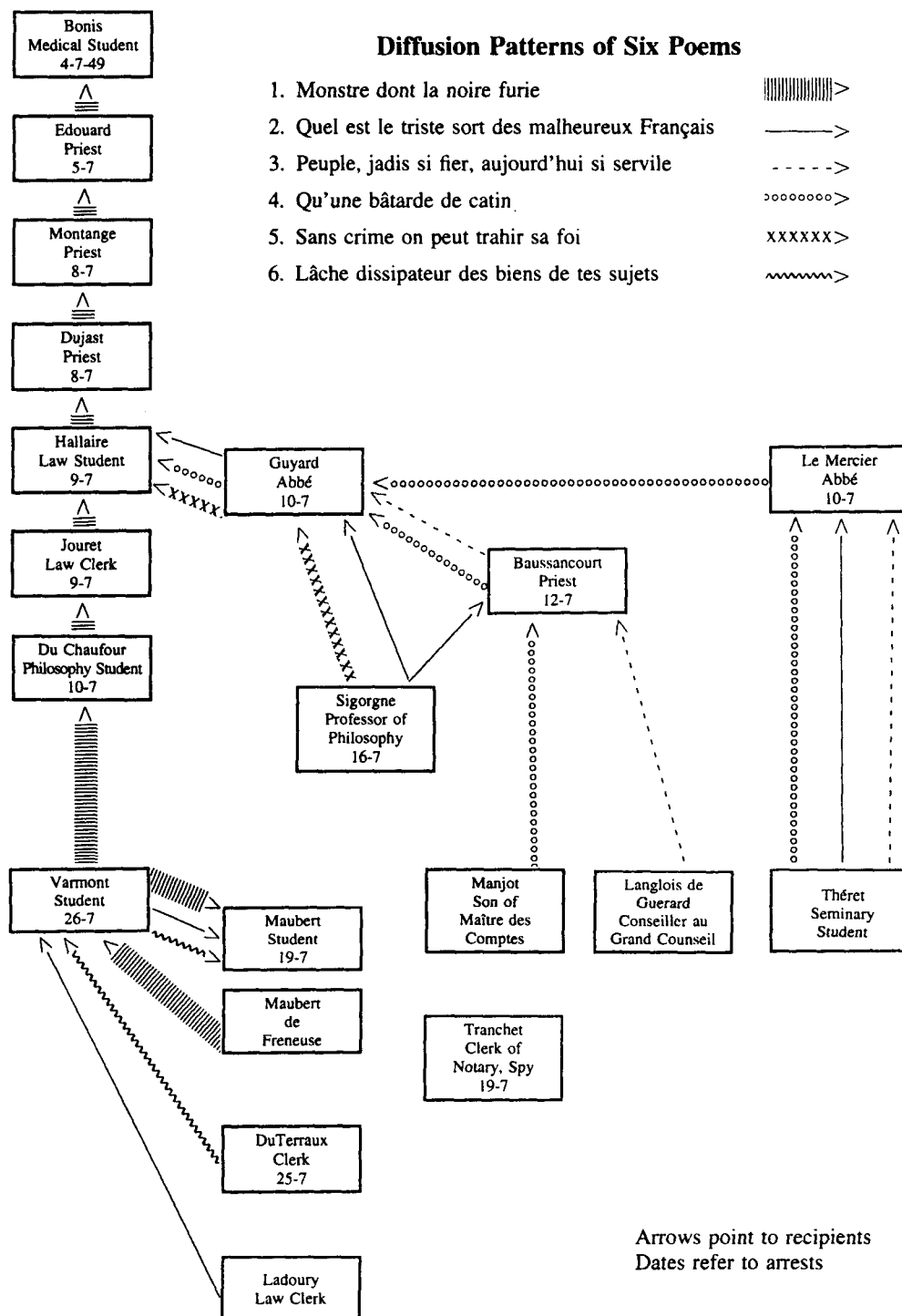


FIGURE 9: The diffusion pattern of six songs and poems.

At first glance, the pattern looks straightforward, and the milieu seems to be homogeneous. The verse (poem 1 on the diagram) was passed along a line of students, priests, lawyers, notaries, and clerks, most of them friends and all of them young—between sixteen and thirty-one, generally in their early twenties. The verse itself gave off a corresponding odor, at least to the comte d'Argenson, who returned a copy to the lieutenant general of police with a note describing it as an "infamous piece, which seems to me, as to you, to smell of pedantry and the Latin Quarter."³⁹ But the picture became more complicated as the investigation broadened. When it reached Hallaire, the fifth person from the top of the diagram, the path of the poetry bifurcated. Hallaire had received three other poems from the abbé Guyard, who in turn had three further suppliers, who had suppliers of their own, and so on, until the police found themselves tracking a total of six poems and songs, one more seditious than the next (at least in the eyes of the authorities) and each with its own diffusion pattern.

In the end, they filled the Bastille with fourteen purveyors of poetry—hence the name of the operation in the dossiers, "The Affair of the Fourteen." They never found the author of the original verse. In fact, it may not have had an author at all, not because Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault have told us that the author is dead, but because people added and subtracted stanzas and modified phrasing as they pleased. It was a case of collective creation; and the first poem overlapped and intersected with so many others that, taken together, they created a field of poetic impulses, bouncing from one transmission point to another and filling the air with *mauvais propos*, a cacaphony of sedition set to rhyme.

The interrogations of the suspects in the Bastille provide a picture of the settings in which the verse circulated as well as the modes of their transmission. At each point, the poetry readings were accompanied by discussion. Bonis said that he had copied the first poem in the Hôtel-Dieu, where he had found a friend deep in conversation with a priest. "The conversation turned on the subject matter of the gazettes; and this priest, saying that someone had been so wicked as to write some satirical verses about the king, pulled out a poem attacking His Majesty."⁴⁰ Hallaire testified that he had made his copy during a dinner with some friends in the house of his father, a silk merchant in the rue Saint-Denis. Montange copied the poem after hearing it read aloud during a bull session in the dining hall of his college. Pierre Sigorgne, a professor at the Collège Du Plessis, dictated two of the poems to his students: it was a political *dictée* in the heart of the University of Paris! Sigorgne knew the poems by heart, and one of them had eighty-four lines. The art of memory was still flourishing in eighteenth-century Paris, and in several cases it was reinforced by the greatest mnemonic device of all, music; for some of the poems were composed to fit the rhythms of popular tunes, and they circulated by means of singing, along with the songs that came from the court and that had provoked the investigation in the first place.

Whether sung or declaimed from memory, the verse was copied on scraps of paper, which were carried about in pockets and swapped for other verse. The texts

³⁹ Marc Pierre de Voyer de Paulmy, Comte d'Argenson, to Nicolas René Berryer, June 26, 1749, BA, ms. 11690, fol. 42.

⁴⁰ "Interrogatoire du sieur Bonis," July 4, 1749, BA, ms. 11690, fols. 46–47.

soon found their way into manuscript gazettes and, finally, into print. The two longest poems, “Quel est le triste sort des malheureux Français” (What is the sad lot of the unhappy French) and “Peuple, jadis si fier, aujourd’hui si servile” (People, once so proud, today so servile), appeared prominently in *Vie privée de Louis XV*, the hostile history of the reign that became a bestseller in the 1780s. In discussing the outburst of songs and poems in 1749, it observed:

It was at this shameful time that the general scorn for the sovereign and his mistress began to become manifest, then continued to grow until the end of the reign . . . This scorn broke out for the first time in some satirical verse about the outrage committed to Prince Edward [Charles Edward Stuart, or Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender, who was arrested in Paris on December 10, 1748 and expelled from the kingdom in accordance with the British demands accepted by France in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle], where Louis XV is addressed in a passage that compares him with that illustrious exile:

Il est roi dans les fers; qu’êtes-vous sur le trône?
[He is a king in irons; what are you on the throne?]

And then, in an apostrophe to the nation:

Peuple, jadis si fier, aujourd’hui si servile,
Des princes malheureux vous n’êtes plus l’asile!

[People, once so proud, today so servile,
You no longer provide a sanctuary for unhappy princes!]

The eagerness of the public to seek out these pieces, to learn them by heart, to communicate them to one another, proved that the readers adopted the sentiments of the poet. Madame de Pompadour wasn’t spared, either . . . She ordered a drastic search for the authors, peddlers, and distributors of these pamphlets, and the Bastille was soon full of prisoners.⁴¹

In short, the communication process took place by several modes in many settings. It always involved discussion and sociability, so it was not simply a matter of messages transmitted down a line of diffusion to passive recipients but rather a process of assimilating and reworking information in groups—that is, the creation of collective consciousness or public opinion. If you will tolerate some jargon, you could think of it as a multi-media feedback system. But that sounds rather fancy. I merely want to signal you that there are theoretical issues at stake in this kind of study and that in pursuing it I have drawn on the sociology of communication developed by Elihu Katz and Gabriel Tarde rather than the more vogueish theories of Jürgen Habermas.⁴²

⁴¹ *Vie privée de Louis XV, ou principaux événements, particularités et anecdotes de son règne* (London, 1781), 2: 301–02. See also *Les fastes de Louis XV, de ses ministres, maîtresses, généraux et autres notables personnages de son règne* (Villefranche, 1782), 1: 333–40.

⁴² My own understanding of this field owes a great deal to conversations with Robert Merton and Elihu Katz. On Gabriel Tarde, see his dated but still stimulating work, *L’opinion et la foule* (Paris,

But to return to the medium of singing, the song that circulated most actively among the Fourteen, “Qu’une bâtarde de catin,” typified the ballads that had the most popular appeal in Paris. Its simple, eight-syllable lines fit a common tune, “Quand mon amant me fait la cour,” which was also identified in some sources as “Dirai-je mon Confiteor?” The “catin” (strumpet) in the first line was Mme. de Pompadour. And the catchy refrain, “Ah! le voilà, ah! le voici / Celui qui n’en a nul souci,” pointed a finger at the king, clueless, carefree Louis. The first verse went as follows:⁴³

Qu’une bâtarde de catin
A la cour se voie avancée,
Que dans l’amour et dans le vin,
Louis cherche une gloire aisée,
Ah! le voilà, ah! le voici
Celui qui n’en a nul souci.

[That a bastard strumpet
Should get ahead in the court,
That in love and wine
Louis should seek some easy glory,
Ah! there he is, ah! there he is
He who doesn’t have a care.]

Each verse satirized a public figure. After Pompadour and the king, the song worked its way down through ministers, generals, prelates, and courtiers. Everyone appeared incompetent or corrupt; and in each case, the refrain reiterated the song’s main theme: that the king, who should have taken responsibility for the welfare of his people, paid no heed to anything but drink and sex. While the kingdom went to hell, Louis remained “he who doesn’t have a care.” Although I cannot prove it, I think the song suggests a children’s game—the kind where one person stands in the middle of a circle and the rest join hands and skip around him singing “the farmer in the dell” or “the cheese stands alone”—except here the singing is pure mockery: the king is the ultimate idiot.

The verses cover all the major events and political issues between 1748 and 1750, and the versification is so simple that new subjects of mockery could easily be added as events evolved. That is exactly what happened, as you can see by comparing all the surviving versions of the song. I have found nine, scattered through various

1901); and Terry N. Clark, ed., *On Communication and Social Influence* (Chicago, 1969). For my part, I find Habermas’s notion of the public sphere valid enough as a conceptual tool; but I think that some of his followers make the mistake of reifying it, so that it becomes an active agent in history, an actual force that produces actual effects—including, in some cases, the French Revolution. For some stimulating and sympathetic discussion of the Habermas thesis, see Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

⁴³ I have located and compared the texts of nine manuscript versions of this song. The first verse, quoted below and reproduced in Figure 10, comes from the scrap of paper taken from the pockets of Christophe Guyard during his interrogation in the Bastille: BA, ms. 11690, fols. 67–68. The other texts come from: BA, ms. 11683, fol. 134; ms. 11683, fol. 132; BNF, ms. fr. 12717, pp. 1–3; ms. 12718, p. 53; ms. 12719, p. 83; Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, ms. 648, pp. 393–96; ms. 649, pp. 70–74; and ms. 580, pp. 248–49.

manuscript collections. They contain from six to twenty-three verses, the later ones alluding to the most recent events such as the notorious cuckolding of the tax farmer A.-J.-J. Le Riche de La Popelinière by the duc de Richelieu in the spring of 1750. Furthermore, if you compare different versions of the same verse, you can find small differences in phrasing, which probably bear the mark of the oral diffusion process, since variations crept in as the song passed from one singer to another. The Parisians may not have been signers of tales, like the Serbs studied by Albert Lord, but they were singers of news.⁴⁴ “Qu’une bâtarde de catin” contained so much news and commentary that it can be considered a sung newspaper.

But it should not be considered in isolation, because it belonged to a vast corpus of songs, which extended nearly everywhere in Paris and covered virtually everything of interest to Parisians. It is impossible to measure the size of this corpus, but we can get some idea of its dimensions by examining all the evidence that remains in the archives. When consigned to writing, the songs first appeared on slips of paper like that in Figure 10, which contains a selection of verses from “Qu’une bâtarde de catin” and came from a pocket of Christophe Guyard, one of the Fourteen, when he was frisked in the Bastille. As already explained, a similar scrap of paper, also with verses from “Qu’une bâtarde de catin,” was confiscated from a pocket of Mairobert. He had no connection with the Fourteen, so he probably acquired the song by tapping into another network. And seven other copies, which have turned up in various libraries, probably came from still other sources. In short, the song had traveled through many channels of diffusion, and the network of the Fourteen was but a small segment of a very large whole.

How large? Consider the next category of evidence: collections. Many Parisians picked up scraps of paper scribbled with verse from cafés and public gardens, then stored them in their apartments. The police found sixty-eight of these snippets—songs, poems, scribbling of all sorts—when they searched Mairobert’s room. Wealthier collectors had their secretaries transcribe this material into well-ordered registers, known as *chansonnières*. The most famous of these, the “Chansonnier Maurepas,” contains Maurepas’ own collection and runs to thirty-five volumes.⁴⁵ By studying it and seven other *chansonnières* from the mid-century years, I have formed a rough idea of how many songs existed at that time and which ones were the most popular. The richest source, a twelve-volume collection in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris entitled “Oeuvres diaboliques pour servir à l’histoire du temps,” contains 641 songs and poems from the period 1745–1751 and 264 that date from the end of 1748 to the beginning of 1751.⁴⁶ It seems clear, therefore, that the six songs and poems exchanged among the Fourteen constituted only a tiny fraction of a gigantic repertory, but they show up everywhere in the *chansonnières*, along with a host of other songs and poems on the same subjects. “Qu’une bâtarde de catin” appears most often, eight times in all. It can be taken as a fairly representative example of what Parisians sung in the middle of the century.

A final run of documents makes it possible for us to have some notion of what the

⁴⁴ Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), shows how the rhythms of poetry and music contribute to the extraordinary feats of memorizing epic poems.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the *chansonnier* Maurepas stops in 1747, but the even richer *chansonnier* Clairambault extends through the mid-century years: BNF, mss. fr. 12717–20.

⁴⁶ Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, mss. 648–50.

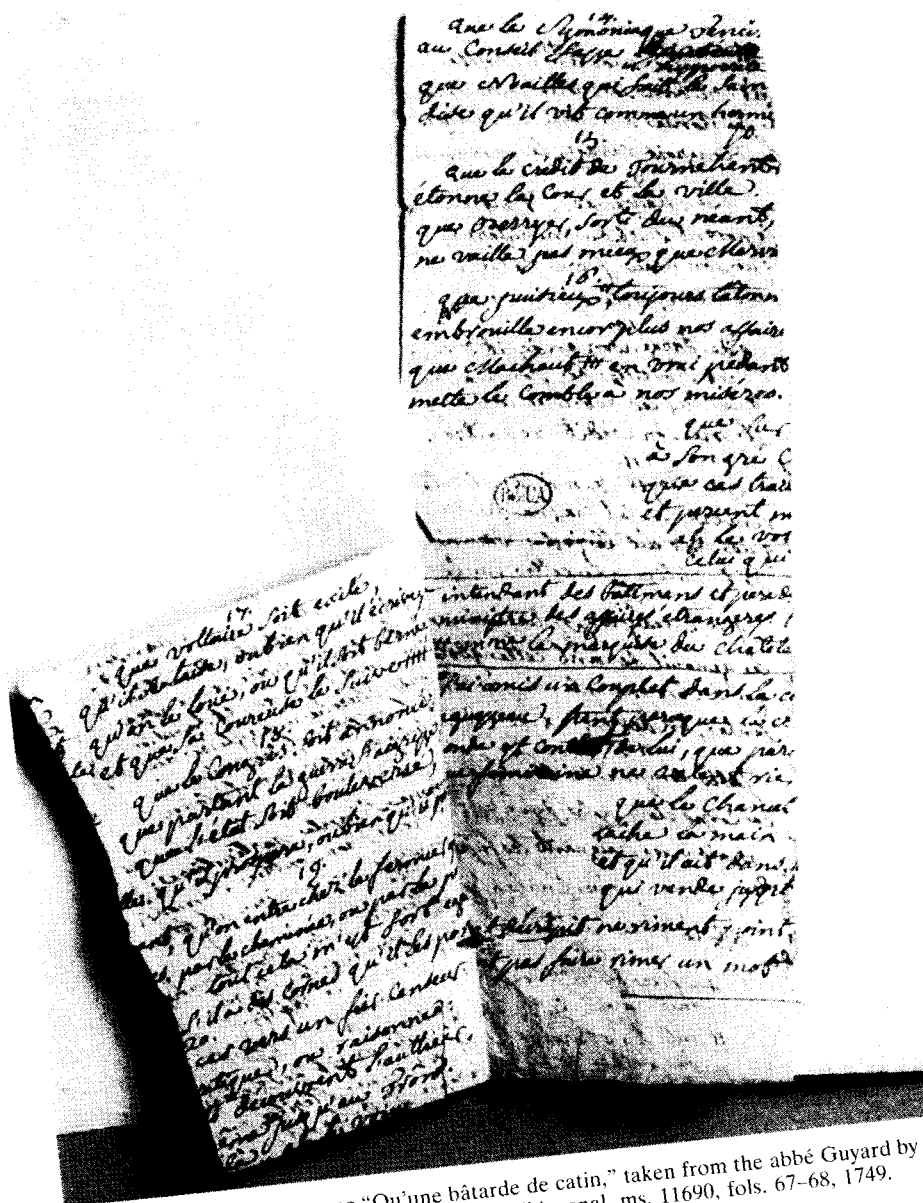


FIGURE 10: Some verses from the song "Qu'une bâtarde de catin," taken from the abbé Guyard by the police when they frisked him in the Bastille. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 11690, fols. 67-68, 1749.

Parisians heard. Of course, the sounds themselves disappeared into the air 250 years ago, and they cannot be duplicated exactly today. But a series of musical "keys," such as "La clef du Caveau" in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, contain the actual music to the tunes cited in the *chansonniers*.⁴⁷ I am incapable of

⁴⁷ P. Capelle, *La clef du Caveau, à l'usage de tous les chansonniers français* (Paris, 1816); and J.-B. Christophe Ballard, *La clef des chansonniers* (Paris, 1717). Most of the other "keys" are anonymous manuscripts available in the Fonds Weckerlin of the BNF. The most important for this research project are *Recueil d'anciens vaudevilles, romances, chansons galantes et grivoises, brunettes, airs tendres* (1729) and *Recueil de timbres de vaudevilles notés de La Coquette sans le savoir et autres pièces à vaudeville*

translating this manuscript into sound, but H  l  ne Delavault, a gifted opera singer and cabaret performer from Paris, will sing a dozen of these songs in a cabaret-style concert following this lecture. All of them concern current events from 1749, and two—the two I have just discussed, “Par vos fa  ons nobles et franchises” and “Qu’une b  tarde de catin”—come directly out of the Affair of the Fourteen. Anyone who reads this lecture in the new, electronic edition of the *American Historical Review* will be able to hear Mme. Delavault’s recording of the songs by clicking on a hyperlink. In short, technology from the age of information in 2000 can provide new access to the age of information in 1750. It can make history sing.

BUT I AM BEGINNING TO SOUND LIKE A COMMERCIAL, and I have not yet reached the end of my talk. Perhaps it would be helpful if I paused at this point in order to try to clear a way through the difficulties inherent in the history of communication by asserting three preliminary conclusions, all of them unfortunately negative:

First, it makes no sense, I think, to separate printed from oral and written modes of communication, as we casually do when we speak of “print culture,” because they were all bound together in a multi-media system. Nor, second, does it serve any purpose to derive one mode of communication from another, as if our task, like that of the police, was to trace a message to its source. It was the spread of the message that mattered—not its origin but its amplification, the way it reached the public and ultimately took hold. That process should be understood as a matter of feedback and convergence, rather than one of trickling down and linear causality. Third, it is equally misleading to distinguish separate realms of popular and elite culture. Despite the stratified character of Parisian society under the Old Regime, its publics crossed paths and rubbed elbows everywhere. They were mixed. In studying communication, I recommend that we look for mixtures, of milieus as well as media.

Having delivered myself of those imperatives, I realize that I am still far from my goal, and I have only a few pages left to get there. Until now, I have merely described what news was and the way it was transmitted, not how people made sense of it. That last step is the most difficult, because it has to do with reception as well as diffusion. We have plenty of reception theory but very little evidence about how reception actually took place. I cannot come up with a solution to that problem, but I may have found a detour that will help us get around it.

Let’s consider once more the “news flash” about Louis XV’s coffee spilling. How can we know what eighteenth-century readers made of it? We have no record of their reactions. But we can study the way the text works, the manner in which it fits into the book *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry*, and the book’s place in a corpus of related texts, which provided the basic fund of information about current events and contemporary history to the general reading public.

I would begin with the key phrase, “La France! Ton caf   fout le camp.” It would have sounded particularly shocking to eighteenth-century ears, because “La

(n.d.). For help in locating this music, I would like to thank H  l  ne Delavault, G  rard Carreau, and Andrew Clark. H  l  ne Delavault has recorded fourteen of the songs that circulated in Paris during the political crisis of 1749–1750, and the songs and lyrics are available on the *AHR* web site.

France” evoked a particular meaning in the social code of the time. Lackeys were often called by the province of their origin. So by shouting out “La France” in an unguarded moment, du Barry was calling the king her lackey.⁴⁸ She did so in a spectacularly vulgar manner, one that could be taken to reveal the plebeian nature beneath her courtly veneer; for “fout le camp” was the language of the brothel, not the court. Similar outbursts of vulgarity occur throughout the book. In fact, they constitute its central theme. *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* was a classic *libelle*, organized according to the formula that I mentioned earlier: from the brothel to the throne. Du Barry sleeps her way to the top, using tricks she picked up in the whorehouse to revive the exhausted libido of the old king and thus to dominate the kingdom. She is a sluttish Cinderella and therefore different from all previous royal mistresses—or all since Mme. de Pompadour, née Poisson—who, whatever their morals, were at least ladies. This theme is summed up by a song—one of many songs printed in the book—which includes the lines:

Tous nos laquais l'avaient eue,
Lorsque traînant dans la rue,
Vingt sols offerts à sa vue
La déterminaient d'abord.

[All our lackeys had her
In the days when she walked the streets,
And twenty sols offered up front
Made her accept at once.]⁴⁹

The rhetoric plays on the assumption that readers wanted their kings to be discriminating in their gallantry, just as they were expected to be heroic in war, regal in court, and pious in church. Louis XV failed on all counts, although he got high marks for his bravery at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745. He was the antithesis of France's favorite king, Henri IV. And he was reviled in the book, not because the author held him up to any radical or republican standard of statecraft but because he had not been kingly enough. Thus a second leitmotiv that runs throughout the text: the degradation of the monarchy. At every point, the narrative dwells on the profanation of royal symbols and the person of the king himself. The scepter, it says, has become as feeble as the royal penis.⁵⁰

This was strong language for an age that treated kings as sacred beings directly ordained to rule by God and invested with the royal touch. But Louis had lost his touch, as I explained earlier. *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* compounded that loss by presenting him as an ordinary mortal—or worse, as a dirty old man. At the same time, it invited the reader to enjoy the *frisson* of seeing into the innermost chambers of Versailles, into the *secret du roi* itself, even to observe the king between the sheets. For that is where the great affairs of state were decided—the fall of Choiseul, the partition of Poland, the destruction of France's judicial system by the

⁴⁸ Louis Petit de Bachaumont, the doyen of Mme. Doublet's salon, had a lackey known as “France”: see Funck-Brentano, *Figaro et ses devanciers*, 264.

⁴⁹ *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry*, 167.

⁵⁰ *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry*, 76.

chancellor Maupeou, everything that would have warranted a banner headline, if there had been headlines, or newspapers with news. In each case, as the story went, du Barry filled the king with drink, dragged him to bed, and got him to sign any edict that had been prepared for her by her evil counselors. This kind of reportage anticipated techniques that would be developed a century later in yellow journalism: it presented the inside story of politics in Versailles; it pictured power struggles as what-the-butler-saw; it reduced complex affairs of state to backstairs intrigue and the royal sex life.

That, of course, was hardly serious history. I would call it folklore. But it had enormous appeal—so much, in fact, that it is still alive today. I found the coffee-spilling episode—with the wrong mistress but the right emphasis on her vulgarity—in a French-Canadian comic book. (See Figure 11.) Instead of dismissing political folklore as trivial, I would take it seriously. In fact, I believe it was a crucial ingredient in the collapse of the Old Regime. But before leaping to that conclusion, I had better retreat to familiar territory: the trade in forbidden books, which I studied in my last round of research. The main results of this study can be summarized in the following bestseller list, which shows which books circulated most widely in the vast underground of illegal literature during the twenty years before the revolution:⁵¹

L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante by L. S. Mercier
*Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry** by M. F. Pidansat de Mairobert
Système de la nature by P. H. Baron d'Holbach
Tableau de Paris by L. S. Mercier
Histoire philosophique by G. T. F. Raynal
*Journal historique de la révolution opérée . . . par M. de Maupeou** by M. F. Pidansat de Mairobert
 and B. J. F. Mouffe d'Angerville
L'Arrétin by H. J. Du Laurens
Lettre philosophique par M. de V—, anonymous
*Mémoires de l'abbé Terray** by J.-B. L. Coquereau
La pucelle d'Orléans by Voltaire
Questions sur l'Encyclopédie by Voltaire
*Mémoires de Louis XV,** anonymous
*L'espion anglais** by M. F. Pidansat de Mairobert
La fille de joie, a translation of *Fanny Hill* by Fougeret de Montbrun (?)
Thérèse philosophe by J.-B. de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens

Five of the top fifteen books on the list, those marked by an asterisk, were *libelles* or *chroniques scandaleuses*, and there were dozens more. A huge corpus of scandalous literature reached readers everywhere in France, although it has been almost completely forgotten today—no doubt because it did not qualify as literature in the eyes of literary critics and librarians. The *libelles* often have impressive literary qualities, nonetheless. *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* made it to the top of the bestseller list because, among other things, it was very well written. Mairobert knew how to tell a story. His text is funny, wicked, shocking, outrageous, and a very good read. I recommend it strongly.

It also looks impressive physically. It comes packaged in an imposing, 346-page

⁵¹ Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, 1995).



FIGURE 11: The coffee-spilling episode as pictured in a modern-day French-Canadian comic book. Mme. de Pompadour is mistakenly substituted for Mme. du Barry. From Léandre Bergeron and Robert Lavaill, *Petit manuel d'histoire de Québec* (n.p., n.d. [1970s]), 48.

tome, complete with a handsome frontispiece and all the appearances of a serious biography. The other *libelles* are often more elaborate. They contain footnotes, appendices, genealogies, and all sorts of documentation. The *Vie privée de Louis XV* provides a four-volume history of the entire reign, more detailed and better documented—for all its scurrility—than many modern histories. The *Journal historique de la révolution opérée . . . par M. de Maupeou* runs to seven volumes;

L'espion anglais runs to ten; *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France* to thirty-six.

These books charted the whole course of contemporary history. In fact, they were the only map available, because political biography and contemporary history—two genres that provide the backbone of our own bestseller lists—did not exist in the legal literature of the Old Regime. They were forbidden.⁵² Contemporaries who wanted to orient themselves by relating the present to the recent past had to turn to libel literature. They had nowhere else to go.

How did that process of orientation take place? If you read your way through the entire corpus of *libelles* and *chroniques scandaleuses*, you find the same traits, the same episodes, and often the same phrases scattered everywhere. The authors drew on common sources and lifted passages from each other's texts as freely as they traded scraps of news in the cafés. It was not a matter of plagiarism, because that notion hardly applied to underground literature, and the books, like the songs, hardly had individual authors. It was a case of rampant intertextuality.

Despite their baroque profusion, the texts can be reduced to a few leitmotifs, which recur throughout the corpus. The court is always sinking deeper into depravity; the ministers are always deceiving the king; the king is always failing to fulfill his role as head of state; the state's power is always being abused; and the common people are always paying the price for the injustices inflicted on them: higher taxes, increased suffering, more discontent, and greater impotence in the face of an arbitrary and all-powerful government. Individual news items like the coffee spilling were stories in themselves. But they also fit into narrative frames of whole books, and the books fit into a meta-narrative that ran through the entire corpus: politics was an endless series of variations on a single theme, decadence and despotism.

True, I don't know how the readers read those books, but I don't think it extravagant to insist on a quality of reading in general: it is an activity that involves making sense of signs by fitting them in frames. Stories provide the most compelling frames. Ordinary people often find meaning in the booming, buzzing confusion of the world around them by telling, hearing, and reading stories. The general readers in eighteenth-century France made sense of politics by incorporating news into the narrative frames provided by the literature of libel. And they were reinforced in their interpretations by the messages they received from all the other media—gossip, poems, songs, prints, jokes, and all the rest.

I HAVE REACHED THE END OF MY ARGUMENT, and I realize that I have not proven it. To drive it home, I must push it in two directions. First, further back into the past. The corpus of *libelle* literature from the 1770s and 1780s grew out of an old tradition, which goes back beyond the Huguenot propaganda against Louis XIV, beyond the seditious libeling of Jules Mazarin (*mazarinades*), and beyond the pamphleteering of the religious wars to the art of insult and rumor-mongering

⁵² Despite their official function, few *historiographes du roi* wrote contemporary history. The exception was Voltaire, whose *Siècle de Louis XV* reads like a political pamphlet in comparison with his magisterial *Siècle de Louis XIV*.

developed in the Renaissance courts. From the political slander of Pietro Aretino onward, this tradition changed and grew, until it culminated in the vast outpouring of *libelles* under Louis XV and Louis XVI.⁵³

Those *libelles* in turn provided a frame for the public's perception of events during the crisis of 1787–1788, which brought down the Old Regime. That is the second direction in which I would take the argument. But to explain how that happened, I will have to write a book, showing how the crisis was construed, day by day, in all the media of the time.

So I am issuing promissory notes instead of arriving at a firm conclusion. But I hope I have said enough to provoke some rethinking of the connections between the media and politics—even politics today. Although I am skeptical about attempts to make history teach lessons, I think the Paris of Louis XV may help us gain some perspective on the Washington of Bill Clinton. How do most Americans orient themselves amidst the political confusion and media blitzes of the year 2000? Not, I fear, by analyzing issues, but from our own variety of political folklore—that is, by telling stories about the private lives of our politicians, just as the French regaled themselves with the *Vie privée de Louis XV*. How can we make sense of it all? Not merely by reading our daily newspaper but by rereading the history of an earlier information age, when the king's secret was exposed beneath the tree of Cracow and the media knit themselves together in a communication system so powerful that it proved to be decisive in the collapse of the regime.

⁵³ I have attempted to sketch the long-term history of *libelles* in *Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, chap. 8.

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The Animated Pain of the Body

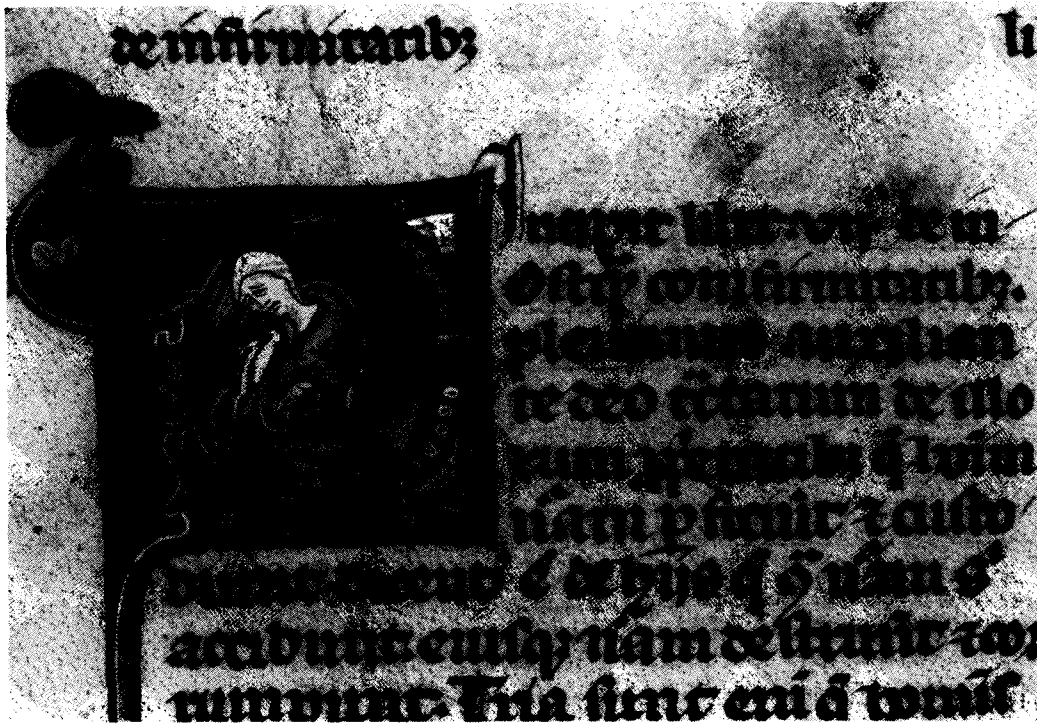
ESTHER COHEN

Among all her other illnesses, the first was a great and continuous headache: because of this it often seemed to her that the back of her head boiled like a pot placed on the fire: and because of her great anguish, it looked to her as though her eyes, full of fire, were about to pop out of her head; and that she could not retain even one of her senses, were it not for the grace of God helping her supernaturally. The second illness oppressed her terribly in the ribs, so that it was impossible for her to describe either in word or in writing, much less for anyone else to understand. Another illness affected her several times with a great pain in her heart, so that it seemed to her that her heart was being squeezed, as an apple is squeezed by hand to express the juice . . . and in this great pain she often remained for the space of four or five hours, and during her anguish she cried out loudly, so that it seemed her life was about to end. Because of those terrible pains, she was weakened.¹

SISTER ALEYDIS, IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY GENT, was eventually cured of her illness and her pains by St. Colette of Corbie (d. 1447). Aleydis herself did not write of her pains; they were related by another sister of the convent of St. Peter, as part of the miraculous cures performed by the saint. That the tale should have been told in extravagantly expressive language and that it should not have been told by the sufferer are both significant and typical of the time and place. The flowery, obsessive description of pain is characteristic of late medieval religious writing in the Low Countries. The sufferer's own silence is typical of a larger phenomenon. Before the days of Erasmus and Montaigne, very few people wrote of their own physical pain. Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) might excuse himself for a belated answer to a letter by pleading ill health, but other than such perfunctory and peripheral statements, very few medieval authors have left evidence of their own

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¹ "Inter alios autem morbus, primus erat magnus et continuus dolor capitis: propter quem visum est ei frequenter, quod cervix sui capitis bulliebat ad modum potti igni suppositi; et ex magna angustia ei videbatur, quod oculi exierant e capite, repleti igne; et quod non posset unum sensuum retinere, nisi gratia Dei supernaturaliter auxiliante. Secundus morbus eam coactabat terribiliter in costis, ut ei esset impossibile verbo vel scripto enarrare, ut posset ab aliquo ad plenum intelligi. Alius vero morbus eam definebat aliquoties cum tam grandi dolore in corde suo, quod ei videbatur cor ita comprimi, sicut pomum inter manus comprimitur, ut succus exprimatur . . . Et in isto tam gravi dolore saepe manebat per spatium quatuor aut quinque horarum, et illa durante angustia alte adeo clamabat, ut videretur vitam debere finire. Una autem vice propter nimios dolores facta est debilis." *Miracula Sanctae Colettæ*, in *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur* (hereafter, *AASS*), 62 vols. (Brussels, 1863–1925), March 1: 593.



Ill man lying on his couch. From Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, Bk. VII, Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 32, fol. 73. Courtesy of the CNRS/IRHT, Paris.

physical sensations.² Even the rare autobiographies we possess dwell far more on mental than on physical anguish.³

The aim of this article is to examine expressions of pain prior to the early modern fashion of verbal articulation. As historians cannot view actual behavior, we are forced to rely on descriptions, which probably depict normative rather than actual behavior. These norms, I would argue, are related to a theoretical matrix of abstract considerations of feelings, especially pain. As both anthropologists and neurologists agree, certain uninhibited expressions of pain and grief are both universal and virtually indistinguishable. Weeping and its facial gestures, the turned-down mouth, the drawn brows, the cry, are common to all humans.⁴ What is neither spontaneous nor uninhibited is the culturally conditioned expression such as specific gestures or immobility, types of vocalization and speech, and behavior patterns. Anthropologists of the body have consistently noted the difference in pain reactions of various ethnic groups. The distinction was not, they claim, in a different pain threshold but in societal norms: "the response to pain in different ethnic groups varies because of

² Gregorius I Papa, *Registrum epistularum*, Ludwig M. Hartmann, ed., 3 vols., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae* (Berlin, 1957), 281, 287.

³ For example, Peter Abelard, *Ad amicum suum consolatoria epistola*, "Abelard's Letter of Consolation to a Friend," J. T. Muckle, ed., *Medieval Studies* 12 (1950): 189–91, 195–202; and Heinrich Suso, *Leben*, chaps. 21–32, *Heinrich Susos deutsche Schriften*, Walter Lehman, ed., 2 vols. (Jena, 1911), 1: 52–82; English trans. by James M. Clark, *The Life of the Servant* (Cambridge, 1952), 63–96.

⁴ Wulf Schiefenhövel, "Perception, Expression and Social Function of Pain," *Science in Context* 8 (1995): 31–46; Paul Ekman, "Biological and Cultural Contributions to Body and Facial Movement," in *The Anthropology of the Body*, John Blacking, ed. (London, 1977), 67–71.

different values associated with the expression of responses to painful stimuli.”⁵ In many cases, an overt expression of pain might invite care and help, which would not be otherwise forthcoming; in such situations, there is indeed a premium placed on overt pain expressions. Furthermore, within each context, there are different prescriptive codes for different hierarchical positions of the sufferer. In Western society, expressions of pain are more acceptable in children than in adults, among women than men, and among lower classes than those who consider themselves elite. And even within those groups, different pain situations indicate different types of behavior. Late Antique women giving birth were allowed to vent their feelings loudly, but when facing martyrdom were expected to display serenity and control.⁶ Similarly, the same modern youth who must not cry out when hurt in a playing field is allowed to display both fear and pain in the dentist’s chair.

It has been a commonplace in the history of Western culture to equate heightened pain sensitivity with a higher degree of development. The assumption was simply that the “cruder” the creature, the less likely it was to feel intensely—or at all—sensations of physical distress. These lesser creatures could come from various types of alterity: European men and women of past ages, non-white races (especially blacks), criminals, and animals.⁷ But the attribution of insensitivity to the “primitive” had nothing to do with the permitted degree of expressivity. To the contrary, the more “highly developed” beings, who felt pain more keenly, were judged also by their ability to master pain and express it in a socially acceptable manner. Those lower on the hierarchical scale were assumed to be more likely to exhibit a lack of control in the face of pain. The combination of sensitivity and restraint, therefore, is the hallmark of civilization.

When Mark Zborowski studied pain and its expression in modern American society, his conclusion—since then hotly debated—was that different ethnic groups even within one society had different norms for expressing pain.⁸ The difference, however, lay not in the type of language or gestures used but in the level of intensity employed to denote pain. The scale ran from stoicism to vociferousness. What was lacking in the description was a vocabulary to denote not only gradations but also

⁵ Ivan Polunin, “The Body’s Signs of Health and Disease,” in Blacking, *Anthropology*, 93; see also Berthold B. Wolff and Sarah Langley, “Cultural Factors and the Response to Pain: A Review,” *American Anthropologist* 70 (1968): 404–501; Weston La Barre, “The Cultural Basis of Emotions and Gestures,” *Journal of Personality* 16 (1947–48): 49–68.

⁶ This belief was best articulated by the martyr Felicitas, who gave birth in jail prior to her execution. The labor was extremely painful, and the future martyr displayed no ability whatsoever to tolerate or control her suffering. However, “what I am suffering [*dolo*] now,” she told the guard who warned her that childbirth was easy compared to the ordeal facing her as yet, “I suffer by myself. But then another will be inside me who will suffer for me, just as I shall be suffering [*passura sum*] for him.” *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Herbert Musurillo, ed. and trans. (Oxford, 1972), 123–25.

⁷ Daniel De Moulin, “A Historical-Phenomenological Study of Bodily Pain in Western Man,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 48 (1974): 540–70; Piero Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria nel diritto comune*, 2 vols. (Milano, 1953–54), 1: 215, expounding his own explanation for the powers of endurance exhibited by criminals under torture: “Nè si può dire improbabile che molte volte una tale tolleranza dei tormenti fosse dovuta a quell’analgnesia, a quell’insensibilità al dolore fisico, che tra i delinquenti non occasionali è così diffusa per legge di natura”; Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals* (London, 1976), 8–20, 202–34.

⁸ Mark Zborowski, *People in Pain* (San Francisco, 1969), 18–48. For the criticism of Zborowski and his method, see Arthur Kleinman, et al., “Pain as a Human Experience: An Introduction,” in *Pain as Human Experience: An Anthropological Perspective*, Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, et al., eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 1–28.

varieties of pain. For that, anthropologists of pain relied on questionnaires charting an entire typology of pain: burning, stabbing, throbbing, and so on.⁹ The questionnaires, meant to provide patients with a vocabulary of pain, do not address the type of reaction the sensation provoked in the patient: did it cause the sufferer to jump, scream, contort his features, or cry?

Like anthropologists, the few historians dealing with the history of pain have concentrated on management of sensation rather than expression.¹⁰ In this sense, the study of physical pain differs from the study of grief.¹¹ In the latter case, historians and anthropologists have not been content to investigate only the suppression or venting of grief but have examined also the manner of expression. In the case of physical pain, almost all the research has concentrated on the problem of suppression rather than expressive modes. The classic questions of journalism are pertinent here, too. Not only Who, Where, When, and Why did people cry out, but also How? When and how did people bear pain uncomplainingly, under what circumstances did they feel it was permissible to cry out, and in what voice or gestures did they vent their feelings? The very existence of pain expressions and their forms is culturally conditioned, and must be examined within the given historical context.

There are good reasons for historians' avoidance of physical pain expressions. While the sources are rife with descriptions of rage, fear, grief, and other emotions abundantly expressed in body language, few literary sources have left us descriptions such as that of Aleydis. Silence in itself is significant, but the historian wishing to investigate the manner in which people in the past conveyed their physical pain is reduced to analyzing descriptions of expressions, almost invariably given at one remove from the source. Furthermore, one must beware of equating expression with sensations, all the more so since those norms usually belong to the observer, not necessarily the sufferer. Times in which extravagant expressions are acceptable, even praiseworthy, are likely to be seen as periods of greater distress or joy. One speaks of "baroque sensitivity" as though the artistic and literary conventions of the period were true yardsticks of sensation, not of expressive norms. Conversely, groups and eras prohibiting the untrammelled exhibition of pain are likely to be labeled not as stoic but as insensitive. But since we can only see the external expressions, we can study them to double effect. In the first place, they will indicate the norms governing behavior in any given society. Secondly, those same norms will indicate how that given society regards pain. Societies that prize strength and equate the sensation of pain or grief with weakness are most apt to insist on its suppression, while groups accepting pain and grief as normal would not try to do so.¹² The study of pain thus does not belong only in the realm of the history of physiology but also in the history of human behavior.¹³

⁹ *Pain Measurement and Assessment*, Ronald Melzack, ed. (New York, 1983), 1-5; Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford, 1985), 7-8.

¹⁰ See, for example, Roselyne Rey, *History of Pain*, Louise Elliott Wallace, J. A. Cadden and S. W. Cadden, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

¹¹ David B. Morris, *The Culture of Pain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 9-12; Scarry, *Body in Pain*, 3-4.

¹² See above, n. 5.

¹³ Andrew Wear, "Historical and Cultural Aspects of Pain," *Bulletin of the Society for the Social History of Medicine* 36 (1985): 7-9.

Physical pain is a highly charged subject in human relations. On the one hand, the naked sensation is a subjective and intransmissible experience.¹⁴ To describe it, sufferers must resort to similes and metaphors, which vary from period to period, in the attempt to convey, however partially, their experience. "It is as though," most descriptions begin.¹⁵ On the other hand, the need to share the unsharable, and as vividly as possible, belongs not only to the sufferers—hoping for relief or empathy—but primarily to society as a whole. Individual intransmissible experiences, if unique and felt by only a select few (such as mystical illumination), can be tolerated, albeit with a certain amount of suspicion. Physical pain, however, is felt by all humanity: felt but not shared. While almost no one (other than those few with neurological impairments) is free from pain, it isolates each one of us within his or her own sensations. Unless it is tamed, socialized, provided with a vocabulary of expressive gestures, and made intelligible in verbal terms, it can be a dangerous tear in the fabric of any society. This is perhaps why many human societies have prized stoicism and control of all pain expressions. The suppression of pain expression became a fundamental behavioral norm for these societies. Other human groups, however, have chosen another alternative: to create a vocabulary of acceptable pain expressions, while forbidding others. Since no verbal expression can fully communicate the physical experience, body language plays an important role in this vocabulary.

The historian possesses a double vision of body language in the past. On the one hand, there is the description of actual behavior, present in those sources that make no attempt to structure the actions of sufferers but merely tell of them. Accounts of illness and cure, for example, might consider pain a corollary to the main narrative, and thus not sufficiently important to construct stereotypes for. On the other hand, there are those sources that will employ or create a specific set of symbolic gestures in order to connote and convey physical pain: theater instructions, art, and poetry. Whether those gestures are congruent with the behavioral norms of expression acceptable within the specific society in which they are prescribed remains to be verified.

Finally, a physical vocabulary of expressive gestures does not emerge in a conceptual vacuum. It is born in the framework of perceptions of pain, its location and function. While the theoretical, learned discourse on the subject very probably did not permeate all strata of society, it is possible to chart certain links. For example, in a period when most theater consists of religious drama, theological theories of pain would be bound to influence public enactments. People absorbing the behavioral norms seen in plays might well let nature imitate art, deliberately copying the same gestures. But would they do so under the stress of physical pain? It will therefore be necessary to investigate the relationship between theory, behavioral prescription, and actual practice.

The history of expressive behavior in the West has yet to be charted. Thus far, a

¹⁴ Scarry, *Body in Pain*, 3–19; David Bakan, *Disease, Pain, and Sacrifice: Toward a Psychology of Suffering* (Chicago, 1968), 59–67.

¹⁵ Linda C. Garro, "Chronic Illness and the Construction of Narratives," in Good, *Pain as Human Experience*, 100–37; for a recent battle with the inexpressibility of pain, see Jeanne Perreault, "'Signified by Pain': Adrienne Rich's Body Tracks," *Auto/Biography Studies* 10 (1995): 87–101. I am indebted to Dr. Rudolph Dekker for this reference.

few turning points have been noted. Judith Perkins and Brent Shaw have already outlined the appearance, in Late Antiquity, of martyrdom's revolutionary ideal, which exalted passive tolerance of pain as a "virile" virtue.¹⁶ Historians of art and culture have long noted the increased intensity of late medieval religious expressivity, beginning with the thirteenth century.¹⁷ Finally, Norbert Elias has posited a growing restraint in Europe's upper classes between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries.¹⁸ Each of these turning points is largely based on a certain type of source material: martyrdom accounts, artistic expression, or handbooks of behavior. While this selectivity in no way invalidates the conclusions, it does leave room for further exploration, especially of the relationships between theories, prescription, and behavior.

In the following, I shall examine those three factors and their interrelationships within the specific cultural context of late medieval Western Europe (the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries). As noted above, expressivity and emotional religiosity have long been known to characterize these centuries. It is therefore a period in which one might also expect a greater variety of physical pain expressions. It is also a period of a considerable corpus of theoretical writings in disciplines concerned with pain, notably law and medicine. The theories informing those expressions, therefore, could stem from the entire body of scholastic writing in several disciplines. A juxtaposition of scholastic writing, whose traditions go back to Antiquity, with prescriptions and descriptions of people in pain can illuminate certain behavioral patterns and their intellectual matrix.

EVER SINCE THE APPEARANCE OF Caroline Walker Bynum's path-breaking *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (1987), the role of the human body in late medieval practical religiosity has attracted the attention of scholars. One of Bynum's most important insights was that late medieval women mystics used their bodies, rather than rejecting or transcending them, in the search for spiritual experience. While this perception has had a tremendous influence on subsequent research, several of its interpreters have chosen to re-divorce the body from the soul. One writes, unwrites, deconstructs, genders, or conceptualizes the body as though it were an inanimate object, separate from the rest of the human experience and identity. While I agree with recent research on the body that all its perceptions are cultural constructs, I maintain that one ought to place the research within the cultural constructs of the period under consideration, not our own. Much of this research refers not to the physical body but to its modern construct, which includes the senses. We tend to associate "physical" sensations such as pain, pleasure, heat, or cold with the body rather than the soul. But did late medieval opinions agree? Were sensations indeed part of the

¹⁶ Judith Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (London, 1995); Brent D. Shaw, "Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs," *Journal of Early Christianity* 4 (1996): 269–312.

¹⁷ Of the best-known classics, see Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, Verzamelde Werken 3 (Haarlem, 1949); Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1925).

¹⁸ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Edmund Jephcott, trans., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978).

body? If not, much of the research about the body will be forced to reevaluate its stance and connect body and soul once more.¹⁹

All major late medieval discourses on pain—in theology, medicine, and law—viewed “physical” pain as a function of the soul.²⁰ What exactly was meant by the term “soul” differed according to the intellectual tradition and context of the writer, but, in all cases, the sensation of pain was not a matter of the body alone. This view was to have a major impact on theories and prescriptive modes of pain expression. Theological discussions of pain revolved around three Christian themes: Hell, martyrdom, and the Crucifixion. Clearly, the damned in Hell were souls, and yet their sufferings were for the most part physical. The doctrine of retribution in the afterlife tied three elements together: pain, soul, and life. Without life, there is no pain, said Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), for dead bodies do not suffer. Souls, being eternal, go on suffering. This opinion, however, posed a number of difficulties. In the first place, Augustine was aware that severe pain could bring death. If pain could lead to death, why was it so ineluctably tied to life? Secondly, he was faced with the commonly held identification of sensory pain with the body, and with the inescapable fact that all sensations, pain included, originated with the body.

But if we were to examine the matter more closely, what is said to be the body’s pain belongs rather to the soul. For pain belongs to the soul, not to the body, even when the cause of its pain is derived from the body, when the soul’s pain is felt in a place where the body is hurt. Just as we speak of sentient bodies and living bodies, though the body has sensation and life only through the presence of the soul, so also we speak of bodies in pain though the body can have pain only from the soul. Thus the soul feels pain with the body in the place where there happens to be a cause of pain. It also suffers alone, though it be dwelling in the body, when it is sad from some cause that may even be invisible, while the body is unharmed. It also suffers when it is not situated in the body.²¹

Concerning the problematic connection of pain and death, Augustine pointed out that if salamanders could live in fire without being consumed, so could souls in Hell, suffering as they did. In fact, he found the continued existence of souls within the corporeal fire of Hell far less of a wonder than the existence of worms living only in boiling water, or salamanders in fire. The human soul perceives physical images even when only the idea exists (such as the vision of mountains in a dream). By the same token, the human soul has a concept of the body (*similitudo corporis*), and this is what suffers in Hell. Even devils, who lack a body, suffer in Hell.²² Several times,

¹⁹ See below, n. 93; for the body as a cultural construct, see *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds. (New York, 1997).

²⁰ This theory was prevalent until the seventeenth century. See Richard Toellner, “Die Umbewertung des Schmerzes in 17. Jahrhundert in ihren Voraussetzungen und Folgen,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 6 (1971): 36–44; Morris, *Culture of Pain*, 152–73.

²¹ “Si autem consideremus diligentius, dolor, qui dicitur corporis, magis ad animam pertinet. Animae est enim dolere, non corporis, etiam quando ei dolendi causa existit a corpore, cum in eo loco dolet, ubi laeditur corpus. Sicut ergo dicimus corpora sentientia et corpora uiuentia, cum ab anima sit corpori sensus et uita: ita corpora dicimus et dolentia, cum dolor corpori nisi ab anima esse non possit. Dolet itaque anima cum corpore in eo loco eius, ubi aliquid contingit ut doleat; dolet et sola, quamuis sit in corpore, cum aliqua causa etiam inuisibili tristis est ipsa corpore incolumi; dolet etiam non in corpore constituta.” *De civitate Dei*, Bk. 21, chap. 3, Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, eds., *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, vols. 47–48 (Turnhout, 1955), 2: 760; English trans. by William M. Green, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1972), 11.

²² *De genesi ad litteram lib. xii*, Bk. 12, Joseph Zycha, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*

Augustine was faced with descriptions of pain resident in the body, and as a rule he dismissed those as a trick of speech, a manner in which people wrongly described pain. After the Last Judgment, he said, the damned will also be restored to their body and suffer in it; then bodies will burn, and souls will be gnawed by the worm of regret. Paradoxically, the reunification of body and soul, achieved by reincarnation, will thus separate the sensory nexus that tied them together. Sensory pain will become fully physical, and emotional pain will reside purely in the soul.²³

Augustine's theory of pain would be known, cited, and reaffirmed for centuries to come. Pope Gregory the Great repeated it, and scholastics took it up from the very beginning of their movement: Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167), Peter Abelard (d. 1142), and Peter Lombard (d. 1160) in the twelfth century, and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) in the thirteenth.²⁴ Aelred pointed out that people suffer in their sleep to show that the soul, not the body, suffered. Peter Lombard's statement to this effect is the strongest: "The son of God accepted the passible human nature; a passible soul, a passible and mortal flesh . . . the soul also feels evil, which it would not sense without the body, through it . . . Therefore the soul feels pains, some of them through the instrumentality of the body, some not."²⁵ The role of the body was thus not summarily dismissed. It was the instrument, the gateway through which pain reached the soul.

In placing pain within the soul, Augustine and his followers were giving a Neo-Platonist twist to the accepted Aristotelian view. While Platonic theory had placed the senses within the province of the body, Aristotle categorized both pain and pleasure within the tactile sense, and hence as part of the soul's perception, which interacts with the body. The Aristotelian soul was thus very different from the Platonic and Christian one. Aristotle's distinction between the soul (*anima*) and the spirit (*spiritus*) allowed for a subtlety of placement of all senses in a realm that was neither purely spiritual nor purely corporeal. Placing pain within the senses and the soul did not make for a dichotomy. For patristic and early medieval theologians, however, the human being was dichotomous, consisting only of body and soul.²⁶ The

Latinorum (hereafter, CSEL), vol. 28: 1 (Vienna-Prague-Leipzig, 1894), 381–415; compare Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, in *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus*, J.-P. Migne, ed. (hereafter, MPL), 221 vols. (Paris, 1886–87), 176: cols. 611–12, trans. Roy J. Deferrari, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 438, where Hugh admits, "We do not know how this can be done."

²³ Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), 95–97.

²⁴ Gregorius I, *Dialogi*, Bk. 4, chap. 30, Adalbert de Vogüé, ed., 3 vols., *Sources chrétiennes*, vol. 265 (Paris, 1980), 3: 99–100; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Dialogus de anima*, Bk. 3, in *Opera Omnia*, A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, eds., *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (hereafter, CCCM), vol. 1 (Turnhout, 1971), 737–38; Peter Abelard, *Commentaria in Epistulam Pauli ad Romanos* Bk. 1, chap. 2, in *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica*, Eligius M. Buytaert, ed., CCCM, vol. 11 (Turnhout, 1969), 81–82; Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 3d edn., 2 vols. (Rome, 1971–81), Bk. 3, dist. 15, chap. 1, 2: 92–94; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (Rome, 1886–87), 1a–2ae, q. 35, art. 1.

²⁵ "Dei filius naturam hominis acceptis passibilem; animam passibilem, carnem passibilem et mortalem . . . anima . . . etiam per corpus quaedam sentit mala, quae sine corpore non sentiret . . . Sentit igitur anima dolores, sed quosdam per instrumentum corporis, quosdam vero non." *Sententiae*, 2: 93.

²⁶ Aristotle, *De Anima*, Bk. 2, chap. 11, J. A. Smith, trans., in *The Works of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1931), 3: 422a–24a; *De sensu et sensibili*, J. I. Beare, trans., in Aristotle, *Works*, 3: 436a. See Cynthia Freeland, "Aristotle on the Sense of Touch," in *Essays on Aristotle's De Anima*, Martha C. Nussbaum and Amélie

soul included spiritual and sensory matters alike, and pain became grounded in this new type of soul. The dichotomous distinction was to remain dominant in the West, and was destined to have a momentous effect. The placement of sensory pain within the Christian soul, and thus within a theological framework of salvation and damnation, made it transcendently meaningful in a fashion the Aristotelian tradition never could. The emotional and spiritual basis of pain was too significant for neutrality. Even in the thirteenth century, when the Aristotelian theory reemerged in the writings of Thomas Aquinas and the more encyclopedic Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264), it merged with the Augustinian tradition, and never did cancel it out.²⁷

The Augustinian interpretation formed an ideal ground for a new theory of pain, connecting various functions of the human soul. The soul's role went beyond sensory perception alone. Several thinkers considered the role of awareness and predisposition to be central in causing fear of pain. One does not fear fire and flame, insisted Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), one fears the pain they cause: "the force of pain is established not in the torment but in the feeling of the sufferer . . . [S]o why do you fear fire and flame unless because you fear to be burned? But if wounds and blows did not give pain, who would fear arms or weapons? Indeed, it is the fear that causes the pain: stones and blows do not hurt in themselves, it is the perception of torture that they imprint upon the soul that hurts."²⁸

The placement of pain within the context of the soul also clarified two perplexing phenomena: the martyrs' ability to withstand pain and the miraculous occurrence of painless childbirth. Both were seemingly contrary to human nature following the Fall, and both required explanation. When Augustine was faced with the wonder of St. Perpetua displaying total "impassibility" (lack of pain), in the arena, his explanation was grounded partly in miracle, partly in her total lack of fear:

The fear of death and of physical pain strive with each other; sometimes one, sometimes the other triumphs in man. The tortured man lies so as to avoid death; he lies and dies, lest he be tortured . . . [M]artyrs of Christ, in his name and for his justice vanquished both; they feared neither death nor pain . . . he [Christ] showed them spiritual delights, so that they should not feel corporal attacks; so that exercise sufficed, and absence was not needed. But where was this woman, that she did not feel herself fighting that most savage of cows; that she asked when would what had already occurred [i.e., the fight in the arena] happen? Where was she? What did she see, that she did not see this? What did she enjoy, that she did not feel this? By what love was she rapt, by what vision called away, by what potion intoxicated?²⁹

O. Rorty, eds. (Oxford, 1992), 228–34; in this, Aristotle departed from the Platonist tradition, which identified mind and soul; see Michael Frede, "On Aristotle's Conception of the Soul," in Nussbaum and Rorty, *Essays*, 94–95. In Book 12 of the literal exegesis of Genesis (*De genesi ad litteram*), where Augustine discusses perception in detail, he uses the terms spirit and soul interchangeably. Only vision, "the gateway to the senses," is credited with a threefold understanding—corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual.

²⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1a–2ae, q. 35, art. 1; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, Bk. 25, chap. 82 (Douai, 1624), cols. 1822–23, citing Avicenna.

²⁸ Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis*, MPL 176: cols. 585–86, *On the Sacraments*, 439; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Dialogus de anima*, 737.

²⁹ "Timori autem mortis et corporales dolores solent utcumque conferri. Nam aliquando ille, aliquando iste vincit in homine. Mentitur tortus, ne moriatur; mentitur et moriturus, ne torqueatur . . .

The same attitude explained the Virgin Mary's freedom from childbirth pains. Since she was free of guilt and fear, she suffered no physical discomfort.³⁰ The message was clear: pain lay in the soul; it resulted from the soul's sin and guilt, and its awareness of that guilt, of the ensuing retribution, and of the fear thereof. Saints were therefore immune to pain. Though their bodies might be passible (susceptible to pain), their souls were not, and unless the soul accepted the impression of pain from the body, it would not suffer.

The suffering of martyrs in life and of the damned in the afterlife were two axes around which the argument on pain revolved. Martyrs earned reprieve and insensibility through virtue, but the damned did not. No wonder that Late Antique monks striving for sanctity tried to reach *apatheia*, or insensibility to pain.³¹ In both, pain was assumed to be a negative force, preferably vanquished through the soul's force and virtue. But this entire framework was contradicted by the third phenomenon theologians had to confront, namely, the sufferings of Christ. Here, the entire ideological framework negated impassibility, for Christ, so all orthodox authorities from the Council of Chalcedon (451) onward agreed, had well and truly suffered in his human nature in order to erase the taint of sin from the entire human race. His pain was of a positive, redeeming force.

The pains of Christ and those of his mother—often viewed as the emotional duplication of her son's—began assuming significant proportions in the Western Christian imagination from the thirteenth century onward.³² What characterized them was their totality and their expressivity. According to Thomas Aquinas, Christ suffered in all his senses—his eyes darkened by fire, his ears assaulted by noise and insults, his nose offended by stench, his mouth embittered with the taste of gall, and his skin hurt with blows. But worst of all was his grief at his betrayal.³³ Christ was thus affected by every conceivable type of pain, at once inexpressible and deafeningly vocal. Neither he nor the Virgin, in late medieval images, made any attempt at impassivity. In visions and meditations, they expressed their suffering by

martyres christi pro nomine et iustitia christi utrumque uicerunt: nec mori, nec dolere timuerunt . . . ipse eis exhibebat spirituales delicias, ne sentirent corporales molestias; quantum non defectioni, sed exercitationi sufficeret. Nam ubi erat illa femina, quando ad asperissimam uaccam se pugnare non sensit, et quando futurum esset quod iam fuerat, inquisiuit? ubi erat? quid uidens, ista non uiderat? quo fruens, ista non senserat? quo amore alienata, quo spectaculo auocata, quo poculo inebriata?" Augustinus, *Sermones de sanctis* No. 280, in *MPL* 38: col. 1282. See also Brent D. Shaw, "The Passion of Perpetua," *Past and Present* 139 (1993): 3–45.

³⁰ "Quoniam non sensit ullum contactum opus in peccatis, ideo ignorabat se habere dolorem in partu, sed intus in ea corporis sui integritas gaudebat." Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, part 3, vision 1, Adelgund Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris, eds., 2 vols., *CCCM*, vol. 43 (Turnhout, 1978), 2: 336–37; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a, q. 35, art. 6; Miri Rubin, "The Person in the Form: Medieval Challenges to Bodily 'Order,'" in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, eds. (Manchester, 1994), 114.

³¹ Evagrius Ponticus, *Traité pratique, ou le moine*, Antoine Guillaumont and Claire Guillaumont, eds., 2 vols., *Sources chrétiennes*, vols. 170–71 (Paris, 1971), 1: 98–104, 2: 537, 543–46, 581, 621–23; for criticism of this approach, see Hieronymus, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, Isidorus Hilberg, ed., 4 vols., *CSEL* vol. 54 (Vienna-Prague-Leipzig, 1996), 1: 246.

³² The earliest text of this genre is probably the *Liber de passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus matris ejus*, in *MPL* 182: cols. 1134–42. Migne himself attributed it, somewhat dubiously, to Bernard of Clairvaux, though admitting that the manuscript he had seen was thirteenth-century, and the style most unusual for St. Bernard. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais did not include this tractate in their edition of Bernard's work (*Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols. [Rome, 1957–77]).

³³ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3, q. 46, art. 5.

words, tears, and gestures: "Your pain-filled words and tearful gestures could soften a heart of stone"; "your most blessed soul left your most holy body with justified crying and tears."³⁴

Why did Christ have to suffer in order to atone for human sin? Could it not have been done in any other way, avoiding the pain and degradation of the Crucifixion? This is the question the German mystic Heinrich Suso (d. 1366), posed to Christ, only to receive Job's answer: some things are beyond human comprehension, and we must not seek to understand them. Suso perceived the Crucifixion as a series of inversions: "your painful deformation shall be, by spiritual grace, my soul's joyful beauty; your punitive straining [*appodiatio*] shall be my perfect rest in you; your heavy sinking shall be to me constancy in virtue and elevation; your severe wounds shall heal my soul of wounds and sin"³⁵ Furthermore, whoever would follow Christ must imitate his sufferings and strive with all his might to feel the wounds, the pain, the contempt, and the grief that Christ had felt.³⁶

Late medieval passion visions and meditations made no distinction between the physical and the spiritual anguish of Christ. All his pains are listed together as one total experience of the soul. In the thirteenth century, James of Voragine (d. *circa* 1298) described the mixed sufferings of Christ in the *Golden Legend*. These stemmed from both his nature and his surroundings. Christ suffered for five reasons: humiliation, injustice, the desertion of his kin, the delicacy of his body, and the physical pain, which fell again into five categories, matching the number of senses. The suffering of each sense is somewhat different from the later description of Aquinas given above.³⁷ The distinction between the two types of pain emerges not in devotional writing but in Aquinas's scholastic philosophy. Confronted with the problem of a God who suffered while his martyrs were spared the sensation, Aquinas explained the difference by two factors. The difference lay first in Christ's willing assumption of pain and, secondly, in the fact that the greater part of his suffering was sadness (*tristitia*), rather than pain (*dolor*): "he suffered also from his friends and familiars, as is obvious concerning Judas who betrayed him, and Peter who denied him . . . Christ suffered from his friends' desertion, in his reputation from the blasphemies pronounced against him, in honor and glory from mockeries

³⁴ Heinrich Suso, "Una nuova versione latina delle cento meditazioni sulla passione del beato Enrico Susone, O.P.," Livarius Oliger, ed., *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 2 (Rome, 1959), 223, 225; compare similar meditations of Angela da Foligno ("Memoriale," in *Il libro della Beata Angela da Foligno*, Ludger Thier and Abele Calufetti, eds. [Grottaferrata, 1985], 288–97), Marguerite d'Oingt ("Pagina Meditationum," in *Oeuvres*, Antonin Duraffour, et al., eds. [Paris, 1965], 78–79); Julian of Norwich (*Showings*, Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, eds. [Toronto, 1978], 232–38, 357–65); Richard Rolle ("Meditations on the Passion," in Mary F. Madigan, *The Passio Domini Theme in the Works of Richard Rolle: His Personal Contribution in Its Religious, Cultural, and Literary Context* [Salzburg, 1978], 236–77).

³⁵ Heinrich Suso, *Horologium Sapientiae*, Pius Künzle, ed. (Freiburg, 1977), 389–90; Suso, "Una nuova versione latina delle cento meditazioni," 220–21.

³⁶ Numerous such texts were anonymous. See, for example, Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1961), 316–45; Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), 19–66, 183–238.

³⁷ "His eyes cried tears, his ears were assaulted by calumny and blasphemy, his nose smelled the stench of the dead bodies at Calvary, his tongue bitten by vinegar and gall, and his entire body suffered in touch." Jacobus of Voragine, *Legenda Aurea, vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, Th. Graesse, ed. (Leipzig, 1850), 224. Other contemporary texts give variations on the same theme.

and slander proffered against him.”³⁸ The martyrs, by contrast, went joyfully and serenely to their deaths, either impassible or impassive.

All three types of suffering shared one basic insight, that pain had meaning. If modern recorders of their pain, be it political torture or the Holocaust, must seek in vain for a meaning to their experience, the medieval theological context affirmed the positive value of suffering. It had significance both in its immediate effects and for the ultimate salvation of mankind, and as such was part of the entire cosmological framework. Job’s question, why should he suffer, a just and blameless man, becomes irrelevant under such circumstances: that the just should suffer is not an absurd, incomprehensible act of an arbitrary will but a test or an imitation of Christ. And that the unjust should suffer is no more than justice. In all cases, the suffering soul could choose whether or not to express itself in bodily gestures or speech. The body transmitted sensations to the soul; whether it communicated back into the surrounding world the impression of the soul’s sensations depended on the specific context of the pain. Even an avowed Aristotelian like Aquinas, who could discuss pain and pleasure in a completely utilitarian fashion elsewhere, stuck with the Augustinian concept of the soul when dealing with theological matters.³⁹

Medical discourse possessed no such ambiguity. Like theological scholasticism, it relied on an intellectual Aristotelian infrastructure, but the very history of the discipline made its treatment of Aristotelian elements different. Unlike theological discourse, which discovered Aristotle’s writings only in the twelfth century, Western medicine had been aware of the Greek heritage roughly a century longer. Before Aristotle’s *Ethics* were translated from Arabic into Latin, and thus made available to Western scholastics, Arab medical writings drawing heavily on classical medicine (Aristotle’s *Physics*, Galen’s and Soranus’s work, among others) had been accessible to Western physicians.⁴⁰ But intellectual medical writing in the West did not achieve prestige and sophistication until it became grounded in thirteenth-century universities, and in the scholastic discipline of thinking and writing. Aristotelian theories were thus no thirteenth-century discovery but rather a longstanding tradition, often conflicting with Galenic doctrine.⁴¹ Consequently, medical opinions on pain were inconsistent, with a clear demarcation between abstract theory and prescription of practice. Thirteenth-century scholastic teachers of medicine such as Petrus Hispanus (d. 1277) and Bernard de Gordon (d. *circa* 1318) repeated that pain was indeed located in the sense of touch, and therefore in the soul, but in defining pain, its sources and functions, resorted to Galen and Avicenna.⁴² The latter’s definition of pain and its causes was purely organic: “pain is the sensibility of a contrary thing;

³⁸ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a, q. 46, art. 4. Compare Ellen M. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1997), 31–40.

³⁹ *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, C. I. Litzinger, trans., 2 vols. (Chicago, 1964), 1: 287, 637; 2: 687–97; 868, 874, 892–93.

⁴⁰ Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990), 10–12, 14. Beginning with Constantinus Africanus (d. 1087), a monk of Monte Cassino, who translated and published (under his own name) the works of Haly Abbas and other Arabic physicians, a great part of the Arabic medical corpus became available in Latin by the end of the twelfth century.

⁴¹ Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 1–7.

⁴² Fernando Salmón, “Academic Discourse and Pain in Medical Scholasticism (Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries),” in *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: An Intercultural Approach*, Samuel S. Kottek and Luis García-Ballester, eds. (Jerusalem, 1996), 142–43.

all causes of pain belong to two kinds: the sudden alteration of complexion . . . and the solution of continuity."⁴³ In modern parlance, pain could result either from an organic imbalance of humors, resulting in disease, or from an external trauma, such as a wound.

Beyond this definition, the issue crops up in a variety of medical scholastic contexts. Pain was perceived differently according to its context: sometimes, it appears as an independent illness (headaches and toothaches); in other cases, it was seen as the accidental result of another illness (such as the pain deriving from what we would call an infection) and thus a diagnostic tool, and sometimes it was even diagnosed as the cause of illness, for it attracted to its center matter and humors that caused further imbalance and illness.⁴⁴ Pain thus held a great deal of meaning for physicians. Mostly, its meaning resided in the reading it gave of the body. The type of pain, its location, and its duration could all indicate the illness that was causing it. Avicenna counted fifteen different types of pain,⁴⁵ although Western followers contented themselves with fewer: dull, throbbing, acute, piercing, corrosive, stabbing, and gnawing.⁴⁶ Whatever the typology, the type of pain determined the diagnosis.⁴⁷ In the second half of the thirteenth century, the growing influence of Galen's writings on evil complexion (*de malitia complexionis*)—one of the two main causes of pain—made the diagnostic importance of pain loom large.⁴⁸ Consequently, while in theory medical writing did consider pain as belonging to the soul, medical practice used it as a mirror of the body.

Even though medicine was supposed both to interpret and occasionally to alleviate pain, the amount of medical writing on the subject is smaller than that of theological discourse. The ineptitude of medicine in face of physical suffering is no explanation, for a great deal of learned medical writing was expended on other lost causes, such as the reasons for the plague. Furthermore, medicine was not helpless, for it had several pain-killing methods in its arsenal, ranging from drugs and spells to phlebotomy (bloodletting).⁴⁹ Nor was pain unimportant; as a disease, it had to be

⁴³ "Dicimus igitur quod dolor est sensibilitas rei contrarie. Omnes vero doloris cause in duobus comprehenduntur generibus, scilicet genere mutationis complexionis cito facte et est malitia complexionis diverse, et genere solutionis continuitatis." *Liber canonis in medicina philisophi et principis sapientissimi Avicennae, a Gerardo Cremonensi in Latinum conversus* (Venice, 1564), 116.

⁴⁴ Bernard de Gordon, *Lilio de Medicina*, Brian Dutton and María Nieves Sánchez, eds., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1993), 1: 192–93. Other physicians and surgeons voiced similar opinions: "The pain is itself the cause of attracting the worst of the humours"; John of Mirfield, *Surgery* [part IX of his *Breviarium Bartholomaei*], J. B. Colton, ed. and trans. (New York, 1969), 217; William of Saliceto, *Chirurgia*, P. Pifteau, trans. (Toulouse, 1898), 325–31; Guy de Chauliac, *Inventarium sive Chirurgia Magna*, Michael R. McVaugh, ed., 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997), 1: 64. For a review of the literature, see Pedro Gil-Sotres, "Derivation and Revulsion: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Phlebotomy," in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, Luis García-Ballester, et al., eds. (Cambridge, 1994), 110–55.

⁴⁵ Itching (pruritivus), scratching (asperativus), stabbing (pungitivus), squeezing (compressivus), stretching (extensivus), shattering (concussivus), breaking (frangitivus), loosening (laxativus), piercing (perforativus), inflaming (acualis), stunning (stupefactivus), throbbing (pulsativus), dull (gravativus), tiring (fatigativus), gnawing (mordicativus). Avicenna, *Liber canonis in medicina*, 117.

⁴⁶ Gordon, *Lilio de Medicina*, 1: 186; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and His Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 223.

⁴⁷ See Bartolomeo da Varignana, cited in Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, 223, n. 56.

⁴⁸ Arnaldus de Villanova, *Commentum supra tractatum Galieni de malicia complexionis diversa*, L. García-Ballester and E. Sánchez Salor, eds., in *Opera Medica Omnia*, 16 vols. (Barcelona, 1985), 15: 275–77; Salmón, "Academic Discourse and Pain," 144–47.

⁴⁹ For methods of pain alleviation, see Esther Cohen, "Physicians' Pain, Patients' Pain: Learned and Popular Pain Relief in the Middle Ages" [Hebrew], *Theory and Criticism* 10 (1997): 133–44; for

treated and, as a diagnostic, to be analyzed and understood. On the practical level, the most learned physician had to consider his wealthy patients' demands for alleviation or lose his practice.⁵⁰ One possible explanation for this relative paucity of writings on pain is the fact that pain baffled the neat taxonomies of scholastic medicine. It cropped up in various places: in sections devoted to drugs, to abscesses and growths (aposthemes), to diseases of the nerves, to surgery, and to simple anatomy. While it was possible to build a coherent theory of pain including all its manifestations, it was impossible to apply its analysis to one issue. Pain resulting from surgery was entirely different from headaches, in both meaning and treatment. Since the pain of surgery indicated no illness, it required neither analysis nor treatment. By contrast, a headache required interpretation according to the type of pain, which would dictate its causes: if diagnosed as an illness by itself, it could be treated in a variety of ways; if diagnosed as a symptom of another internal disorder, the original reason required treatment. The fact that the pain of surgery resulted from a solution of continuity, while the headache from an alteration in complexion, did not affect the treatment of pain. Nor was there any overall requirement that pain should be treated in and of itself. The result was that medical writing on pain is sporadic and far less consistent than theological discourse.

If medicine did not develop an integrated theory of pain, the law was even less coherent on the subject. Medicine sometimes caused and sometimes dealt with pain, while the law—in form of interrogation or punishment—invariably caused it, with the result that the circumlocutions and avoidance of the subject are remarkable. Albertus Gandinus, a practicing Italian judge during the second half of the thirteenth century and the first to devote a whole systematic tractate (treatise) to criminal law, concentrates in the section on penology almost exclusively on corporal punishments—executions, maiming, whipping, and branding—but mentions the resulting pain only once in passing.⁵¹ Even though monetary fines were far more common in thirteenth-century Italian cities, Gandinus hardly mentions them.⁵²

anesthetics in general and anesthetic sponges in particular, see Theodoricus Borgognoni, *Surgery*, E. Campbell and J. Colton, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1955), 2: 212–14; Guy de Chauliac, *Inventarium*, 1: 305–08; John Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula in ano, Haemorrhoids, and Clysters*, D'Arcy Power, ed., Early English Text Society, Old Series, vol. 139 (London, 1910), 101; Th. Huseman, "Die Schlafschwämme und andere Methoden der allgemeinen und ärztlichen Anästhesie im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Chirurgie," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Chirurgie* 42 (1896): 518–96; Th. Huseman, "Weitere Beiträge zur chirurgischen Anästhesie im Mittelalter," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Chirurgie* 54 (1908): 503–50; Marguerite L. Baur, "Recherches sur l'histoire de l'anesthésie avant 1846," *Janus* 31 (1927): 24–39, 63–90, 124–37, 170–82; Daniel de Moulin, *De Heelkunde in de Vroege Middeleeuwen* (Leiden, 1964), 120–25; Willem F. Daems, "Spongia somnifera: Philologische und pharmakologische Probleme," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Pharmazie* 22 (1970): 25–26; Linda E. Voigts and Robert P. Hudson, "A drynke that men callen dwale to make a man to slepe whyle men kerven him: A Surgical Anesthetic from Late Medieval England," in *Health, Disease, and Healing in Medieval Culture*, Sheila Campbell, et al., eds. (London, 1992), 34–56.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Arnaldus of Villanova, *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1585), 1501–06; Bartholomeo de Montagnana, *Consilia varia Medicinalia*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Ms. Vat. Lat. 2471, fols. 157v–211r.

⁵¹ He notes that the judge who passes a corporal sentence or a hangman who executes people by orders of judicial authority cannot be accused of sin, or of spilling blood. Albertus Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, vol. 2 of Hermann Kantorowicz, *Albertus Gandinus und das Strafrecht der Scholastik*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1907–26), 2: 266; the entire tractate is pp. 209–349.

⁵² The only mention of fines occurs in connection with whipping, which is the penalty of those who cannot afford to pay the fine. Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, 269–71.

There is no rationale given for the concentration on corporal punishment, and no discussion whatsoever of the pain involved. Gandinus's tractate was the basis for almost all subsequent penological writing. Whether out of reliance on his attitude or simply because it was convenient to avoid the subject, other texts of penology adopted a similar approach. Legal discourse had no theory of pain, only uses.

As in medicine, pain was a diagnostic tool in justice. Most of the discussions of pain come under the heading not of punishment but of judicial torture. Torture, or *quaestio*, was defined as "an inquisition performed in order to extract the truth by way of torment and bodily pain." Pain was the means of discovering truth. Whether this pain resided in the body or in the mind was not clear. Some jurists claimed that the word *tormentum* derived from *torquere mentem*, to torture the mind: "torture, or torment, is called [by this name] as though it tortures the mind; for by the agony of the body the mind is also tortured."⁵³ Others began substituting *cordis* (heart's) for *corporis* (body's) *dolor*, since the suffering of the soul was considered an integral part of the torture: "Torture . . . can be called agony of soul and body for the extraction of truth."⁵⁴

This etymology, however, was neither universal nor particularly influential. More important, torture tractates usually devoted space to the specific degree of torture that consists only of frightening the "patient." Gandinus speaks of fear of torment as the equivalent of the real thing, though lighter, "since it is illusory." He who confesses from dread of torture is held as though he had confessed under torture, and must repeat his confession free from fear as well as from the actual pain.⁵⁵ Jurists distinguished five degrees of torture, of which the first consists only of fright and threats.⁵⁶ In all cases, the fear of torture was treated as torture. It is doubtful that late medieval jurists were familiar with the twelfth-century theology that made the same connection, but the mental matrix remained the same.

On a similar principle, jurists also determined the order in which a number of suspects in one crime were to undergo torture. The judge must always begin with the one of least resistance, thus gaining the necessary evidence with a minimum of effort:

When several people are to be tortured, in what order should they be tormented? The wise judge will see from whom the truth will be most easily found, and begin with torturing him, starting with the most easily frightened, according to the [degree of] suspicion, the oldest and the weakest, not the strongest . . . Item, if father and son are to be tortured, one must begin with the son in sight of his father, for thus [you must] say that also the father [will confess] faster, for he is the greater sufferer . . . Item, the woman before the man, because

⁵³ "[I]nquisitio, que fit ad eruendam veritatem per tormenta et corporis dolorem" or "inquisitio veritatis per tormenta." "[T]ortura sive tormentum dicitur quasi torquens mentem; quia per cruciatus corporis mens quoque torquetur." Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, 156; Bonifacius de Vitalinis, *Tractatus Maleficij cum additionibus & Apostillis D. Hieronymi Chuchalon Hispani*, in *Tractatus diversi super maleficiis, nempe Do. Alberti de Gandino, Do. Bonifacii de Vitalini, Do. Pauli Grillandi, Do. Baldi de Periglis, Do. Jacobi de Arena* (Lyons, 1555), 450; Paulus Grillandus, *De Questionibus & tortura tractatus*, in *Tractatus diversi*, 659.

⁵⁴ "Tortura . . . dici potest cruciatus animi et corporis ad eruendam veritatem." For various definitions, see Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria*, 1: 186–89.

⁵⁵ Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, 161–62, 168.

⁵⁶ Grillandus, *De Questionibus*, in *Tractatus diversi*, 667; Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria*, 1: 218–23.

the man has greater constancy and will take longer to confess, and the woman will do so faster, for her heart is sudden and inconstant.⁵⁷

In this statement, used verbatim in several tractates, two mental elements coexist with the individual physical resistance: the father's anguish at his son's suffering and the presumed lesser mental fortitude of women as opposed to men. Both indicate that the pain of torture, as the jurists viewed it, was hardly a purely physical phenomenon. The spiritual element (though not precisely the Aristotelian or the Augustinian soul) had a great deal to do with it.

What mostly troubled jurists were those cases in which the diagnostic device failed to work: people who did not confess under torture. Legally, all agreed in Gandinus's wake that if a suspect successfully resisted confession, torture could not be repeated unless two judges concurred and new indications had surfaced.⁵⁸ But the very fact of resistance under torture was puzzling. Innocence was a possibility, but not a very likely one, since there had to be specific indicators (*indicia*) of guilt before a suspect was delivered to torture. All the same, it was dangerous to exceed the degree of severity, since "the disposition of moderate reason desires that the tortured should be delivered safe and sound either to innocence or to execution," and a judge who allowed the questioned to suffer permanent damage or death might be held responsible, if he could not prove his lack of intent.⁵⁹

Resistance could result from a mysterious form of impassibility. In some miracle tales, an innocent under torture felt no pain, or possessed the strength to withstand it without confessing,⁶⁰ but jurists were made of sterner stuff than hagiographers, disregarding the possibility of a miraculous protection against pain. They were far more concerned with the ability of the guilty to use the witchcraft of silence, *maleficium taciturnitatis*, which prevented all sensation of pain under torture.⁶¹ Insensibility to pain could be achieved by various means, often stemming from popular medicine: spells from biblical texts, concoctions based on mother's milk or on the ashes of an unbaptized baby's body, or a magical stone called *Memphites*. All of these could be counteracted with blessed water or counterspells, although some jurists simply recommended a thorough search of the suspect's hair for hidden parchments prior to a torture session.

None of these themes can unquestionably prove that scholastic jurists had

⁵⁷ "Quo ordine sint habenda tormenta, posito quod de pluribus sint habenda, iudex sagax a quo veritas facilius oriri possit videat, et ab illo quaestionem incipiat, et a timidiore ut exigit suspicio, et a maiore et debiliore, non a fortiori . . . Item si torquendi sunt pater et filius, a filio incipiendum est in conspectu patris, quia per hoc dic et citius pater, quia magis torquetur . . . item prius foemina quam masculus, quia homo tanquam maioris constantiae tardius confitetur, et mulier citius, qua momentaneum cor habet et instabile." *Repetitio super materia quaestionum sive toturarum*, attributed, among others, to Bartolus of Sassoferrato, *Omnia quae extant opera*, 11 vols. (Venice, 1615), 10: fol. 250. For the various titles, dates of composition (probably second half of the thirteenth century), and attributions of the *Tractatus de tormentis*, see Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria*, 1: 133, n. 6; compare Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, 158–59. Baldus de Perigliis repeats the same statement, changing "oldest" to "youngest" (*minor*) (*De questionibus et tormentis tractatus*, in *Tractatus diversi*, 688).

⁵⁸ Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, 164, citing Odofredus; "Repetitio," fol. 251; Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria*, 1: 277–84; Walter Ullmann, "Reflections on Medieval Torture," *Juridical Review* 56 (1944): 123–37.

⁵⁹ Gandinus, *Tractatus de maleficiis*, 156, 170–71.

⁶⁰ For example, Hieronymus, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, 1: 1–9; "Miracula sanctae Colettae," *AASS*, March 1: 590.

⁶¹ Grillandus, *De Questionibus*, 671–73; Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria*, 1: 218–23.

absorbed the scholastic theology and medicine of their times. But clearly they were not thinking in a vacuum. Though not bothering to cite extra-judicial sources, they had taken the etymology of *tormentum* from Isidore of Seville's (d. 636) *Etymologies* and the *Memphites* stone from Dioscorides's (first century) writings and pseudo-Albert the Great's (thirteenth century) popular magic manual.⁶² Apparently, jurists too considered physical pain to reside in parts of the human entity other than the body, pure and simple. While none of them disregarded the role of the body, pain and its roles belonged elsewhere. Consequently, the role of pain expression assumed a greater significance than mere self-indulgence. For the jurist, fortitude under torture denoted the hardened criminal or the magician, while feeling and expressing pain led to the truth. Similarly, for the physician, expressions of pain led to the truth of illness, and, for the theologian, to the truth of sin and salvation. It was not the old Stoic issue of being able to transcend one's sensations or tolerate them without groaning; to the contrary, expressing pain was laudable, necessary, and salutary.

THEORIES OF PAIN, ITS LOCATION, USES, AND EXPRESSION, thus hardly formed one monolithic corpus of opinion, but they did share some basic perceptions. By the thirteenth century, it was clear in all scholastic disciplines that pain resided in the soul and was closely tied to truth and knowledge; therefore, observers could learn a great deal from watching expressions of pain. At the same time, and perhaps in relation to these theories, a prescriptive vocabulary of such expressions began emerging in artistic discourses. If describing Christ's pain mattered to mystics and theologians, breaking down the barrier between sufferers and observers was important also to those who had to convey feelings and sensations to the greater public: writers of theater scenes, poetry, and the visual arts. The main problem with these sources for historians, of course, is that they describe (or prescribe, in the case of theater instructions) stylized, ritualized gestures. They are far removed from the universal common vocabulary of pain and grief. As we shall see, they also bear little relation to descriptions of actual behavior in pain situations. Across the various expressive media, ritualized gestures of grief and pain are few, consistently similar, and fairly static.

In the verbal arts, the first problem encountered when seeking expressions of pain is semantic. Pain and grief are both described by the same word, *dolor*, and more often the word refers to emotional rather than physical pain. Furthermore, the two are often perceived as one and the same: the sorrows of the Virgin, mourning for her dying son, are traditionally depicted as seven swords piercing her heart.⁶³ But where the distinction is made, the differences between the context of body symbolism for grief and for pain are highly significant. Art, drama, and literature all devote a great deal of space to grief and far less to pain. The same is true for visual

⁶² Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive originum libri XX*, W. M. Lindsay, ed. (Oxford, 1911), Bk. 5, chap. 27, art. 22; Fiorelli, *La tortura giudiziaria*, 1: 218; *Liber aggregationis, seu liber secretorum Alberti Magni, de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum, et animalium quorundam* (Amsterdam, 1643), 150.

⁶³ Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe," *Simiolus* 21 (1992): 11–17.

expressions: in passion plays, there are often specific instructions for the actresses playing the Virgin or Mary Magdalene which gestures of grief to use, but none for the crucified Christ and his physical pain.⁶⁴ Art does depict both pain and grief, but the descriptions were often startlingly different in context and form. While grief was often attributed to positive, even holy, figures, pain was most often shown in the context of the damned in Hell.

Though limited, the vocabulary of pain and grief gestures is always contextualized. There is a distinction between gestures attributed to figures whose pain or grief is laudable and sympathetic and those of figures deserving condemnation. The bent head and the cheek leaning on the hand go back to Antiquity, and continue appearing in vernacular literature, in art, and in theater instructions, notably from the thirteenth century onward.⁶⁵ These are approved ritual gestures, which might be correctly attributed to positive suffering figures—the grieving Virgin or an ill man—and show no change or development. Tears were somewhat more ambiguous, especially if accompanied by loud weeping and moaning. Even in the later Middle Ages, the Virgin was rarely shown as overtly weeping. Epic poetry has heroes weeping for grief, anger, and various other emotions but not for pain. High and late medieval literature is full of weepers for a wide range of reasons, grief being only one of them, and physical pain is almost totally absent. Weepers included saints, emperors, queens, and heroes. While some of these figures are sympathetic and positive, others are not. Thus tears, while not rejected out of hand as an expression of feeling, were not as laudable as the more static gestures.⁶⁶

But the most problematic were those gestures under the condemnatory heading of *gesticulatio* in ecclesiastical writings: self-injury (face-scratching, breast-beating), tearing hair and clothes, wringing hands, or dishevelment.⁶⁷ *Gesticulatio*, the unrestrained, spontaneous, over-energetic movement of buffoons, dancers, and actors, was decidedly undesirable. Long before the term became common, the gestures themselves were roundly condemned by St. John Chrysostom (d. 407):

There is this sickness among women, that they show off in mourning and weeping, baring their arms, disheveling their hair, scratching their cheeks; some do it out of pain, others to show off, and others bare their arms in a spirit of indecency . . . What are you doing, O woman? In the middle of the market-place, tresses unbound and clothes torn, you emit great

⁶⁴ Anke Roeder, *Die Gebärde im Drama des Mittelalters: Osterfeiern; Osterspiele* (Munich, 1974), 68–69.

⁶⁵ François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), 1: 127, 149, 169, 182–83; Roeder, *Die Gebärde im Drama*, 69; Erhard Lommatzsch, "Darstellung von Trauer und Schmerz in der altfranzösischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 43 (1924): 20–38; Anna Braeder, *Zur Rolle des körperlichen in der altfranzösischen Literatur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Chansons de Geste* (Giessen, 1931), 26–27.

⁶⁶ Günther Blaicher, *Das Weinen in Mittelenglischer Zeit: Studien zur Gebärde des Weinens in historischen Quellen und literarischen Texten* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Universität des Saarlandes, 1966); Georg Zappert, "Über den Ausdruck des geistigen Schmerzes in Mittelalter," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil. hist. Klasse 5 (Vienna, 1854), 76, 87–88, 93; Lommatzsch, "Darstellung von Trauer und Schmerz," 39–42; Braeder, *Zur Rolle des körperlichen*, 26–28.

⁶⁷ For the difference between *gestus* and *gesticulatio*, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), 34, 266–73.



Crying woman. Cahors, St. Etienne Cathedral, corbel. Courtesy of the Archives Nurit and B. Z. Kedar, Tel Aviv.

cries, you dance around . . . Indeed, better-class women do not dishevel their hair or bare their arms.⁶⁸

While the condemnation refers unambiguously to women who break the canons of modesty in their public mourning behavior, later literature does have a great many figures performing similar actions in grief and mourning.⁶⁹ Iconographic and literary figures were often depicted wringing their hands, tearing their hair, or biting their thumbs.⁷⁰ While such active gestures never became entirely laudable, they obviously gained some sort of legitimacy in the later Middle Ages.

These gestures rarely denoted physical pain, however. And descriptions of prescribed gestures for expressing physical pain are hard to find, indeed. Occasionally, one finds a reclining figure of a sick man, supporting cheek in hand, very much in the manner of the spiritual sufferer. But the most common depiction of physical sufferers—that of the damned in Hell—shows them with contorted bodies, straining muscles, and bared teeth.⁷¹ Perhaps the most interesting depiction is that of various illnesses sculpted in Beverley Minster, which show the sufferers of

⁶⁸ Johannes Chrysostomos. In *Ioannem Homiliae*, No. 62, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, J.-P. Migne, ed., 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–66), 59: cols. 346–47.

⁶⁹ See sources cited in n. 66.

⁷⁰ Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), 1–33, 57–68; Braeder, *Zur Rolle des körperlichen*, 27.

⁷¹ These depictions may have been based on the iconography of the Laocoön sculpture, the prime example of physical pain. See L. D. Ettlinger, “Exemplum Doloris: Reflections on the Laocoön Group,” in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, Millard Meiss, ed. (New York, 1961), 121–26.

lumbago, sciatica, stomachache, and toothache placing their hands on the aching spot. In this case, the hands are not gesturing but indicating the locality of pain and the nature of illness; other than the information, the carvings do not impart any emotional or physical sense of suffering.⁷² Facial and bodily contortions, therefore, are attributed in the arts to figures under punishment, deserving condemnation rather than sympathy.

Where pain gestures do appear, there is no difference between men and women. All the gestures listed above—those of head and hand, and also tears, sighing, and weeping—appear in the later Middle Ages in both female and male contexts. The one exception is the bared teeth. Although women screaming with an open mouth can be found, bared teeth seem to belong mostly to men.⁷³ This fact is in itself suggestive of ritualized rather than “real” gestures; some gestures acceptable in men are often not permitted to women, as in the case of overt mourning.⁷⁴

Ritualized, formal depiction laid little stress on the phenomenon of physical pain. On the whole, the overt expression of pain carried negative connotations; while the damned in Hell showed their pain clearly, tortured martyrs were not depicted as writhing in pain but rather as composed, still figures, stoically bearing their punishment.⁷⁵ Perhaps the reactions attributed to pain were far too close to the basic human reflex to merit ritualized representation; gestures that were part and parcel of a cultural vocabulary were far more normative and acceptable, and the depiction of pain never achieved this level. Furthermore, gestures are multivalent symbols. Not only did the same gestures signify both pain and grief, other emotions bore the same signifiers: bared teeth could equally signify anger; a head leaning on a cheek could mean death throes; drawn brows could mean pain or fear, mourning, and distress.⁷⁶

Ritualized gestures are not necessarily evidence of behavioral patterns; the prescriptive might well influence behavior in certain classes, but only up to a point. However, the paucity of gestures for expressing certain specific sensations, as opposed to the plethora for others, is significant. The poverty of pain gestures is a suggestive index of the dubious legitimacy of expressing pain at all. Yet the overall picture indicates that by the thirteenth century there was a clear development of such a vocabulary. Eleventh-century plays contain no instructions for gestures. Two centuries later, the text instructs the players to display grief, but not how. By the fifteenth century, the exact vocabulary of the instructions is present and contains pain as well as grief.⁷⁷ Drama thus mirrors the development of graphic arts, which

⁷² The figures' placement, as carvings in an aisle, indicates their minor importance. J. Reay Forster, *Beverly Minster: A Brief History* (London, 1975), xvi–xvii.

⁷³ Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, 1: 139.

⁷⁴ The “Renaissance elbow” studied by Joaneath Spicer, the defiant gesture of hand placed on hip, with the elbow stuck out, common in Renaissance paintings of men, is another such assertive, overt gesture for the use of which women could incur censure. See Spicer, “The Renaissance Elbow,” in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 84–128.

⁷⁵ Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, 2: 411, D 212.

⁷⁶ Anger: Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, 2: 361, D111; death agony: Garnier, 2: 349, D78; brows drawn in pain: Garnier, 2: 119, fig. 158; brows drawn in emotion: Garnier, 2: 97, figs. 106–07, 2: 393, D163.

⁷⁷ Roeder, *Die Gebärde im Drama*, 66.

evolve a much wider range of pain expressions.⁷⁸ Obviously, during the later Middle Ages, physical pain gained a voice and a legitimation for using it.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE whether the increased legitimacy and usage of ritual gestures of pain stemmed from a certain intellectual milieu or from changes in actual behavioral norms. It is equally impossible to say whether those same behavioral norms changed as a result of altered artistic expression. It is possible, however, to chart certain parallel changes. Perhaps the best sources for studying behavior in pain situations are those describing illness, pain, and cure but deriving from a layperson's pen. Chronicles do so only occasionally, and any description of the behavior of the famous and noble is bound to be stereotypical.⁷⁹ For the later Middle Ages, two types of sources, concerned with the behavior of both exceptional and unexceptional figures, provide a far richer lode: first, the reports of miraculous healing at saints' shrines describe the behavior of cure seekers. On rare occasions, we have the narration of those miraculously cured in person or of a close relative, but in most cases the shrine's scribe is the author. Second, biographies of living saints and heretics in this period are far less stereotypical and more individual than the earlier hagiographic genre; some of these saints (a considerable proportion of whom were female) left their own autobiographical or semi-autobiographical writings, providing a rare firsthand source.

Naturally, behavioral norms also permeate and influence these sources. If a scribe at a shrine merely noted that a certain cure seeker had suffered from kidney stones—a notoriously painful disease—without referring to his or her pain, was that because the patient had displayed self-control or because the scribe did not consider the pain resulting from the condition to merit mention? If a saint's biographer spoke of stigmata as a sign of grace, keeping silent concerning any associated pain, does the reason lie with the biographer and his standards or with the saint's own evidence? If pain were perceived as negative, or merely unimportant and irrelevant, sources would be likely to suppress it. Conversely, its reiterated mention is proof of its importance in the mind of the writer. Even though the absence of objective description is a problem common to all sources, narrative ones allow us to deduce the norms governing pain expression, and occasionally also actual behavior. The latter was often noted precisely because it did not accord with the norms.

Miracles performed at shrines have been much studied in relation to illness, cure,

⁷⁸ Grace Frank, "Popular Iconography of the Passion," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 46 (1931): 333–40; Schuler, "Seven Sorrows," 5–28; James Marrow, "Circumdedereunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 167–81; Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979); Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie des christlichen Kunst*, 2d edn., 5 vols. (Gütersloh, 1983), 2: 198–243.

⁷⁹ The recent sensitivity to the narrative qualities and construction of chronicle material (see Karl F. Morrison, *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* [Princeton, N.J., 1990], and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past* [Berkeley, Calif., 1995]) has made it clear that, no less than epic poems, chronicles are literary constructs. The references to pain, especially in early medieval chronicle material, are scattered and stereotypical.



Crying *jongleur* (minstrel). Brioude, fifteenth-century townhouse. Courtesy of the Archives Nurit and B. Z. Kedar.

and performance.⁸⁰ The situation of a sick pilgrim approaching a shrine was equivocal. Any term used to describe such people already qualifies them: pilgrims, ill, petitioners, seekers of miracles. As pilgrims, they were already temporarily liminal figures in society.⁸¹ But even before starting their pilgrimage, they had

⁸⁰ Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), 59–82; Pierre-André Sigal, “Maladie, pèlerinage et guérison au XII^e siècle: Les miracles de saint Gibril à Reims,” *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 24 (1969): 1522–39; Sarah Chennaf and Odile Redon, “Les miracles de Saint Louis,” in *Les miracles, miroirs des corps*, Jacques Gélis and Odile Redon, eds. (Saint-Denis, 1983), 53–86.

⁸¹ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), 1–39.

become detached by virtue of an illness that, according to most narratives, was long and insupportable enough to make the sufferer despair of secular medical aid. They came to a more powerful healer, seeking aid beyond medicine's power. But, though liminal, their situation was hardly anomalous. Petitioners appealing to powerful patrons, making themselves clients, were a common sight in late medieval society. They could be Florentine merchants begging a local magnate to arrange an advantageous marriage, *condottieri*, or war captains, seeking employment from a king, or any subject seeking political advance.⁸² Networks of clientelism and patronage, which had constituted the very foundation of society in earlier centuries, did not vanish but merely changed form. It was thus perfectly in line with contemporary perceptions that one should address the powerful for help and protection when all else failed. That the protector in this case was a saint made little difference.⁸³

All these elements—liminality, clientelism, and pain—banded together to create a specific norm of behavior for the ill pilgrim. For a client and a sufferer, the stance of begging, humility, and affliction was appropriate. Indeed, the examples of such attitudes are numerous: a knight consumed by St. Anthony's fire (as terrible as hellfire) came to the grave of St. Stephen of Muret, "showing his intolerable bodily pain . . . speaking with great humility and weeping profusely." Another knight suffering from a fistula arrived at Canterbury all the way from Flanders, "kneeling, showed his torture with sighs and weeping." For common folk, humility was no anomaly, but overt expressions of pain were still notable: a simple man, brought to Canterbury after five years of unremitting dysentery, "began suddenly to cry and scream, as though under extreme torture." Openly showing pain was the proper thing to do at the shrine: "Thus one unfortunate, in such pain that he was almost devoid of his senses . . . burst in tears and wailing, giving proof by both groans and gestures."⁸⁴

Were these people letting themselves go in an unrestrained manner or acting out the petitioner's role? The only answer to that can be found in the scribes' occasional comments. A knight who flew into a tantrum, wailing and pitying himself for losing his lord's falcon, was told by his wife, "Act like a man" (*age ergo viriliter*); a monk complaining loudly of his stomach pains was admonished for bothering his brothers in the sleeping quarters.⁸⁵ When behavior, vocalization, and gestures exceeded the norm, a note of criticism crept into the description. People thrashing around uncontrolledly were regarded as smitten with insanity. Even at the shrine, there

⁸² See, for example, William J. Connell, "Clientelismo e stato territoriale: Il potere fiorentino a Pistoia nel XV secolo," *Società e storia* 14 (1991): 523–41. For earlier examples, see Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 59–76.

⁸³ On the origins of the saint as a patron, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), 50–68.

⁸⁴ "Vita venerabilis viri Stephani Muretensis," *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, Iohannes Becquet, ed., CCCM, vol. 8 (Turnhout, 1968), 134; William of Canterbury, *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, James C. Robertson, ed., 7 vols., Rolls Series, vol. 67/1 (London, 1875–85, rpt. 1965), 4.39, 3.14, 5.5; Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, auctore Benedicto, abbate Petriburgensi*, in Robertson, *Materials*, 2: 2.25; 2.33.

⁸⁵ *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, Auguste Bouillet, ed. (Paris, 1897), Bk. 1, chap. 23; William of Canterbury, *Miracula*, 5.9.

were proper ways to express pain. The shrine's clergy distinguished between what was both permissible and desirable in an ill pilgrim and what was unsuitable. Appearances of humility and subjection fostered the hierarchical structure of the sacred place and enhanced the saint's power. But total abandon of control abolished all structures and hierarchies and was not to be tolerated, unless conveniently labeled madness. The pilgrims' status did not deprive them of all position; they had a clear-cut role, albeit one divorced from their everyday standing. To abandon that role completely was to abandon the entire ritual framework of begging protection.

This distinction is even clearer in the few cases where the scribe noted that the patient had suffered extreme pain but had restrained all expression. A priest with an abscess in his armpit, expecting his patron's visit, was worried lest he should, in his pain, wrinkle his nose and thus offend against the canons of hospitality. He was granted a cure so that he could properly entertain his august visitor with a cheerful face. A noble lady with a broken arm hid her pain "because of matronly modesty." Another man, struck with an embarrassing accident that had effectively pushed his penis inside, was ashamed to confess it. A fifteen-year-old girl dying of cancer (*cancrum*) preferred her virginal shame to pain expression.⁸⁶ What distinguishes all these cases and similar ones is that the self-control was exercised at home. At the shrine, one behaved differently. Expressing pain was showing need, begging a favor, and that was the expected attitude of the pilgrim at the shrine.

But of all people in pain, the most common, and most problematic from the point of view of expressiveness, was the situation of childbirth. On the one hand, it pertained only to women, and these weaker beings, as the jurists had stated, had less resistance to pain than men. On the other hand, labor pains were punishment for Eve's crime and therefore ought to be patiently borne. The Virgin, free of all sin, did not suffer any pains during the birth of Christ.⁸⁷ Conversely, St. Elizabeth, John the Baptist's mother, had suffered much during childbirth. Had her pain had any merit? How meritorious could pain due to penalty be? The preacher discussing the issue pointed out that necessity, when patiently tolerated, can become a virtue.⁸⁸ Though the result of sin, labor pains could thus be acceptable, even meritorious. In fact, the screams of women in labor were probably accepted as normal. I have found no descriptions of laboring women behaving impassively. Even misogynistic literature, such as *Les quinze joies de mariage* (The Fifteen Joys of Marriage), which described a woman making cynical use of her suffering to manipulate her husband, did not deny the reality of labor pains.⁸⁹ To the contrary: despite male preachers'

⁸⁶ William of Canterbury, *Miracula*, 4.39, 3.14, 5.5; Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula*, 4.65.

⁸⁷ See above, n. 30.

⁸⁸ "Ista beata elysabeth peperit secundum legem matrimonij cum dolore . . . Diceret, numquid iste dolor mulieri est meritorius, cum dolor partus est propter penam peccati introductus. Ut dixit dominus eve gen. iii multiplicabo erumnas tuas. et sic est necessitatis; multa ista que sunt necessaria per se non sunt meritoria quia omne meritum debet esse voluntarium ut dicit Bernardus de gratia et libero arbitrio. Respondet Chrys. super matheum. De necessitate potest fieri virtus cum patienter toleratur. et sic mulier patienter tolerans dolorem propter hoc quod omnipotens deus pro peccatis introduxit, volens in hoc satisfacere divine voluntati et ordinationi indubitanter meretur in dolore partus, sicut qui vivit de labore manuum suarum meretur in hoc volens satisfacere statuto dei, quia imposuit deus filijs ade." Petrus de Palude, attr. *Sermones Thesauri novi de sanctis* (Nuremberg, 1496), 93.

⁸⁹ *Les quinze joies de mariage*, Jean Rychner, ed. (Geneva, 1963), 18–26.



Fainting woman, late thirteenth century. Her body language is the same as that of mourning or sad women. MS. Ashmore 399, f. 33r, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photo courtesy of the Bodleian.

exhortations to accept the pain and internalize it, popular medicine recommended an appeal to the Virgin and other saints for help against birth pains, and miracle tales describe such situations.⁹⁰ Moreover, in miracles, the Virgin often acceded to such requests—proof of the fact that even for the clerical authors both the expression and the supernatural alleviation of birth pains were legitimate. In one case at least, Mary interceded even for a Jewish woman in childbirth, so that, after severe labor, she gave birth painlessly.⁹¹ Like the pilgrim at the shrine, the childbearing woman was in a liminal situation. She was temporarily outside society, and she would need the reintegration of the churching ceremony later on in order to rejoin it. It was not an ailment or a wound that made her suffer but the common lot of her entire sex. Possibly, this was partially the reason for her license to scream. It is more likely, however, that her female nature allowed it. The combination of the unique situation of childbirth, together with the greater tolerance for female expressivity, allowed childbearing women to beg for relief and express their pain.

But childbearing women and ill pilgrims were temporary outsiders, removed by their pain or geographic placement from society and begging for restoration to their place. Neither can qualify as the voluntary outsider who chose pain as a form of self-expression. This role was reserved for saints, both confessors and martyrs. Even though actual martyrdom was rare in the later Middle Ages,⁹² the thirst for martyrdom was ever present, and late medieval saints were notorious for their self-inflicted tortures. While the phenomenon has been studied in depth more for female than for male saints, it existed in both genders.⁹³ Much of the devotional life of late medieval saints revolved around pain, in various forms. Many of them suffered from diseases, which they bore with fortitude and patience, thanking God for the gift of suffering.⁹⁴ But saints were also known to seek pain voluntarily: both women and men sought to identify with Christ and his suffering, by meditation, self-inflicted injuries, and prayers for supernatural infliction of pain (as in the case of stigmatization). In addition, women saints often prayed for the gift of suffering in exchange for the tormented souls in Purgatory, or even Hell.⁹⁵ The voluntary, naturally, or miraculously inflicted suffering of women saints paid the debt of pain

⁹⁰ Sylvie Laurent, *Naître au moyen âge: De la conception à la naissance; La grossesse et l'accouchement, XII^e–XV^e* (Paris, 1989), 195–96.

⁹¹ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (Douai, 1624), 258; for another case, involving a Christian woman, see 252.

⁹² Miri Rubin, "Choosing Death? Experiences of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, Diana Wood, ed. (Oxford, 1993), 185–208.

⁹³ Giles Constable, *Attitudes toward Self-Inflicted Suffering in the Middle Ages* (Brookline, Mass., 1982), 18–23; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 209–11; André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome, 1981), 174–83; Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984), 89–149; Kieckhefer, "Holiness and the Culture of Devotion: Remarks on Some Late Medieval Male Saints," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 288–305; Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995), 108–36; Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), 185–230. Given these and numerous other monographic studies cited in the following text, and in order to avoid repetitiousness, I have in this section outlined mostly the conclusions of others and avoided going into specific cases.

⁹⁴ Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 24–25, 50–88.

⁹⁵ Newman, *From Virile Woman*, 108–36; Jo Ann McNamara, "The Need to Give: Suffering and Female Sanctity in the Middle Ages," in Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell, *Images of Sainthood*, 212–21.

incurred by others and released their souls from eternal punishment. Finally, the saints' oversensitive consciences often made them resort to harsh penance for the slightest imaginary transgression.⁹⁶

Did late medieval saints express their pain in words and actions? This would seem to depend on the source of the pain. On the one hand, penance and illness seem to have been quietly borne and hidden. Peter of Luxembourg (d. 1387) hid his hairshirt and cord from his entourage; penances were often undertaken in private, and more than one spiritual guide reproved the saint for his or her over-enthusiastic self-chastisement. Colette of Corbie suffered her illnesses most patiently; Heinrich Suso was chastised in a vision for weeping "in a womanly fashion" because of his sufferings, and promised to desist; in both cases, the pain was divinely inflicted.⁹⁷ On the other hand, pain received as a gift from God and identification with Christ was often ostentatiously visible. When undertaking sufferings for others, Christina the Astonishing (d. 1224) showed her pains openly, and Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) spoke of her "sweet pains."⁹⁸ The impact of living saints and their ascetic practices was known since Late Antiquity, when Syrian holy men performed incredible feats of asceticism on top of a column, in sight of all.⁹⁹ But the living saints of late medieval Europe were not expressing the same sort of power: it was not the ability to control the body but the capacity to channel the suffering from sinners to their own bodies. They were mediums, not athletes. In those cases, expressions of pain were anything but self-indulgence. They were proof positive of the saint's power.

This was a new departure in models of suffering sanctity. Martyrs in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages were known to display impassivity in the face of torture. For Late Antique Christians, martyrdom was "agon"—a contest, and a very public one at that. The fact that they stood witness in the arena to their faith and suffered for it without recanting already signified victory.¹⁰⁰ Late Antique narratives of martyrdom recorded two distinct attitudes toward the physical pain of martyrdom. Some martyrs were described as impervious to torture, but most were perceived as sensitive to pain but able to tolerate it with a fortitude born from awareness of their exalted destiny.¹⁰¹ The accounts of firmness and self-control displayed by martyrs far outnumber those of miraculous trances. The tradition of the impassive or impassible martyr continued in high medieval tales of martyrdom. The legends of saints Vincent, Lawrence, Agatha, and Agnes—all martyrs who had undergone horribly painful deaths—were retold in the Golden Legend and in late medieval sermons in great detail, almost invariably stressing their fortitude or their

⁹⁶ Constable, *Attitudes toward Self-Inflicted Suffering*, 10–17; Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 122–49.

⁹⁷ Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 40–41; AASS, March 1: 565–67; Suso, *Leben*, 1: 130–31, Clark trans., 147–48.

⁹⁸ *De S. Christina Mirabili Virgine Vita, Auctore Thoma Cantipratano Ordinis Praedicatorum*, AASS, July 5: 650–56; Raymond of Capua, *Vie de sainte Catherine de Sienne*, E. Cartier, trans. (Paris, 1853), 178.

⁹⁹ Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101.

¹⁰⁰ Perkins, *Suffering Self*, esp. 104–23; Carlin A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 41.

¹⁰¹ Eusebius Pamphilus, *The Ecclesiastical History*, with Eng. trans. by Kirsopp Lake (I), and Oulton (II), 2 vols., Loeb Series (London, 1965), Bk. 6, chap. 41, art. 14; Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 73–75.

lack of sensation.¹⁰² In a contest with pain and the enemy inflicting it, one reacted by ignoring the pain. Of all these stories, St. Lawrence's joke when being grilled, claiming that one side was already done and it was time to turn him, was the most famous. But for those late medieval saints who dreamed of martyrdom and could achieve its semblance only through self-inflicted pain, the norms were different. Fortitude no longer meant hiding one's pain; rather, the public exhibition of suffering became a new virtue. Unless the pain and the wounds were there for all to see, the impact and efficacy of the living saint was lost.¹⁰³ Though removed from the normal, day-to-day intercourse, the behavior of saints was noted and occasionally imitated. At the same time, saints were also products of a certain behavioral matrix. Unrestrained gesticulation or tears might be frowned on, but they were known as existent modes of expression before saints had had recourse to them. The fact that saints did so might, to some extent, have removed the stigma of unsuitable behavior from certain expressions.

The sources describe four nonverbal forms of pain expression: bodily motion, stigmatization, weeping, and screaming. All of them came in, at one point or another, for disapproval, but all were clearly known and acceptable. I would suggest, however, that there was a scale of legitimacy of expression, and the higher one went on that scale, the less one was expected to use those gestures for expressing one's own pain. At the bottom stood gesticulation and screaming, at the top stigmatization. Tears were in the middle, ambiguous territory. They could be used both by saints and by simple folk; when used by the saints, their application was restricted to religious grief, rather than personal physical pain; other people, however, could cry for their own pain.

Uncontrolled bodily motion, thrashing about, and convulsions are often mentioned as a symptom of both madness and pain, leading observers to confuse the two. A sufferer from toothache's "immoderate pain" was imprisoned as a madman because of his screams and gestures (*gestus et clamor*) by those ignorant of his condition; a girl with a tumor in her abdomen thrashed about in pain so much "that she almost went mad." In one case, a woman was indeed described as "having gone mad with pain" (*infirmittatis dolore constricta amens effecta*).¹⁰⁴ Severe pain, especially headache, was often described as leading almost to madness, though not necessarily to mad behavior.¹⁰⁵ When it comes to saints, the distinction between

¹⁰² Jacobus of Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, 113–20, 170–73, 488–500; for special devotion to St. Lawrence, see Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 68; for some model sermons concerning martyrs, see Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones aurei (anni 1446) de sanctis fratris Leonardi de Utine sacre theologie doctoris ordinis predicatorum* (Strassbourg, ca. 1481), fol. 72ro–76vo, 77ro–79vo, 268ro–279ro; Olivier Maillard, *Summarium quoddam sermonum de sanctis per totum anni circulum, simul et de communi sanctorum et pro defunctis: hactenus nusquam impressorum reverendi patris fratris Oliverij Maillard ordinis minorum divini verbi preconis celeberrimi* (Paris, 1507), fol. 95ro–96vo; Jacobus of Voragine, *Registrum in sermones Iacobi de Voragine de sanctis* (Lyons, after 1500), n.p., sermons 65–71, 83–85, 204–06; Pelbart of Themeswar, *Pomerium sermonum de sanctis per anni circulum tam hyemalium quam estivalium; vulgati per venerabilem fratrem Pelbartum de Themeszvar Minoritanum vere theologie professorem eximium; annotatiunculis in marine denuo additis; opus divini verby seminatoribus fere utilissimum* (Hagenau, 1520), pars hyemalis, sermons 48–49; pars estivalis, sermons 46–48.

¹⁰³ Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1992), 21–39.

¹⁰⁴ "Miracula sancti Gibrani, post translationem corporis in novam aream anno 1145 patrata, et a Baldewino (ut videtur) monacho coevo descripta." *AASS*, May 7: 630.

¹⁰⁵ Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula*, 1: 14, 4: 53; "Alia quadam vice dicta Stephana gravem

controlled and involuntary motion is not always clear. What, for example, is one to make of Christina the Astonishing's motions?¹⁰⁶ Christina, having once died and visited Purgatory, knew all about the sufferings there and was willing to undertake them in place of the guilty souls. Whenever a townsman of hers died, and she knew he was heading toward Purgatory, "she cried, twisted herself again and again, arched again and again her arms and fingers as though they were boneless, soft and flexible; her intolerable pain was visible to all." When Dorothy of Montau (d. 1394) and Elisabeth of Spalbeek (d. after 1274) carried out their reenactments of the Crucifixion in a series of rigidly controlled motions, clearly related to Christ's progression to the Crucifixion,¹⁰⁷ they were obviously conscious and willing to perform them. When Elisabeth reenacted the Virgin's role, she used the standard gesture of grief, leaning her left cheek on her hand.¹⁰⁸ This is one of the extremely rare descriptions of actual behavior deriving from art and prescription, but it does not depict physical pain. It is unclear, however, whether Christina the Astonishing was expressing pain voluntarily or not. What does not remain in question is the impact her body language had "upon all who saw her." And in her case, nobody considered her expressions of pain as being akin to madness. Some interpreted them as demonic possession—an opinion that two centuries later would undoubtedly have been universal—but her biographer saw her as a saint.¹⁰⁹

On the borderline between the voluntary and the involuntary, the contemporary interpretation of Christina the Astonishing's motions veered toward the first. She had voluntarily chosen to take upon herself the pains of the damned. Thomas of Cantimpré makes that much clear in his biography. Hence the corporal contortions originated with her soul, which had once already visited Purgatory. What was mediated by the saint's soul was not the external force of madness or possession, nor a purely physical reaction. Purgatory was the place where souls suffered physical torments,¹¹⁰ burning in a real fire. It was an ambiguous space, where body and soul were almost indistinguishable. The conjunction of dead souls feeling physical sensations and a living body expressing physically the torments of souls is the identifying mark of the voluntary from the involuntary, of the consciously expressive from the insane.

Stigmatization was even more ambiguous. All the saints who exhibited and suffered from these symptoms had begged for them, wanted them, and welcomed

incurrit capitis infirmitatem, ad hoc deducta, quod tota stolidi, quin imo penitus rabida, monstrabatur." "una religiosa . . . multum affligebatur dolore capitis, et specialiter passione guttae malogranatae, taliter quod vi doloris affligebatur quasi furibunda." *Miracula Sanctae Colettae*, AASS, March 1: 580.

¹⁰⁶ *De S. Christina Mirabili*, AASS, July 5: 655.

¹⁰⁷ Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 117; Walter Simons, "Reading a Saint's Body: Rapture and Bodily Movement in the *Vitae* of Thirteenth-Century Beguines," in Kay and Rubin, *Framing Medieval Bodies*, 10–14.

¹⁰⁸ Walter Simons and J. E. Ziegler, "Phenomenal Religion in the Thirteenth Century and Its Image: Elisabeth of Spalbeek and the Passion Cult," in *Women in the Church*, W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, eds. (Oxford, 1990), 124.

¹⁰⁹ On the ambiguity of Christina's status, see Barbara Newman, "Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 763–68.

¹¹⁰ "[V]isiones quasdam et revelaciones . . . et in hiis tamen nichil nisi corporale, vel corporalibus simile, recitasse . . . se quoque corporalibus solutas manibus trahis, pedibus deduci, collo suspendi, flagellari precipitari, et alia multa hujusmodi." Prologue of H., Abbot of Sartis, to the Purgatory of St. Patrick, in *Etude sur le Purgatoire de saint Patrice*, C. M. van der Zanden, ed. (Amsterdam, 1927), 5.

them. But unlike self-flagellation, stigmatization was miraculously induced and could not be self-inflicted.¹¹¹ It was a case of the human will according with the divine. Conscious and voluntary, and yet a passive reception of grace from above, stigmatization was a visible sign of the saint's power and special relationship with God. The distinction of the voluntary from the involuntary is clearer when the texts speak of weeping as opposed to screaming. The scream is the totally unmediated, primary expression of experience, the absolute truth of the body. This much is most clearly told in one of Gerald of Wales's (d. 1223) most horrific stories. In a castle somewhere in Francia, he recounts, the lord had imprisoned and blinded one of his enemies. The blind man was free to go about the castle, and grew familiar with the place. One day, he succeeded in abducting the lord's son and bringing him to one of the highest turrets. Standing there, he placed a terrible choice before his jailer: either the lord castrated himself, or the blind man would pitch the boy off the battlements. Counting on the man's blindness, the lord tried to fool him by screaming in pretended pain. Twice, the blind man recognized the scream for the fake it was, and proposed to carry out his threat. Finally, the lord did indeed castrate himself, and the blind man, recognizing the scream of real pain, declared that he now wished to add death to his revenge; "you will never produce another, nor enjoy this one." Thus saying, he plunged to his death, taking the boy with him.¹¹²

The story is lurid enough, even for Gerald, but it does make one thing clear. The scream of real pain originates directly in the body and cannot be voluntarily or spuriously produced. Nor can it be controlled, any more than convulsions and contortions. The scream is thus connected to involuntary reactions and madness, while tears proceed from the soul. This is why mourners weep in literary sources but do not scream. Thaumaturgic miracles show numerous sufferers weeping also from physical pain, in and out of the shrine, but their expression of pain was not considered as insensate. Screaming, however, was different, often appearing in conjunction with involuntary contortions, both denoting insanity.¹¹³

Within the hagiographical context, tears could be as involuntary as stigmatization. It is told of many saints that they wept copiously, and at least one dubious saint, Margery Kempe, considered her tears a sign of grace and a gift from God. That her noisy weeping annoyed all those surrounding her bothered her not at all. What clearly emerges from her book is that, as far as she was concerned, her weeping was involuntary. She could neither induce nor restrain it. Like stigmatization, it placed her apart from the rest of society, and she had to show her special devotion by openly weeping.¹¹⁴ But these tears were not an expression of physical

¹¹¹ Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 94–95; Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, *passim*; Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, *passim*.

¹¹² Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, James F. Dimock, ed., Rolls Series, vol. 67/2 (London, 1868, rpt. 1964), 84–85. I am indebted to Prof. Amnon Linder for this reference.

¹¹³ Arnaldus of Villanova noted both "impetuous movement in the manner of foxes" and screaming as signs of mania. Muriel Laharie, *La folie au moyen âge, XI^e–XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1991), 130.

¹¹⁴ Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia, 1991), 167–202; Ellen Ross, "'She Wept and Cried Right Loud for Sorrow and for Pain': Suffering, the Spiritual Journey, and Women's Experience in Late Medieval Mysticism," in *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics*, Ulrike Wiethaus, ed. (Syracuse, N.Y., 1993), 45–59. For precedents of such behavior by other mystics, see Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, 151.



Crying man. Cahors, St. Etienne Cathedral, corbel. Courtesy of the Archives Nurit and B. Z. Kedar.

pain. The tears of repentants and converts were considered a baptism of the soul, born of contrition or emotional upheaval. Weeping from physical pain emerges only in the context of illness and suffering, not in the context of sanctity. Even though saints suffered a great deal of physical pain, either self-inflicted or proceeding from God, this pain they bore patiently, without crying. Their tears were reserved for empathy with Christ and his mother.

Obviously, the context in which each form of nonverbal communication was used mattered a great deal. The live saint differed materially from the ill layperson. Each obeyed different norms, and each could earn a different negative label for transgressing those norms. But in all cases, the pain situation in itself removed the sufferer from standard daily intercourse, with its normal expressions. When the scribe records that a sufferer from earache or pain in the eyes could hardly eat or sleep, that a headache patient was convinced that her eyes would pop out of her head, and another could not “govern herself” and was driven almost mad with pain, he was describing people whose sensations had placed them outside the normal sphere of communication and behavior.¹¹⁵ That much also holds true for saints. Insofar as there were norms of behavior appropriate for pain situations, those norms were distinctly different from those of healthy, non-saintly people.

What is most striking is the total disjunction between the norms prescribed by the arts and actual behavioral norms. The closest one comes to “realistic” depiction in late medieval art is the image of Christ shedding tears. But for the rest, there are

¹¹⁵ “Liber miraculorum,” in *Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici OFM, Analecta franciscana, sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam fratrum minorum* 7 (Florence, 1951), 275–331; Nos. 76, 83, 89 (earache and eyes); Nos. 15, 36 (headache).

no descriptions of people in pain leaning their cheek on their hand, wringing their hands, biting their thumbs, or tearing their hair. Their behavior accorded much more with the basic human pattern than with any cultural superstructure. At times, cultural tenets condemned this behavior as immodest or insane, but there is little indication that such condemnations bore any fruit.

Nevertheless, beyond the total lack of formal gestures in actual use, there is a certain correlation. All the descriptions of ill people controlling their pain at home or being considered mad at the shrine stem from twelfth-century sources. The pain descriptions of later centuries, even when concerning the ill rather than the holy, are far more sympathetic. Like Sister Aleydis, Brother Petrus “suffered for a year and a half of a headache, a pain [*passio*] that is called in the vernacular migraine, which could in no way be healed without horrible pain and inexpressible affliction. Thus, he often arose from the table, walking to and fro in the garden, weeping and crying out piteously, so that he could not hear those who wished to talk to him from the violence of the pain.”¹¹⁶ No note of condemnation of his behavior is heard, even though he cried and screamed in the monastery, not at a shrine.

NORBERT ELIAS’S FAMOUS STUDY of the civilizing process equated physical expressivity with impulsiveness and “roughness,” while self-control and ritualized motion indicated civilization. Barbara Rosenwein, in her perceptive essay on anger in the Middle Ages, has already pointed out the weaknesses inherent in this approach.¹¹⁷ The evidence of pain expressions also contributes to the reexamination of Elias’s approach. Expressivity, with its variety of forms and symbols, is as much a cultural artifact as restraint, not an instinctive reaction shorn of all normative trappings. The very fact that the arts used a highly specific vocabulary to express pain indicates as much. And yet, beyond the normative language of pain expression, there existed manifestations that went beyond the acceptable vocabulary. When this happened, contact between sufferer and audience was lost, signs were misrepresented, and expressivity turned into an unbridled, solitary explosion of non-behavior.

The attempts to translate the sensation of pain into a language shared by others than the sufferer exist on a number of levels. The direct expression through nonverbal communication is the most basic. Insofar as any type of expression approaches the basic human reaction, gestures do so. Verbal descriptions of these universal gestures are already acculturated, and include societal perceptions of what these gestures ought to be. Often, coupled with those descriptions, we have words trying to convey the experience itself, using the language as a verbal gesture. Descriptions of pain are the verbalization of an endeavor at breaking down the barrier between the sufferer and the surrounding world. These are often far less ritualized and standardized than the gestures of art and theater.

Behind this multiplicity of expressive forms lies a certain theory of pain. It was only spelled out coherently by theologians, but it clearly permeated the entire scholastic world of thought, spilling over to expressive norms. Whether in the arts

¹¹⁶ AASS, March 1: 584.

¹¹⁷ Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Controlling Paradigms,” in Rosenwein, ed., *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 233–47.

or in situations of illness, total lack of control, a total relinquishing of the human voluntary action, earned disapproval and the label of insanity. Both in behavior and in the arts, the criterion distinguishing between positive and negative pain—the pains of Christ and the saints as opposed to the pain of the damned—was the will to suffer, and the will, like the senses, pertained to the soul. Even with the involuntary sufferers, such as the ill, what distinguished one from the other was the “sanity” of their behavior. What is nowadays therefore termed “physical pain” is an oxymoron. Pain, in the later Middle Ages, belonged far more in the soul than in the body. The expression of the sensation, therefore, was bound by norms of volition and soul. When the soul broke its boundaries of sanity, the body followed.

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Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and Other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1914

JANET J. EWALD

THE MOST FAMOUS SLAVE SEAMAN of the eighteenth-century Atlantic, Olaudah Equiano, wrote an abolitionist autobiography in 1789 that includes his experiences aboard sailing ships. Unfortunately, no freedman traveling the Indian Ocean recorded his life as eloquently as Equiano wrote of himself in the Atlantic world. Distinctly Atlantic forces not only shaped Equiano's life but gave him the skills, patronage, and audience for writing and publishing his life story. Twentieth-century scholars have followed Equiano's path, placing Africans and their descendants at the center of the Atlantic world.¹ For the Indian Ocean, different historical dynamics have produced a different historiography. Although going back probably to the seventh century, the African slave trade and slavery were not as central in creating an Indian Ocean world as they were in creating an Atlantic world.

Taabir, the Somali term for a migrant who goes abroad, translates as "crosser of the sea." Charles Gesheker, "Entrepreneurs, Livestock, and Politics: British Somaliland, 1920–1950," in *Actes du Colloque Entreprises et entrepreneurs en Afrique (XIX^e et XX^e siècles)*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1983), 267. I owe thanks for the services and support of many individuals and agencies. The American Philosophical Society and the Trent Foundation of Duke University funded research in France and in Britain, where Jane Hogan and her staff guided me through the Sudan Archives of the University of Durham. I formulated and refined my thoughts during fellowships at the Woodrow Wilson Center and the National Humanities Center. This article benefited from presentations to the conference on the Northwestern Indian Ocean, organized by the Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University; the Canadian Historical Association; Middle East Studies Association; African Studies Association; and various groups at Duke University, where I am particularly grateful to the Oceans Connect initiative, funded by the Ford Foundation, for providing a supportive scholarly environment. I found invaluable insights and information, as well as great pleasure, in two port cities and their hinterlands: Aden and St. John's, Newfoundland. I thank the American Institute of Yemeni Studies for funding an unforgettable stay in Yemen. At Memorial University in St. John's, Heather Wareham and her staff made working at the Maritime History Archives a historian's dream. Professor Valerie Burton, of the Maritime Studies Research Unit, offered initial and continued support for my project. Professor Daniel Vickers, formerly of the MSRU, introduced me to the data of the *One Percent Sample* before it was ready for public distribution. Finally, I thank my mom, Charlotte Ewald, for her excellent companionship and research assistance in St. John's.

¹ A precursor to much of this scholarship is C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938; rpt. edn., New York, 1989). More recent examples are Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge, 1990); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1998). Even scholarship not focusing specifically on Africans in the Atlantic world regards slavery as formative and its end as a watershed. See, for example, Alan L. Karras and J. R. McNeill, eds., *Atlantic American Societies: From Columbus through Abolition, 1492 to 1888* (London, 1992), 1–15.

Compared to the Atlantic, scholars have written little about Africans in the Indian Ocean world, or about the Indian Ocean slave trade.²

But East African men, many of them slaves and freedmen, working on ships and in ports, played vital roles in sustaining an Indian Ocean world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Especially in the late nineteenth century, they helped link that world to the Atlantic. Like Atlantic seamen, these maritime workers experienced ironies, confronting and sometimes crossing boundaries. They moved from land to sea, from one port to another, between states and continents. They traversed an often vast and open seascape, yet lived in the tightly bounded confines of ships where life was, to varying degrees, hierarchical and regimented. The boundary between slavery and freedom itself blurred. Eighteenth-century European sources compared the sailor on shipboard to a slave, yet some slaves in both the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds used maritime life as a route to emancipation. However self-sufficient at sea, ships and their crews ultimately depended on land; the legend of the *Flying Dutchman* offers the haunting image of a ship condemned to sea forever. Because of the intimacy of land and sea, slavery and freedom, I consider here not only slaves and freedmen but also other African and Asian migrant maritime workers, not only ships but also the dynamics on land and especially in ports that funneled men onto ships.

I address two areas of scholarship: histories focusing on the Indian Ocean and studies of slavery and emancipation. My article suggests that attention to ocean basins and maritime life yields new perspectives on global history. Histories of the Indian Ocean basin, however, generally give short shrift both to Africa and to the post-1750 era.³ I show how crossers of the sea, many from Africa, traced the contours of a post-1750 Indian Ocean world. Their journeys defined the boundaries of their particular Indian Ocean world, as well as its openings to land and to other oceans. A history of maritime labor also reveals changes and continuities around the European-defined watersheds of Indian Ocean history: the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut in 1498, the victory of the British at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Examining slaves and freedmen in the maritime world locates slavery and freedom in the Indian Ocean within comparative scholarship, especially that of the Atlantic. Many studies of slavery in the Muslim-dominated lands bordering the northwestern Indian Ocean emphasize how slavery took shape under religious law and ideology, and in households and state institutions.⁴ The image of the slaves on the land—women, eunuchs, and office-holding men in households and state

² A glance at the bibliography of scholarship concerning worldwide slavery and slaving quickly reveals the paucity of work about the Indian Ocean—especially the northwestern Indian Ocean—relative to work on the Atlantic. Joseph C. Miller, ed., *Slavery and Slaving in World History: A Bibliography, 1900–1991* (Millwood, N.Y., 1993). In addition, a bibliographic supplement appears annually in no. 3 of *Slavery and Abolition*. Studies explicitly of the African diaspora in the northwestern Indian Ocean include Edward A. Alpers, “The African Diaspora in the Northwestern Indian Ocean,” *Comparative Studies in South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 17 (1997): 62–82; and Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston, Ill., 1971).

³ See, for example, K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985). A recent survey of Indian Ocean history devotes only one chapter out of five to the eighteenth through twentieth centuries: Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea* (Delhi, 1993).

⁴ See, for example, John Ralph Willis, ed., *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, Vol. 1, *Islam and the*

structures in the Islamic world, laboring men on plantations in the Americas—has thus abetted the stereotype of the East, where unchanging values of Islam supposedly underlay slavery, as opposed to the West, where “progress” and the economics of commercial agriculture shaped slavery.⁵ Scholarship on nineteenth-century plantations in the Indian Ocean has challenged this dichotomy.⁶ Here, I argue that ships and ports, as well as plantations, lend themselves to comparative analysis. By turning our gaze from slaves who stayed put to slaves whose work made them move, we begin to cross the divide separating slavery in the Indian Ocean world from slavery in the Atlantic world.

I answer in a new way basic questions about slavery and the slave trade in the northwestern Indian Ocean, which flourished as never before in the nineteenth century. What was the demand for slave labor, at the very time when military and administrative demands for slaves had declined? What happened to men freed or escaped from bondage? I argue that economic demands from the Atlantic and political dynamics in Africa gave an initial stimulus to slave raiding. But once raiding and trading began, thriving commerce demanded slaves for port cities and ships. In those sites, slaves and freedmen labored with freeborn men. Freedmen and freeborn also worked in British ports and on steamships. This argument raises a final question. If slaves, freedmen, and freeborn performed the same jobs, if the boundaries between “slave” and “free” tended to dissolve, what difference did being a slave or an ex-slave make? My conclusion argues that slavery and its heritage were a heavy burden, even when and where slaves, freedmen, and freeborn performed much the same work.

The first section of this article examines how men worked in the Asian and African maritime world, as well as British Indian Ocean sailing ships, from about 1750 to about 1880. I establish connections with the Atlantic, showing how sailors on eighteenth-century Indian and other indigenous vessels shared aspects of maritime economy and society similar to those of the Atlantic. Another kind of link between the Atlantic and Indian Ocean arose soon after 1750 when forces from the Atlantic increasingly and directly affected the Indian Ocean world, helping stimulate two forms of labor control: in Africa and Arabia, slavery; on British vessels, special contracts for non-European seamen.

The second section of the article follows the movements of some of these slaves when, as freedmen, they entered British ports and steamships in the northwestern Indian Ocean between about 1840 and 1914. I argue that British transport, the very sinews of empire, demanded a controllable, flexible, and mobile labor force. Ex-slaves and other migrants met these demands, building ports and manning

Ideology of Enslavement (London, 1985); and various essays in Shaun Marmon, ed., *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East* (Princeton, N.J., 1998).

In this article, I do not seek so much to question the importance of ideology and law, but rather to offer a different perspective.

⁵ Frederick Cooper, “Islam and Cultural Hegemony: The Ideology of Slaveowners on the East African Coast,” in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981), 273–74.

⁶ Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, Conn., 1977), esp. chap. 1; and Cooper, “The Problem of Slavery in African Studies,” *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 103–25.

steamships. On steam liners plying routes between the Indian Ocean, Pacific, and Atlantic, many freedmen labored under special contracts, called Asiatic Articles. These crossers of the sea experienced fresh ironies, simultaneously crossing old boundaries but restricted by new ones.

THE CREATION OF A NORTHWESTERN Indian Ocean world relied on wind patterns. Seasonal alteration of winds carried ships across the northwestern Indian Ocean basin, rimmed by the coasts of western India, the Arabian Peninsula, and East Africa south to about Cape Delgado.⁷ Although a separate basin, the northwestern Indian Ocean basin touched other maritime regions. South of Cape Comorin, it flowed into the larger Indian Ocean, stretching as far as insular southeast Asia and China. The Red Sea or Persian Gulf, combined with overland routes, led to the Mediterranean and through it to the Atlantic. A direct link to the Atlantic opened with Vasco da Gama's 1498 voyage around the Cape of Good Hope to the west coast of India.

If Olaudah Equiano had sailed the eighteenth-century Indian Ocean, he would have found much that was familiar. Similarities of maritime life crossed the boundaries between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, even if most sailors themselves did not. In both Indian and Atlantic oceans, a ship was a physical, social, and economic unit. Sailors worked in groups, their days and nights divided by shifts or watches. They were both wage workers and entrepreneurs. Working on ships that they did not own, Atlantic and Indian Ocean sailors were some of the first laborers to earn wages. But sailors in both oceans were also traders. Exercising customary rights to cargo space, they peddled goods from one port to another.⁸ Hierarchy characterized both Atlantic and Indian Ocean deep sea vessels. The master, who sometimes owned or co-owned the ship, exerted complete authority over passengers and crew. Certain crew members performed special jobs, such as navigating or keeping track of stores. Slaves belonged to eighteenth-century crews in both the

⁷ This region does not include Madagascar or the islands of Mauritius and Reunion; therefore, I do not consider the slave regimes that developed in Indian Ocean islands or the slave trade to those islands, except in its impact on the northwestern Indian Ocean world.

⁸ Within these broad institutional similarities, vessels and sailing in the two oceans differed in the degree of shipboard specialization, rigidity of time organization, and prevalence of various methods of payment. For Atlantic ships, see Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1962), 111–13, 133, 147–48, 154–56; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1987), 77–78, 83–87, 116–19, 130–33, 209–12. For northwestern Indian Ocean ships, see Abbadié Papers, Volume 3: *Mélanges sur l'Éthiopie*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter, BNF), Nouvelle acquisition française 21301, 176, 193; and *Journal et Mélanges*, BNF, Nouvelle acquisition française 21300, 488; John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London, 1829), 23; Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700–1750* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 42; A. H. J. Prins, *Sailing from Lamu: A Study of Maritime Culture in Islamic East Africa* (Assen, 1965), 211, 216–18, 242–47, 279, 289; A. Jan Qaisar, "From Port to Port: Life on Indian Ships in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson, eds., *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800* (Calcutta, 1987), 336, 339, 343–45; R. B. Serjeant, "Hadramawt to Zanzibar: The Pilot-Poem of the Nakhudha Sa'id Ba Yayi of al-Hami," in Serjeant, *Farmers and Fishermen in Arabia: Studies in Customary Law and Practice*, G. Rex Smith, ed., (Aldershot, 1995), 122–23, 125; and R. B. Serjeant, "Maritime Customary Law off the Arabian Coasts," in Michel Mollat, ed., *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien* (Paris, 1970), 201–03; Alan Villiers, "Some Aspects of the Arab Dhow Trade," *Middle East Journal* 2 (1948): 403, 404, 407, 409, 411.

Atlantic and Indian oceans, especially on ships from Arabia.⁹ Unlike Indian cities, Arabian ports did not draw on a large wage-labor pool. Masters of ships thus enlisted various kinds of dependents, including debtors and slaves. By the eighteenth century, slaves manned Omani ships from the southeastern Arabian Peninsula, newly prominent in the trade between India and Arabia. On the Red Sea, slaves served with Somali, Hadhrami, and Yemeni crew members.¹⁰

As the junctures between land and sea, Atlantic and Indian Ocean ports were sites for social transformations. Landsmen became seamen, usually moving through the hands of labor brokers: in the English-speaking Atlantic, known as crimps or spirits; in the ports of India, “serangs” or “tindals.” But seamen also became landsmen when sailors turned to port work between voyages. Port work was particularly important for sailors in the Indian Ocean, where the seasonality of sailing grounded them for at least two months. Like sailors, workers in Indian Ocean ports were organized by brokers who collected men for jobs and supervised them. Slaves joined sailors in the population and work of port cities.¹¹

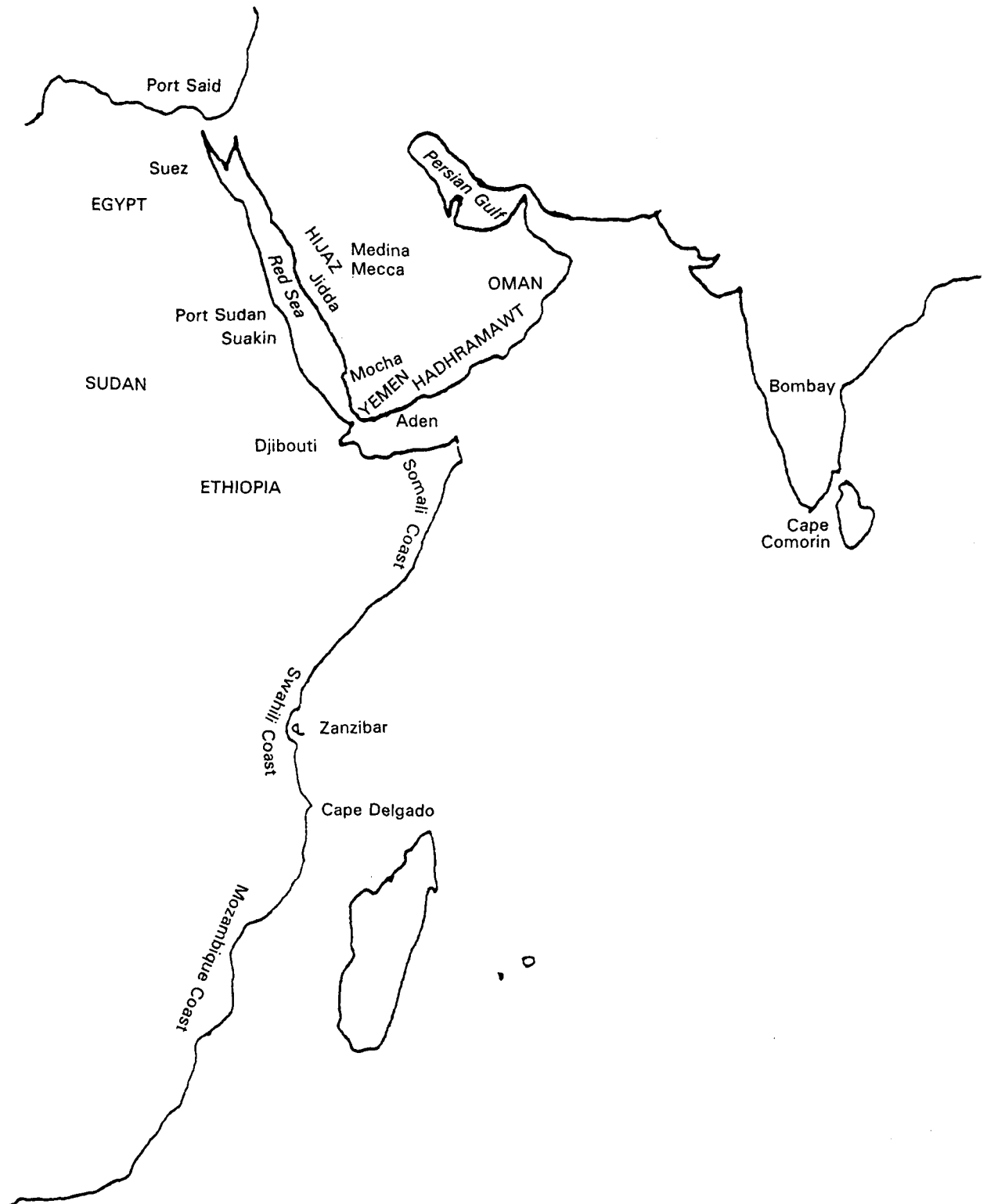
Mingling with free sailors and port workers, some Atlantic and Indian Ocean slaves loosened or broke ties to their masters.¹² Some slaves fled from the interior to port cities, where they joined local slaves, using the relative fluidity of port life and nearby transport routes to elude or escape authority. Others bought their freedom with profits made from wages or trade. Still others were manumitted by their masters, who nonetheless often retained ex-slaves as employees and clients.

⁹ Martha S. Putney, *Black Sailors: Afro-American Merchant Seamen and Whalemen prior to the Civil War* (New York, 1987), 33–38; W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 11–28.

¹⁰ Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, 213–16; Serjeant, “Maritime Customary Law,” 197, 202–03; and R. B. Serjeant, “Customary Law among the Fishermen of al-Shihr,” in Serjeant, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 193, 197; Villiers, “Some Aspects of the Arab Dhow Trade,” 407; Lewis Pelly, “Remarks on the Pearl Oyster Beds in the Persian Gulf,” *Bombay Geographic Society Transactions* 18 (1866), reproduced in Anita Burdett, ed., *Records of the Persian Gulf Pearl Fisheries, 1857–1962*, Vol. 1: 1857–1914 (Southampton, 1995), 8. Indebtedness often led to enslavement. See, for example, Richard Pankhurst, “An Early Somali Autobiography,” *Africa* (Rome) 32 (1977): 365; N. Benjamin, “Arab Merchants of Bombay and Surat (c. 1800–1840),” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 13 (1976): 85–95; Patricia Risso, *Oman and Muscat: An Early Modern History* (New York, 1986), 75 and following; Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat*, 160–66; and Ashin Das Gupta, “Introduction II: The Story,” in Das Gupta and Pearson, *India and the Indian Ocean*, 41; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 23. Georges Malecot, “Quelques aspects de la vie maritime en mer Rouge dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle,” *L’Afrique et l’Asie modernes* 164 (1990): 31.

¹¹ Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 29, 62, 68, 81–83; Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat*, 40–41, 43–44; Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry* 116; Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1982), 6, 107; Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, 69–70; Serjeant, “Maritime Customary Law,” 203; William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* (London, 1813), 1: 101, 102; R. B. Serjeant, “The Ports of Aden and Shihr (Medieval Period),” in Société Jean Bodin pour l’Histoire Comparative des Institutions, *Les grandes escales, première partie, antiquité et moyen-âge* (Brussels, 1974), 213; Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 27; Mary Karasch, “From Porterage to Proprietorship: African Occupations in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850,” in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 377–79; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1992), 355–56; Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, “The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, and the Atlantic Working Class in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 3 (1990): 225, 229, 233–34.

¹² The prime example from the Atlantic is Equiano. But, as Bolster reminds us, Frederick Douglass escaped slavery disguised as a sailor; *Black Jacks*, 1–2. For other references to ports and ships as routes to, and havens of, freedom, see Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 131–57; Linebaugh, *London Hanged*, 348–56; Linebaugh and Rediker, “Many-Headed Hydra,” 235–36.



A sketch of the area for general orientation. Older European place names that were current at the time are used here.

The threat of escape, offer of payment, and prospect of continued clientage probably combined to convince some masters to free their slaves. Olaudah Equiano continued to work on ships even after he attained freedom. Other freedmen, too, turned to maritime and port life for practical and, perhaps, emotional reasons. In agrarian and commercial economies, freedmen who could not gain access to land or capital often found port and transport labor the best way of earning a living—especially if they already possessed the requisite skills. Perhaps, too, ports and ships exerted an emotional pull on men seeking to loosen or shake off the bonds of slavery. Their masters had controlled their mobility, making them move or stay. They perhaps boarded ships hoping to test or preserve newfound freedom with movement.

In spite of the familiarity of eighteenth-century Indian Ocean life to Equiano, the last part of the century marked a watershed in the history of the Indian Ocean. Since da Gama's voyage, European ships in the Indian Ocean had employed local men. But at first, the lives of these sailors probably differed relatively little from the lives of their European crewmates or from sailors on deep sea vessels commanded by Asians. Beginning during Equiano's era, however, the experiences of Asians and Africans on board British ships increasingly diverged from both their counterparts on non-European vessels and Europeans on British vessels. Often dated to the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British East India Company extended its rule over the interior of India. Shifts in power on land were reflected on the seas. Plassey represented only one battle in an era of global warfare. Both wars and the growth of commerce created a keen demand for labor on European ships, which in turn altered recruiting patterns and working conditions in Atlantic and Indian Ocean ships. The number of African-American sailors increased in the Atlantic;¹³ in the Indian Ocean, Europeans increasingly turned to African and Asian sailors. The new employers drew on already existing patterns of recruitment, relying on local serangs and tindals to collect men for European ships. British ships became probably the largest employers of Indian Ocean sailors, whom they called "lascars."

On board British sailing ships, lascars gradually found themselves in a new maritime world. They manned the ships into the Atlantic itself. They became subject to the regulations of an increasingly bureaucratic state, the interests of large-scale private shipping and government, and growing fears of a multi-racial port population. Unlike Indian Ocean states, Britain regulated maritime labor closely. Moreover, the British government responded to the color consciousness affecting Britain in the late eighteenth century. The same wave of wars and revolutions that created a maritime labor shortage in the Atlantic also stimulated a fear of the crowd in the port city, especially people of color. Some East Indians

¹³ Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, 115; Rediker, *Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 31–35, 52, 102–05, 121, 123–24, 206, 209, 282–83, 292; David J. Starkey, "War and the Market for Seafarers in Britain, 1736–1792," in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik, eds., *Shipping and Trade, 1750–1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History* (Pontefract, 1990), 25–42; Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 26, 69; Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants*, 42–44; Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700–1947* (London, 1986), 34; see also Conrad Dixon, "Lascars: The Forgotten Seamen," in Atlantic Canada Shipping Project, Conference, 4th, 1980, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting, eds., *Working Men Who Got Wet* (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1980), 265–81; F. J. A. Broeze, "The Muscles of Empire—Indian Seamen and the Raj, 1919–1939," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 28 (1981): 43–67, esp. 45.

joined others of the “black poor” in the sponsored migration of freed people to the colony of Sierra Leone.¹⁴

The British government and East India Company developed a method of ensuring lascar labor for company ships while inhibiting the settlement of lascars in British ports. The government gave the company the authority to hire sailors recruited in Indian ports under special crew agreements, Asiatic Articles, which established terms of employment different from those of European sailors under standard articles of agreement. Asiatic Articles eventually set wages at one-fifth to one-third the wages of European sailors. Ultimately more important, unlike sailors recruited in European ports, lascars signed contracts for a given length of time—one year, eighteen months, two years—rather than for the duration of particular voyages. And British legislation enacted in 1814, 1823, and 1834 restricted the settlement of lascars in Britain. They had to return to their home port, whether with the ship of their arrival or another India-bound ship. If lascars remained in England, the East India Company assumed financial responsibility for them.¹⁵ Lascars thus became a maritime labor pool of non-European, migrant, contract workers: aliens in Britain and working under different conditions from sailors recruited in British ports.

Having originated in the conditions of the late eighteenth century, Asiatic Articles presented new benefits for nineteenth-century British shipping. Ship owners and masters regarded men under Asiatic Articles as easier to recruit and discipline than European sailors. As southern African and Australian ports and their hinterlands prospered, high wages and other opportunities both encouraged European sailors to desert their ships and made it difficult to hire replacements in ports. Men on Asiatic Articles were bound by the terms of their contract to work for stipulated periods of time. Moreover, unlike European sailors, they could not melt into the populations of white settler societies increasingly characterized by a color bar. On board ship, European officers regarded sailors on Asiatic Articles as more compliant than crewmen from Europe or—worse—the settler colonies where “Jack got to assume that he was quite as good as his master.”¹⁶ Serangs and tindals removed the burden of disciplining so-called “Asiatic” crewmen from European officers, who also attributed religious strictures with preventing drunkenness—that bane of maritime discipline—among Hindu and Muslim sailors.¹⁷ In contrast to their opinions about intractable European crewmen, officers lauded non-Europeans as “obedient, satisfied with rough fare, averse to strikes, sober and hard-working.”¹⁸ Men working under Asiatic Articles dominated the crews of many nineteenth-century British Indian Ocean ships. By 1855, British merchant ships employed 10,000 to 12,000 lascars. About 60 percent of these men came from the

¹⁴ Public Records Office (hereafter, PRO), Kew Gardens, England, Treasury, T1/631, record 14240, Proceedings of the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor, May 24, 1786. I am grateful to Alexander X. Byrd for bringing this information to my attention.

¹⁵ Laura Tabili, “We Ask for British Justice”: *Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 42–44; R. M. Hughes, *The Laws Relating to Lascars and Asiatic Seamen* (London, 1855), 1–20.

¹⁶ W. Caius Crutchley, *My Life at Sea* (London, 1912), 104–06, 249–50.

¹⁷ John Bain, *Life of a Scottish Sailor; or, Forty Years' Experience of the Sea* (Nairn, 1897), 124.

¹⁸ *Graphic* of 1892, cited in Peter Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag of the P & O* (London, 1981), 115.

Indian subcontinent; the others had arrived in Indian ports from the Malay Archipelago, China, Arabia, and East Africa.¹⁹

At the same time that Asiatic Articles increasingly controlled the lives of non-European sailors, the African slave trade and regional exploitation of slaves expanded. Atlantic demands and Atlantic institutions extended into the Indian Ocean. Ships rounded the Cape of Good Hope to seek East African slaves; sugar plantations arose on the southern Indian Ocean islands. The new demands for slaves, as well as a rise in world ivory prices, pushed trade routes west and north from the Mozambique and Swahili coasts. Regional state expansion and commercialization also fueled slavery. Even as Europeans were setting the foundations of colonial empires, African and Asian powers expanded across the region. By 1840, the Omani sultans had transferred the seat of their power to the East African island of Zanzibar, which became the center for a new commercial empire. In the Horn of Africa, the Ethiopian state based in Shoa became the core of a growing empire. To the north and west, Egypt built an empire in the upper Nile valley after 1820. The conquests of the Egyptian and Ethiopian states stimulated slave raiding and trading, which merchants then sustained. The exploitation of slaves also increased within Africa. When export prices dropped, cheap slaves glutted local markets; their masters then put them to work in a variety of endeavors. Slaves became important in agriculture and other activities in the Sudanese Nile valley, Ethiopia, and the Somali coast and hinterland. Originally a trade entrepôt, Zanzibar developed as a center for plantation agriculture when landowners reacted to a temporarily depressed export market by putting their slaves to work on plantations.²⁰

Under the shadow of European global economic hegemony, growing Asian and African commerce created labor demands often met by slaves or freedmen. The same European prosperity that fueled the market for ivory raised the prices of a regional maritime export: pearls and mother of pearl, brought from ocean depths by slave divers.²¹ Revived trade demanded overland and maritime transport workers. From ports of the Swahili coast, especially Zanzibar, whose trade increased five-fold in the first half of the century, trusted slaves joined caravans linking the coast and interior.²² The use of slaves as sailors probably increased when

¹⁹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 19; Dixon, "Lascars," 268; William Dane Phelps, *Fore and Aft; or, Leaves from the Life of an Old Sailor* (Boston, 1871), 131, 133; Hughes, *Laws Relating to Lascars and Asiatic Seamen*, 5.

²⁰ Janet J. Ewald, "Africa: East Africa," in Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (New York, 1998), 41–46; Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 45.

²¹ J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia*, Vol. 1, *Historical*, Part 2 (Calcutta, 1915), 2220, 2252; PRO, Foreign Office (hereafter, FO) 881/3780, Memoranda by Mr. A. B. Wyld Regarding the Slave Trade in the Soudan and Its Red Sea Coast, India Office (hereafter, IO), London, Political and Secret Department (hereafter, PSD), L/P&S/9/54, Loch to Secretary of State for India, September 13, 1878, enclosing Loch to Secretary to Government, September 21, 1878; PRO, FO 84/1510, Beyts to Derby, March 5, 1878; PRO, Admiralty (hereafter, ADM) 1/6452, Corbett to Secretary of Admiralty, January 9, 1878, enclosing Powlett to Corbett, December 20, 1877; FO 84/1849, Jago to Secretary of State for Foreign Office, July 9, 1887; FO 881/3829, Malcolm to Salisbury, July 22, 1878; Renato Paoli, "Le condizioni commerciali dell'Eritrea," in Fernando Martini, *et al.*, *L'Eritrea economica* (Novara, 1913), 181–84.

²² Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory in Zanzibar* (London, 1987), 87–109; Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 144, 187, 232; Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), 61–62, 70, 74–75, 87, 94, 110.

captives glutted African and Arab markets beginning in the 1830s. From then until the 1880s, slaves and freedmen often formed the majority of the crews on coastal and oceangoing ships, large and small. Off the south Arabian coast, skilled slave sailors sometimes even commanded ships belonging to their owners.²³

Burgeoning nineteenth-century cities along the rim of the western Indian Ocean absorbed workers, slave and free. The combined population of the Hijazi cities—Mecca and Medina in the interior, and their port of Jidda—doubled in the nineteenth century.²⁴ Zanzibar's population grew from perhaps 12,000 in 1835 to between 25,000 and 45,000 in 1857.²⁵ Moreover, the populations of both regions swelled seasonally: the Hijaz, during the Muslim pilgrimage, which increased after the opening of the Suez Canal; Zanzibar, during the trading season.²⁶ The needs of growing populations, labor bottlenecks during the pilgrimage and trading seasons, and ample slaves encouraged entrepreneurs to invest in slaves, whom they hired out, then took a portion of their daily pay.²⁷ Such slaves could be moved as needed from one activity to another: working in light industries, such as a flour mill; processing, packing, and carrying export goods; and, especially, constructing the new private and public buildings that sprung up in Zanzibar and the Hijazi cities.²⁸

²³ Charles Xavier Rochet d'Héricourt, *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adels, et le royaume de Choa* (Paris, 1846), 19; PRO, FO 84/1849, Jago to Secretary of State for the Foreign Office, July 9, 1887; Benjamin, "Arab Merchants of Bombay and Surat," 85–95; Risso, *Oman and Muscat*, 75 and following; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, 2 vols. (London, 1838), 1: 28; Captain Colomb [P. H. Colomb], *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean: A Record of Naval Experiences* (1873; rpt. edn., New York, 1896), 59–60, 96–99, 196, 216, 219–21; IO, Settlement of Aden Residency Records (hereafter, ARR), R20/A/17, Political Agent, Aden, to Willoughby, December 22, 1841.

²⁴ William Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840–1908* (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), 17.

²⁵ Richard F. Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island and Coast*, 2 vols. (1857; rpt. edn., New York, 1967), 1: 81.

²⁶ Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia*, 60–61.

²⁷ PRO, FO 84/1570, Layard to Salisbury, April 2, 1880, enclosing Zohrab to Layard, March 13, 1880. See also FO 84/1510, Beyts to Derby, February 20, 1878, enclosing deposition of Suedo, February 18, 1878.

²⁸ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs, and Learning*, J. H. Monahan, trans. (Leiden, 1931), 3, 4; PRO, FO 84/1482, Memorandum on despatch from Beyts to Derby, October 3, 1877; Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 80; Norman Robert Bennett, ed., *The Zanzibar Letters of Edward D. Ropes, Jr., 1882–1892* (Boston, 1973), 9; Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 185–87; James Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa* (London, 1876), 312, 330; for the nineteenth-century building boom in Zanzibar, see Abdul Sheriff, "Introduction," "An Outline History of Zanzibar Stone Town," and "Mosques, Merchants, and Landowners in Zanzibar Stone Town," and Steve Battle, "The Old Dispensary: An Apogee of Zanzibari Architecture," in Abdul Sheriff, ed., *The History and Conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town* (London, 1995), 2, 12–21, 46–66, 91–99; Bennett, *Zanzibar Letters*, 10, 14, 34; W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage around the World in 1835, 1836, and 1837*, 2 vols. (London, 1838), 1: 37; Joseph B. F. Osgood, *Notes of Travel; or, Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, Muscat, Aden, Mocha, and Other Eastern Ports* (Salem, Mass., 1854), 30; W. F. Baldock, recorder, "The Story of Rashid Bin Hassani of the Bisa Tribe, Northern Rhodesia," in Margery Perham, ed., *Ten Africans* (London, 1936), 99; for building in the Hijaz, see Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia*, 66–68; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 11–12, 31–32, 37–38. French reports offer particularly detailed descriptions of government building projects. See the Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (hereafter, MAE), Paris, Correspondance Commerciale et Consulaire, Djeddah (hereafter, CCCD), Vol. 2, 1869–1874, DuBreuil to MAE, March 25, 1868; Vol. 3, 1869–1874, DuBreuil to MAE, March 6, 1869; Vol. 2, 1865–68, DuBreuil to MAE, March 26, 1867, April 14, 1867; Vol. 3, DuBreuil to MAE, March 6, 1869; Vol. 2, 1865–68, DuBreuil to MAE, March 26, 1867, April 14, 1867; Vol. 3, 1869–1874, DuBreuil to MAE, March 6, 1869; Vol. 3, 1869–1874, DuBreuil to MAE, March 6, 1869, DuBreuil to MAE, February 27, 1873; Vol. 3, 1869–1874, DuBreuil to MAE, March 6, 1869, and February 20, 1871.

On the waterfronts of Jidda and Zanzibar, slave porters and boatmen worked under and alongside Hadhrami and Yemeni men, carrying goods between ship and shore, and performing other harbor work. Freeborn workers, even those with relatively modest amounts of capital, availed themselves of inexpensive slaves to become labor supervisors. In Zanzibar by 1878, Hadhrami who had worked as porters owned their own slave porters.²⁹ The men who loaded coal and cargo onto anchored steamships were probably hired-out slaves.³⁰ The enormous increase in steamships visiting Jidda annually—from thirty-eight in 1864 to 205 in 1875—created new labor demands.³¹ Forced by reefs to anchor far beyond the harbor, steamships depended on flat-bottomed vessels (lighters) often manned in part by slaves. One boatman, for example, bought a slave whom he at first made load cargo and passengers onto vessels; he then put the slave to work loading ballast onto steamships.³² Slaves supplied most of the boatmen, as well as the porters, in the Jidda harbor as late as 1923, roughly ninety years after slavery's abolition in British colonial territories.³³

Ships and ports offered gateways to emancipation. Some slaves received manumission from their masters, who acted from a combination of economic, religious, and social motives. When demands for labor decreased, masters perhaps found it more pragmatic to free slaves rather than to continue supporting them. Moreover, Muslim masters who freed their slaves performed an act of charity in the eyes of their faith. According to Islamic values, the gift of freedom nonetheless bound slaves in clientship to their benefactors; an Arabic proverb stated, “he who frees a slave fetters a hand.”³⁴ Masters particularly valued skilled and loyal ex-slaves as clients. In Mecca, if a slave working in construction became fluent in Arabic and generally displayed promise, he moved to work in the business or household of his master. Household slaves often received their freedom upon adulthood and established households of their own, with the help and tutelage of their ex-masters.³⁵ Boat owners also manumitted slaves, who sometimes continued to work for their ex-masters. One freedman commanded his master's pearl-fishing vessel; another served as a crew member. Still another freedman even became the co-owner, along with his ex-master's son, of an Indian ship trading to Jidda.³⁶

Slaves themselves sometimes seized the physical mobility of urban and maritime

²⁹ Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 466–67; Norman Bennett, “William H. Hawthorne: Merchant and Consul in Zanzibar,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 99 (1963): 127; Christie, *Cholera Epidemics*, 330.

³⁰ Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 467; Christie, *Cholera Epidemics*, 330, 408.

³¹ William Ochsenwald, “The Commercial History of the Hijaz Vilayet, 1840–1908,” in R. B. Serjeant and R. L. Bidwell, eds., *Arabian Studies VI* (London, 1982), 70–71.

³² PRO, FO 84/1482, Deposition of Murjan, December 11, 1876, enclosed in Wylde to Derby, February 11, 1877.

³³ Jan Schmidt, *Through the Legation Window, 1876–1926: Four Essays on Dutch, Dutch-Indian and Ottoman History* (Istanbul, 1992), 71.

³⁴ R. Brunschvig, “‘Abd,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edn. (Leiden, 1960), 26; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge, 1971), 80–81; Daniel Pipes, “Mawlas: Freed Slaves and Converts in Early Islam,” in Willis, *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, 199–227; William John Sersen, “Stereotypes and Attitudes towards Slaves in Arabic Proverbs: A Preliminary View,” in Willis, *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, 97.

³⁵ Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 11–13.

³⁶ IO, PSD, L/P&S/9/54, Loch to Secretary of State for India, September 13, 1878, enclosing Loch to Secretary to Government, September 21, 1878; PRO, FO 195/579, Pollen to Secretary of Admiralty, June 19, 1858, enclosed in Green to Allicin, July 8, 1858.

work, translating it into social mobility. The lines between slave and free blurred among the poor of northwest Indian Ocean port cities, as a multi-ethnic group of urban wage workers emerged. Slaves mingled with other workers and sailors on jobs and in relaxation, in housing, and sometimes in jails.³⁷ Slaves learned to move in the maritime and port world. They negotiated with their masters, seeking their own jobs, distancing themselves from those masters, and sometimes even breaking servile ties altogether. In Zanzibar and other parts of the Swahili coast, slaves found work on caravans, where they not only earned wages but also engaged in their own trading endeavors. The Zanzibari slave Rashid, for example, signed up for European expeditions when the construction work for which he had been hired out by his mistress slowed. Other slaves, freedmen, and freeborn workers followed Rashid's path. By February 1878, so many men had left with caravans for the interior that the price of labor in Zanzibar had doubled over the previous eighteen months.³⁸ Other slaves probably found work on ships, where they enjoyed a degree of independence, including the opportunities to earn wages and to trade.³⁹ In the late 1880s, slave crews on Red Sea boats even made demands on their masters for certain wages and food.⁴⁰

Port and maritime slaves sought freedom in British enclaves and ships or received it through British intervention. In 1858, the British consul of Zanzibar confiscated 8,000 slaves belonging to British Indian subjects.⁴¹ Slaves sometimes escaped to British ships off Zanzibar. An officer in a private ship reported black men swimming to ships and begging to be taken to British ports in southern Africa. Other freedmen became crew members of Royal Navy ships, especially after 1870, when the Admiralty ordered that East Africans replace Sierra Leonians on Indian Ocean vessels.⁴² The British consulate in Jidda also represented freedom. One slave, Suedo, learned from Jidda's "coolies" that he could take refuge at the British consulate. Dispatched to collect wages he had earned, Suedo found himself near the consulate and seized the opportunity to take refuge there. Slaves often made such escapes when moving from one job or one place to another. A slave lighterman, Murjan, appeared at the British consulate in Jidda just after he had been put to work at a new job. Another slave made his bid for freedom just after having been sent from Suakin to Jidda. Promised by his master good wages for loading salt onto

³⁷ Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, 2: 428; J. Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*, John Seelye, ed. (1846; rpt. edn., Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 371, 396–401, 405, 425.

³⁸ Baldock, "Story of Rashid," 99–106; Bennett, "William H. Hawthorne," 127. For an analysis of slaves as caravan porters, see Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 55–78, 87.

³⁹ The same Swahili word, *mafundi*, applied to slaves and free men who were artisans or specialists, including skilled porters and sailors. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 87, 89 n. 21.

⁴⁰ PRO, FO 84/1849, Jago to Secretary of State, July 9, 1887.

⁴¹ Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 60.

⁴² Crutchley, *My Life at Sea*, 140; Arthur Davy, "Tindals, Seedies and Kroomen," *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 17 (1993): 157. I am very grateful to Dr. Davy for responding to my inquiry and sending me a copy of his article. For an example of a freedman joining the crew of a Royal Navy vessel, see PRO, Foreign Office Confidential 2624, July 27, 1875, Cumming to Secretary of the Admiralty, May 19, 1875; and Inclosure 4, Captain Sullivan to Cumming, May 4, 1875, rpt. in Anita P. Burdett, ed., *Persian Gulf and Red Sea Naval Reports, 1820–1960* (Slough, 1993), vol. 4, 1875–1881, 47, 56.

vessels in the Jidda harbor, the slave discovered instead that he was to be sold. He then ran away to the British consulate.⁴³

Murjan, Suedo, and other port workers and sailors moved in a distinctly Indian Ocean world. As maritime laborers had for centuries, they worked on ships and in ports where work fluctuated according to the yearly cycles of the winds and Islamic calendar. Yet after 1498 and especially after the late eighteenth century, the physical boundaries of Indian Ocean maritime workers widened. On British and other European ships, they sailed the Atlantic. At the same time, new social boundaries arose. Lascars might sail the Atlantic, but they could not settle in Britain; Asiatic Articles controlled their movements. The rise of slave raiding and trading, and the demand for slaves in nineteenth-century ports and ships, reinforced other social boundaries and hierarchies. Yet slaves like Murjan challenged those boundaries, seeking freedom through the very ports and ships that demanded their servitude. I do not know where the Murjan of Jidda went in 1876; but other Africans, many freedmen and some also named Murjan, entered British ports and British steamships, where they faced new mobility and new boundaries.

IN 1886, AN INDIA-BOUND PASSENGER on the steamship *Parramatta*, belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Line (P & O), wrote of “that glorious British Empire of which we are here a small, moving, isolated fragment.”⁴⁴ Steam liners indeed represented the British Empire in microcosm, with European passengers divided by class and crew divided by both rank and race. Order, efficiency, and punctuality relied on hierarchy, discipline, industrial engines, and the labor of imperial subjects. Probably more than one hundred of these imperial subjects worked on the *Parramatta*. Indian lascars served as the deck crew; in the engine rooms below the decks, firemen and coal trimmers cut and hauled coal, stoked and maintained engines. Many of these men were probably Africans who had been slaves before entering the engine rooms of the *Parramatta*.

The imperial and industrial regime of the *Parramatta*, however, emerged only after steamships had plied the Indian Ocean for decades. Industrial transport, labor, and time did not quickly triumph over sails, sailors, and seasonal winds. The first steamship, the British *Hugh Lindsay*, sailed from Bombay to Suez in 1829–1830. But weak engines, unwieldy construction, and expensive coal made it difficult or impossible for the *Hugh Lindsay* and its successors to sail easily against prevailing winds. As late as the early twentieth century, steamships sometimes still hoisted sails. Even after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which resulted in an enormous increase of steamship traffic, sails alone carried some ships—especially on routes to Australia and the Pacific. Sailing ships also continued on some regional routes within the Indian Ocean. The arrival of steamships even stimulated the activities of indigenous coastal vessels and lighters, propelled by sails or oars. A wide range of sailboats—ocean-going ships, vessels crossing from Africa, small

⁴³ PRO, FO 84/1510, Beyts to Derby, February 20, 1878, enclosing deposition of Suedo, February 18, 1878; and FO 84/1597, Zohrab to Granville, July 1, 1881.

⁴⁴ Edwin Arnold, on board the *Parramatta*, 1886, quoted in Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag*, 70.

lighters—even frequented Aden, a port renovated for steamships, as late as the 1870s.⁴⁵

Before huge passenger liners depended on large numbers of men working engines, steamships and imperial endeavors created new labor demands on land. Steamships needed new ports and port facilities, requiring workers to construct roads, railroads, and port facilities, as well as a range of new buildings for government, commerce, housing, and a variety of services, including health and sanitation.⁴⁶ The periodic arrival of steamers necessitated the services of dock and harbor workers. Steamships did not always bring the supposed regularity of industrial time to dock work but instead intensified the irregularity of such work.⁴⁷ Steamships running on strict schedules, especially if they were carrying mail, demanded quick turnarounds in port. Stevedores, porters, and coal heavers worked feverishly for short periods; when the work ended, they sought other jobs or were forced into idleness. Controlling the ports and maritime routes that provided the networks of the British Empire led to military ventures, themselves creating flurries of work in old and new ports.⁴⁸ Intense, but often sporadic and irregular, port building and military activities called for rapidly recruiting large numbers of men who would work steadily until they finished a particular project. British employers used existing methods of recruitment and sources of labor, turning to local labor brokers and gang leaders. As middlemen who understood local conditions and languages, these men found new roles in British ports and on British ships. They drew workers from the labor markets of Indian cities, as well as from Arabia and Africa.

The most important British port of the northwestern Indian Ocean was Aden, at the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula. Taken over as a coal depot by the British in 1839, Aden became one of the busiest ports in the world by the last half of the nineteenth century. Between 1839 and 1856, Aden's population exploded from 1,300 to 21,000.⁴⁹ The work of transforming Aden from a dilapidated town to a major steamship port fell to migrants from India, the Yemeni highlands, and Africa. From the beginning, the British looked beyond the enclave for an inexpensive and controllable work force. From 1839 through the 1850s, British authorities sponsored the migration of convict labor and free workers from India. When unskilled Indian labor eventually proved unfeasible, British officials turned

⁴⁵ John H. Wilson, *On Steam Communication between Bombay and Suez, with an Account of the Hugh Lindsay's Four Voyages* (Bombay, 1833); Major and Mrs. George Darby Griffith, *A Journey across the Desert, from Ceylon to Marseilles: Comprising Sketches of Aden, the Red Sea, Lower Egypt, Malta, Sicily, and Italy*, 2 vols. (London, 1845), 1: 9, 12–13; F. M. Hunter, *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (1877; rpt edn., London, 1968), 83–84.

⁴⁶ For European port-building in other parts of the Indian Ocean, see F. J. A. Broeze, K. I. McPherson, and P. D. Reeves, "Engineering and Empire: The Making of the Modern Indian Ocean Ports," in Satish Chandra, ed., *The Indian Ocean: Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics* (New Delhi, 1987), 254–55, 256, 300–01.

⁴⁷ See, for example, E. L. Taplin, *Liverpool Dockers and Seamen, 1870–1890* (Hull, 1974), 3, 6.

⁴⁸ The Abyssinian Expedition of 1868, known as an "engineer's war," provides the best example of a military campaign creating intense activity in the ports of the western Indian Ocean. Thomas E. Marston, *Britain's Imperial Role in the Red Sea Area, 1800–1878* (Hamden, Conn., 1961), 341, 346, 353–54; Ghada Talhami, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule, 1865–1885* (Washington, D.C., 1979), 85–86; D. A. Farnie, *East and West of Suez: The Suez Canal in History, 1854–1956* (Oxford, 1969), 78; MAE, CCCD, Vol. 2, DuBreuil to MAE, March 1, 1868.

⁴⁹ R. J. Gavin, *Aden under British Rule, 1839–1967* (London, 1975), 445.

to Arabs from the highlands north of Aden. These men first proved themselves as coalers of steamships and then as laborers in some public works projects. Unlike immigrant Indian labor, they were efficiently recruited and controlled by Arab brokers who also often supplied draft animals. The first labor contractors arrived shortly after 1839 from Mocha, the Red Sea port that declined as Aden rose.⁵⁰

By the late 1850s, Aden's population and work force consisted mainly of Arabs, "Seed[i]es, Somalees, and other persons who cannot correctly be described as natives of India."⁵¹ The term "seedies" derived from "sidis," originally "sayyids," referring to Africans in northern India, some of whose ancestors had served as slave-sailors and commanders. In nineteenth-century Indian English usage, seedies also came to denote men who entered the Indian Ocean world from the Swahili coast, especially Zanzibar, particularly sailors and harbor workers.⁵² Many seedies were escaped or manumitted slaves. Slaves fled to Aden, sometimes on vessels belonging to their masters. In August 1878, eleven slave pearl fishers in the Red Sea hijacked their owner's boat, itself commanded by a freedman, and headed for the port. Other slaves probably had received manumission and came to Aden seeking work. Still others entered Aden when British ships intercepted ships carrying slaves in or near the Gulf of Aden. Between 1865 and 1870 alone, the government recorded almost 2,200 freedmen as having entered Aden.⁵³ Freeborn Somalis arrived in Aden from Africa as well as Arabian ports. Drawing on their previous maritime expertise, and on the early British prohibition against Arab boats in the harbor, Somalis dominated Aden's small boat traffic. Somali boats served a particularly important role as lighters after steamships became larger in the mid-1860s. Port facilities failed to keep up with the deeper draft ships, which were forced to anchor far off-shore and depend on lighters. By the 1870s, over seven hundred Somalis holding government licenses monopolized the small boat traffic in the port.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Gavin, *Aden under British Rule*, 59; for recruiting Indian and Arab labor, including debates about the relative worth of the two kinds of workers, see IO, ARR, R/20/A/4, Haines to Willoughby, n.d. [between March 17, 1839, and April 13, 1839], and October 7, 1839; R/20/A/17, Willoughby to Haines, November 11, 1841; R/20/A/30, Curtis to Haines, April 11, 1842, Curtis to Secretary to the Military Board, March 1, 1842, Cruttenden to Haines, June 25, 1842; R/20/A/30, Curtis to Secretary to Military Board, March 1, 1842; R/20/A/48, Haines to J. P. W., December 24, 1844; R/20/A/53, Haines to Escombe, June 27, 1845; R/20/A/55, Malet to Haines, July 30, 1846; R/20/A57, Malet to Haines, July 30, October 3, November 2, and November 13, 1846, Military Board, Bombay to Haines, October 12, 1846, and Ewart to Haines, November 30, 1846; R/20/A/58, Haines to Malet, September 2 and September 9, 1846, and Haines to Grant, December 5, 1846; R/20/A/163, Coghlan to Hart, January 24, 1857, enclosing extract of a letter from the Secretary to the Medical Board, December 24, 1856, and Memorandum by Playfair, January 23, 1857, Wilkins to Coghlan, January 24, 1857; R/20/A/195, Coghlan to Young, February 19, 1859.

⁵¹ IO, ARR, R/20/A/155, Anderson to Coghlan, July 27, 1857.

⁵² Hunter, *Account of the British Settlement of Aden*, 39; Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms*, 2d edn., ed. by William Crooke (Delhi, 1968), 806.

⁵³ IO, PSD, L/P&S/54, Loch to Secretary of State for India, September 13, 1878, enclosing Loch to Secretary to Government, September 21, 1878; Loch to Secretary of State for India, September 23, 1878; Osgood, *Notes of Travel*, 150; R. L. Playfair, *A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen* (Bombay, 1859), 15. Lidwien Kapteijns and Jay Spaulding, "From Slaves to Coolies: Two Documents from the Nineteenth-Century Somali Coast," *Sudanica Africa* 3 (1992): 1–8; Harris, *African Presence in Asia*, 67.

⁵⁴ Edward A. Alpers, "The Somali Community at Aden in the Nineteenth Century," *Northeast African Studies* 8 (1986): 143–44; Griffith and Griffith, *Journey across the Desert*, 1: 21; Hunter, *Account of the British Settlement of Aden*, 35. By the end of the decade, however, Somali boatmen found

Somalis, Yemenis, and seedies performed the work that was the *raison d'être* for Aden: loading coal onto steamships. As early as the 1840s, government mail steamers employed coalers who came from the Swahili coast near Zanzibar. Keeping on schedule required a fast turnaround in port; according to one observer, the Zanzibari coalers "never cease, night or day, until they have finished their task, and the fatigue is so great, that it was calculated that one man died for every 100 ton of coals."⁵⁵ Attempting to remedy the high mortality rate, officials issued rations of alcohol to the workers. A few years later, a government official noted that escaped slaves, as well as sons of free men and slave women, worked with Yemenis from mountain villages at loading coal onto steamships. By the 1870s, a force of about nine hundred workers—identified as mostly Arab but including some Somalis—loaded and unloaded both cargo and coal at Aden.⁵⁶

As they had in Aden, in the Red Sea ports of Suakin and Port Sudan the British turned to brokers who in these cases recruited mainly Yemeni workers. A burst of activity occurred in Suakin in 1885 when ships and men converged on the port, the intended base of Anglo-Egyptian attacks against the Sudanese Mahdi and terminus for a planned railroad. British officials soon deemed migrant Egyptian labor too expensive and Somali workers too inefficient. The Briton in charge of railway construction turned to Angelo Capato, a member of the Greek diaspora of entrepreneurs and workers, who was already providing British troops with cattle from the southwest Arabian coast. Capato parlayed supplying cattle into supplying men. With the help of his Arab employee, Capato recruited three thousand Yemeni contract workers.⁵⁷ More than twenty years later, the British abandoned Suakin and began to build Port Sudan on an almost empty site. Requiring large numbers of workers, they again used a labor broker: this time, a Yemeni who recruited men from his homeland.⁵⁸

Some workers in Aden and Bombay moved from dockside to shipboard, enlisting as crewmen on sailing vessels and steamships. Shipboard life seems particularly to have attracted freedmen. In the 1850s, slaves fleeing to Aden sought to join ships' crews. By the 1870s, nearly six hundred Arabs, Somalis, and other Africans hired themselves out annually for work on steamships.⁵⁹ In Bombay, Africans joined Indians in ships' crews. In 1864, more than half of the (probably under-reported) two thousand Africans in Bombay earned their living as sailors or in related maritime work.⁶⁰ Some freedmen came to Bombay from Aden when that local labor

themselves squeezed by the various factors. The boatmen collectively petitioned the government with their grievances. See, for example, IO, ARR, R/20/A/515, Harbour Master to Political Resident, December 6, 1878, enclosing petition from Muhammad Hassan and others; Hajee Hoosain to Goodfellow, January 14, 1879, Sullivan to Kennedy, January 18, 1879, undated petition of twenty-five boat owners to Harbour Master and petition from Salih Elmee and others, June 22, 1876.

⁵⁵ Griffith and Griffith, *Journey across the Desert*, 1: 19, 21.

⁵⁶ IO, ARR, R/20/A/58, Haines to Malet, September 9, 1846; Playfair, *History of Arabia Felix*, 15; Hunter, *Account of British Settlement of Aden*, 35.

⁵⁷ Sudan Archive, University of Durham, Durham, R. Robinson Papers, 104/18/106; Sarsfield-Hall Papers, 682/14, "History of Mr. Angelo Capato."

⁵⁸ Kenneth J. Perkins, *Port Sudan: The Evolution of a Colonial City* (Boulder, Colo., 1993), 68–69, 123–30.

⁵⁹ Playfair, *History of Arabia Felix*, 15; Hunter, *Account of the British Settlement of Aden*, 36.

⁶⁰ Harris, *African Presence in Asia*, 72.

market could not absorb them, others directly from British ships on antislavery patrol. After being deposited in Bombay by British ships, young African freedmen sometimes entered the British Indian navy as cabin boys. Others were sent to mission schools, where they learned to be smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, painters—and sailors. One young mission freedman worked under an engineer aboard a vessel of the British navy, eventually returning to Bombay via Aden.⁶¹ Other freedmen perhaps were directed to maritime labor from the very ships that transported them. In the 1870s, the firm acting as agents for the British India Steam Navigation Company (BISN) in Zanzibar and India received a government contract to transport slaves freed by British vessels. The agents, who recruited labor for overland expeditions, perhaps also funneled the freedmen it carried into shipboard labor, sending them to BISN vessels or the recruiting agencies of the P & O.⁶²

Steamships put Africans and Asians to work in new settings, with new divisions in the maritime worksite and work force. Some men worked on deck, others in the engine room. The separation between deck and engine room crews, as well as the use of non-European labor, came about partly because industrialization challenged shipboard hierarchy and discipline. The newly important engineers threatened the long-held absolute authority of the sailing master. Deck officers and engineers dealt with possible conflicts of authority by making the engine room as much as possible a separate domain from the deck, with a distinct crew including a cook and storekeeper. But engineers themselves faced challenges from European workers in engine rooms. Often experienced in industrial or heavy labor but new to maritime life, these men sometimes opposed shipboard authority.⁶³ Already regarding non-Europeans as more amenable to discipline and more willing to work under harsh conditions, employers hired them for the engine room. In particular, workers who loaded coal onto steamships—freedmen, Somalis, and Yemenis—also worked with coal in engine rooms. Racial stereotypes justified the conditions of the engine room. According to one officer, the engine room was a “terrible place . . . no man with longings for decent life [*sic*] would or could remain” as a coal trimmer; as a result, engine room labor was “utterly unfit for white men.”⁶⁴

Engine room crews worked under different conditions according to whether they served on liners, which used Asiatic Articles, or tramps, which often hired under standard articles. Based originally on carrying British coal throughout the world and bringing back iron ore for British factories, tramp shipping flourished from about 1870 to World War I. Tramp steamers followed no set schedule or itinerary; their masters took them to whatever port offered freight. The irregular schedules of

⁶¹ Colomb, *Slave-Catching*, 101, 261; H. Gundert, *Biography of the Reverend Charles Isenberg* (London, 1885), 54, 71–73; IO, ARR, R/20/A/118, Southey to A. C. Lewis, March 1, 1848, Haines to Malet, December 15, 1847; R/20/142, Anderson to Coghlan, June 26, 1856; R/20/A/180, Coghlan to Anderson, March 24, 1858, Anderson to Coghlan, April 24, 1858, Coghlan to Crawford, July 9, 1858, Coghlan to Masters of *Success*, July 9, 1858, Crawford to Coghlan, August 9, 1858; R/20/A/215, Playfair to Kemp, June 12, 1860; Fred Morton, *Children of Ham: Freed Slaves and Fugitive Slaves on the Kenya Coast, 1873 to 1907* (Boulder, Colo., 1990), 52–58; H. B. Thomas, “The Death of Dr. Livingstone: Carus Farrar’s Narrative,” *Uganda Journal* 14 (1950): 116, 120.

⁶² Stephanie Jones, “The Role of the Shipping Agent in Migration: A Study in Business History,” in Klaus Friedland, ed., *Maritime Aspects of Migration* (Cologne, 1989), 339; and Jones, *Two Centuries of Overseas Trading: The Origins and Growth of the Inchcape Group* (Basingstoke, 1986), 111, 113, 128–29.

⁶³ Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag*, 16–17, 108, 109; Crutchley, *My Life at Sea*, 265–66.

⁶⁴ Frank T. Bullen, *Men of the Merchant Service* (New York, 1900), 317, 324, 327.

tramp steamers made it advantageous for them to hire crews for the single voyages stipulated by standard articles. Men from the Swahili coast seem to have served relatively rarely in the engine rooms of tramps; Yemeni, Egyptian, and Somali men appeared more prominently.⁶⁵ Members of the latter groups probably first entered tramps at coal ports such as Aden, Port Said, or Djibouti. Serving under standard articles, they could leave the ship at a British port. There, they joined the crews of other tramp steamers, where they worked alongside men from Europe and other parts of Africa and Asia: the British Isles and continental Europe, as well as Turkey, Sierra Leone, Cape Verde, the West Indies, India, and the Philippines. The ethnically diverse crews traveled throughout the world, including North American ports, where Africans and Asians sometimes deserted with their European shipmates, attracted by the relatively high wages of American port cities.⁶⁶ As colonial subjects working under standard articles, men who claimed to be from Aden or British Somaliland exercised the right to stay in Britain. They settled where they signed on and off ship, gravitating to the western and northeastern ports that shipped coal to Aden or were home ports for tramp steamers: Cardiff, Liverpool, and South Shields. Some stayed and established schools, mosques, and businesses, especially boarding houses. Others returned to their homelands, using profits from their work to establish households. Men working under standard articles on steamships thus sustained communities in Yemen and Somalia; the steamships themselves linked diaspora communities outside the western Indian Ocean world with their homelands.⁶⁷

Steam liners employed both deck and engine room crews under Asiatic Articles. Faced with keener competition and higher technological expenses after the late 1860s, liner companies depended for their profits on efficient use of labor.⁶⁸ Rather than the total cost of wages, which Asiatic Articles did not reduce, the contracts "save[d] constant trouble" by ensuring discipline partly through the agencies of serangs and tindals.⁶⁹ In port, too, the labor force under Asiatic Articles proved efficient. Depending for their profits on adherence to strict schedules, liner companies sought to make quick turnarounds in ports. Discharging old crews and hiring new ones at the end of every voyage extended time spent in port. The contracts of Asiatic Articles for one year, eighteen months, or two years provided

⁶⁵ Maritime History Archive (hereafter, MUMHA) and the Maritime Studies Research Unit (hereafter, MSRU), Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, *Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada: One Percent Sample of Crew Agreements from British Vessels*, on CD-ROM (1998). It must be noted, however, that the 1 percent sample is not statistically representative.

⁶⁶ See the example of 'Ali 'Awad, a Yemeni fireman who deserted in Charleston, South Carolina, in September 1898, recorded in MUMHA and MSRU, *One Percent Sample*, vessel 97387, voyage 17. See also Pankhurst, "Early Somali Autobiography," 375.

⁶⁷ Richard L. Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside: An Arab Community in the North-East of England during the Early Twentieth Century* (Exeter, 1995); Fred Halliday, *Arabs in Exile: Yemeni Migrants in Urban Britain* (London, 1992); Tabili, "We Ask for British Justice," *passim*; Diane Frost, ed., "Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers in the UK," special issue, *Immigrants and Minorities* 13 (July–November 1994).

⁶⁸ For greater competition and higher technological expenses of post-1860s steamshipping, see J. Forbes Munro, "Suez and the Shipowner: The Response of the MacKinnon Shipping Group to the Opening of the Canal, 1869–1884," in Fischer and Nordvik, *Shipping and Trade*, 98–99; Boyd Cable [Ernest Andrew Ewart], *A Hundred Year History of the P. & O., Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company* (London, 1937), 162–79.

⁶⁹ Bain, *Life of a Scottish Sailor*, 124; Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag*, 115.

for a long-term, dependable labor supply.⁷⁰ Moreover, large steamship companies possessed fleets of liners; men on Asiatic Articles could be transferred from one fleet ship to another as needed. Thus, even when new crews boarded the ship, they entered en masse, often being accustomed to similar jobs on the same line or quickly instructed about the new ship. Describing how his ship took on about two hundred new crewmen in Bombay in the space of six hours, one shipmaster stated that “this precise and careful handing-over . . . [accounted for] the extraordinary efficiency of the whole operation.”⁷¹ Finally, shipmasters could put seamen under Asiatic Articles to work on the docks, especially important when dock strikes threatened to throw tight shipping schedules into chaos.⁷² The controllable labor force on Asiatic Articles was thus also flexible and mobile, deployed as needed on ship or shore within the liner companies. As steam liners slowly came to dominate British Indian Ocean shipping, men serving under Asiatic Articles formed a larger proportion of the merchant marine. By 1891, the number of men under Asiatic Articles had more than doubled since 1855 to 24,037 seamen, who represented 10 percent of the British merchant marine. By 1914, their numbers had risen to 51,616 and their proportion of merchant sailors to 17.5 percent.⁷³

Taking on crewmen in Bombay, the P & O Company displayed particularly sharp divisions between almost exclusively Indian deck crews and often predominantly African engine room crews. Men from the subcontinent continued to serve as lascars under Asiatic Articles, gradually finding themselves deck hands rather than sailors as engine power replaced wind power. African seedies dominated the engine room crews. The pattern emerged by the 1850s. In March 1858, a traveler embarking on the *Pottinger* at Suez reported that the entire crew, except English quartermasters, consisted of lascars, while the firemen and stokers were African “Seedy coolies.”⁷⁴ Crew agreements indicating the birthplaces of seedies, as well as their names, suggest that many African firemen and coal trimmers were freedmen.⁷⁵ Often, they are recorded as having been born in Zanzibar, where slaves or freedmen constituted a significant portion of the population.⁷⁶ Names typical of slaves recur on the crew agreements: Mubarak, Faraj, Murjan, Fairuz, Saʿad Allah, and Marzuq.⁷⁷ Freedmen more often served as coal trimmers, who performed the

⁷⁰ Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag*; Donald G. O. Baillie, *A Sea Affair, An Autobiography* (London, 1957), 243.

⁷¹ Baillie, *Sea Affair*, 243.

⁷² Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, Circular to Commanders, issued in 1876; cited in Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag*, 114.

⁷³ Visram, *Ayaks, Lascars and Princes*, 207.

⁷⁴ F. R. Kendall, quoted in Padfield, *Beneath the House Flag*, 35–36.

⁷⁵ David Howarth, *The Story of the P & O: The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company* (London, 1986), 82. MUMHA, Crew Agreements for the steamships *Africa* (68108), *Agra* (68002), *Almora* (68055), *Arcot* (63809), *Assam* (73581), *Assyria* (67980), *Ava* (68060), *Barile Frere* (30634), *Bengal* (30709), *Bheemah* (80428), *China* (27199), *Ellora* (80437), *Kaisar-i-Hind* (76182), *Patna* (63826), *Peshawur* (65641), *Poonah* (45786), *Rome* (81820), *Surat* (54738), and *Umballa* (71729), covering the years between 1864 and 1897, with almost all of the agreements dating from the 1870s and 1880s; National Maritime Museum (hereafter, NMM), Woolwich Out-station, Crew Agreements for *China*, 1864, 1865, *Peshawur*, 1874–1875, *Surat*, 1885.

⁷⁶ Even if the seamen were not born in Zanzibar, a reasonable inference would be that they embarked on the Indian Ocean from Zanzibar or perhaps another port on the Swahili coast.

⁷⁷ MUMHA and NMM, Crew Agreements for the steamships listed above in n. 75; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 111, n. 3; L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel Indien*

heaviest and most dangerous work, than as firemen. On board the *Assam* in 1877, for example, five seedies worked with fifteen other men as firemen; eleven seedies formed the entire contingent of coal trimmers. On a voyage of the *Rome* in 1882–1883, fifteen seedies took their places among forty-five firemen; twenty-two seedies provided all but one of the coal trimmers.⁷⁸

African firemen and trimmers entered records not only when they enlisted or were discharged but also when they died. The “terrible place” of the engine room could also be a deadly place. At the beginning of the voyage, the large pile of coal lay near the entry to the bunkers. But as the voyage continued, the coal was used up and its face receded, forcing trimmers deeper into the unventilated, dust-filled bunkers.⁷⁹ A coal trimmer named “Sambo,” perhaps an African, died on the *Simla* as it sailed between Suez and India in 1862.⁸⁰ On May 4, 1864, “Ibrom Nusseib,” an African who had been a coal trimmer on board the P & O steamship *Columbian*, died of “chronic dysentery and general disability” on board the *Poonah*, which was carrying the disabled seaman from Southampton to Bombay.⁸¹ In the same year, “Mabrick (Seedie)” died on December 4, on the *Golconda*. Somewhere between Suez and India, in 1865, “Mamet Ibram,” a “seedie,” died on the *Carnatic*.⁸² Throughout the nineteenth century, coal trimmers and firemen continued to perish at their jobs: from accidents—especially falls, burns from steam and gas explosions, avalanches of coal, heat asphyxiation—and illness, including fevers and respiratory diseases, as well as the dysentery that claimed the life of Ibrom Nusseib.⁸³ Sometimes, the combination of debilitating illness and an injury proved fatal. One coal trimmer, “Khamis Surbrook” (*sic*), died of a combination of accident and illness: “chronic bronchitis and shock from burn of hand.”⁸⁴

The heritage of slavery’s displacements funneled seedies into employment under restrictive Asiatic Articles rather than the standard articles allowing Yemeni and Somali seamen more mobility at sea and in port. Tramp steamers hired under standard articles in coal ports, such as Aden, where Yemeni and Somali men maintained ties to their natal villages and also formed neighborhoods near the harbor. Labor brokers recruited crews for tramp steamers by gathering men from networks stretching into villages or in harbor neighborhoods. But seedies did not belong, or clung only tenuously, to these sites of recruitment. Uprooted from their homelands, seedies could not claim places in Yemeni and Somali villages; in ports, they were particularly vulnerable to the attempts of colonial officials to move

(Batavia, 1886), 70. Mubarak or variations of it appeared so frequently among “Swahili” at Aden that it came to refer to any Swahili. Alexandre Le Roy, *D’Aden a Zanzibar* (Tours, 1894), 106.

⁷⁸ MUMHA, Crew Agreements for *Assam* (73581), voyage beginning January 1, 1877, and ending August 6, 1877, and for the *Rome* (81820), voyage beginning November 1, 1882, and ending March 17, 1883.

⁷⁹ Bullen, *Men of the Merchant Service*, 323–24.

⁸⁰ NMM, Peninsular and Oriental Nautical Reports (hereafter, PONR), 40/10, January 1862–February 1864, *Simla*.

⁸¹ MUMHA, Logbook, May 4, 1864, *Poonah* (45786).

⁸² NMM, PONR, 40/11, January, 1864–May 1866, *Golconda* and *Carnatic*.

⁸³ NMM, Peninsular and Oriental Death Book, 88/3, *Madras*, May 17, 1859, and June 29, 1866, *Peshawur*, April 25, 1874; PONR, 40/20, May 1884–July 1886, *Tasmania*; 40/22, July 1888–September 1890, *Venetia* and *Parramatta*; 40/23, October 1890–March 1893, *Britannia*, *Peshawur*, and *Gwalior*; 40/27, April 1899–September 1901, *Assaye* and *Egypt*.

⁸⁴ NMM, PONR, 40/23, October 1890–March 1893, *Kaisar-i-Hind*.

people out of harbor neighborhoods. In 1882, Aden's authorities built the new town of Shaykh Uthman, hoping to remove "vagrants" and temporary structures from the harbor and military installations. Living five miles from waterfront workplaces, the men of Shaykh Uthman could not respond quickly when the call for labor went out in the harbor. Not surprisingly, people tried to leave the new settlement and filter back into harbor neighborhoods. Seedies were less successful than migrant Yemenis or Somalis in evading British restrictions. In 1908, the self-proclaimed "strong seedies and hardworking men" of Shaykh Uthman complained that men from the Yemeni highlands had gained preferential treatment in hiring for steamships. Protesting, they invoked their status as "humble British subjects" contrasted with the "foreigners" from the highlands outside the colony. Ironically, the temporary nature of Yemeni and Somali migration to Aden enabled them to live in ephemeral housing near the harbor and escape the authorities. Because the seedies called no place but Aden home, they were particularly disadvantaged by restrictions on land that ultimately restricted their movement to tramp steamers, and thus their mobility abroad.⁸⁵

TRACING THE JOURNEYS OF CROSSERS OF THE SEA both answers questions posed at the beginning of this article and suggests new approaches to themes in world history. To whatever degree coerced or voluntary, physical and social movement shaped the lives of crossers of the sea. Even after the forced journeys taking them from their homes, slaves generally moved or stayed in a particular place or job according to the desires of their masters. The forced mobility of slave labor explains why slavery flourished in the nineteenth-century Indian Ocean and what the demand was for slaves. In the commercial economy of the northwest Indian Ocean, owners valued slaves because, as both commodities and people, they could be moved across a number of economic and social categories. Slaves were simultaneously forms of investment, members of entourages, and workers. Even people with relatively little cash could invest in slaves, whose abundance made them cheap. As workers, slaves eased labor bottlenecks in the ports and ships of the expanding, yet seasonal, commercial economy. They were easily transferred from one endeavor to another as needed. When market prices for slaves rose, their masters could transform workers into commodities and sell them at a profit. Or, when their usefulness ceased, slaves could be manumitted but still perhaps be retained as clients. The mobility of labor in the nineteenth-century northwestern Indian Ocean world helps explain what happened to ex-slaves. After the forced mobility of bondage, both economic and emotional reasons kept many ex-slave men on the move. Freedmen sought work in overland and ocean transport, including steamships. In British ports and ships, they found themselves under new forms of control, including Asiatic Articles, enforced by government officials and private employers. The British use of

⁸⁵ Gavin, *Aden under British Rule*, 189–90; Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside*, 21–23; Richard L. Lawless, "The Role of Seamen's Agents in the Migration for Employment of Arab Seafarers in the Early Twentieth Century," *Immigrants and Minorities* 13 (1994): 34–58; and Lawless, "Recruitment and Regulation: The Migration for Employment of 'Adenese' Seamen in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *New Arabian Studies* 2 (1994): 74–102, esp. 87.

longstanding patterns of labor recruitment enhanced the wealth of local labor brokers. For freedmen, getting jobs depended on their access to brokers and to waterfront neighborhoods.

The flexibility and mobility of slave labor helps explain the continuity of slavery in world history, especially in the households of merchants. Slaves did domestic work; they also processed, packed, and transported commercial goods. This flexible use of slaves in part accounts for the presence of slavery in a place distant in time and space from the nineteenth-century Indian Ocean: medieval Europe. Again, we look to a port city. In thirteenth-century Ragusa, enslaved women served as domestics, packed and carried export goods during the trade season, and sometimes provided transient bachelors with temporary domestic amenities.⁸⁶ The slave women of Ragusa thus sustained both households and commerce. The slave men of northwestern Indian Ocean ports and ships performed jobs vital to trade but also provided entourages and investments for their masters. The very value of both the Mediterranean bondswomen and Indian Ocean bondsmen derived from the multiplicity and mobility of their labor potential.

Men who crossed the northwestern Indian Ocean point historians to ocean basins as a route into world history. In the pre-modern era, similarities of maritime life in both the Atlantic and Indian oceans, and possibly the Mediterranean, suggest a basis for comparing global maritime economies and cultures. By the eighteenth century, sea routes helped create a labor market that spanned the globe but was nonetheless increasingly differentiated. Ships carried first slaves, then indentured workers, from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. An eighteenth-century shortage of maritime labor in the Atlantic encouraged Europeans to recruit African and Asian sailors, who eventually worked under a form of maritime indenture on steamships. Historical themes common to the Indian Ocean and Atlantic thus include slavery and its end, slow industrialization of transport, and development of new forms of labor control and struggles on both land and ship.

Although the crossers of the sea crossed boundaries, and inspire us to do so in our scholarship, they also faced stubborn old—and unexpected new—boundaries. Ultimately, the firmest line fell between slaves and freeborn. Slaves, freedmen, and freeborn indeed performed many of the same jobs; they hauled goods, built structures, and worked vessels. Yet being a slave still mattered. Notwithstanding their often successful struggles to renegotiate relationships, slaves still remained legally subject to masters who could try to sell them or move them from one job to another. Freedmen continued to be vulnerable: to re-enslavement in African and Asian ports, to yet another forced migration, perhaps to Aden or Bombay, in British hands, to recruitment in the British navy, and particularly to employment under Asiatic Articles. As the final irony, some men experienced the heaviest burdens of slavery after freedom, under British rule, and on land. Industrial capitalism and British hegemony enforced new forms of stratification and even imposed new kinds of immobility on Indian Ocean workers, especially freedmen. The crews of Asian and African sailing ships sometimes moved socially as well as physically. Ordinary sailors, including fortunate and skilled slaves, could rise through the ranks. Slaves

⁸⁶ Susan Mosher Stuard, *A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1992), 124, 126.

sometimes became freedmen. On steamships, however, non-European crewmen, though legally free, possessed no similar opportunities. Men below decks—where freedmen seem almost always to have worked—almost never took deck jobs. Whether above or below decks, non-Europeans on European ships did not join the ranks of the officers and engineers who commanded them. Work on a steamship thus made seamen physically more mobile than ever; they entered a maritime world that could extend from Yokohama to Melbourne to London. But it also restricted their social mobility in the maritime world as never before.

But to appreciate fully the burden of slavery's heritage, we must turn from the sea to the land. Few men wanted to live their entire lives as sailors or migrant port laborers. They hoped to settle, forming households either in their homeland or in a diaspora community. In this respect, seedies under Asiatic Articles suffered a particularly difficult and poignant plight. Unlike many non-European sailors under standard articles, they could not enter diaspora communities in Britain. Unlike Indians under Asiatic Articles, seedies were not returned to ports of their homelands by liners. The journeys of captivity had uprooted many seedies from homelands to which they could not return. The heritage of forced mobility and the hard struggle to find a place for themselves thus ultimately separated slaves and freedmen from other crossers of the sea.

A historian of Africa trained at the University of Wisconsin, **Janet J. Ewald** focused her early research on the small mountain kingdom of Taqali, located far from any ocean. Her monograph, *Soldiers, Traders, and Slaves* (1990), placed Taqali in its regional context of the greater Nile Valley. Her early articles and essays explored methodologies of fieldwork and working with oral narratives. Following the paths of northeastern Africans to the Red Sea led her from river valley to ocean basin. This article is part of a larger project examining port and maritime labor in the northwestern Indian Ocean during the transitions from slavery to emancipation, sailing to industrial transportation, and regional economic and political autonomy to European domination.

AHR Forum
Revolutions in the Americas

*Political revolt and its consequences are the subjects of this Forum. The four essays examine revolutions in different parts of the Americas during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. **Jack P. Greene** analyzes the revolt that created the United States. **Franklin W. Knight** assesses the Haitian Revolution and its aftermath. **Virginia Gueda** examines the process and results of Mexican independence. And **Jaime E. Rodríguez O.** surveys revolutions in Spanish America while also integrating central points from the other essays into his analysis. Together, the essays explore revolutions as transforming events but also as distinct events that produce particular transformations. The authors do so by analyzing critical issues such as the depth of the changes produced by each revolution, the internal and external context of each revolt, the spatial, class, racial, and ethnic dimensions of each struggle, and fate of each revolution. By presenting these American revolutions in a comparative analysis, the Forum makes a significant contribution to the study of democratic revolutions in the Western hemisphere as well in other places and times.*

AHR Forum
The American Revolution

JACK P. GREENE

IN THE UNITED STATES, historians and the broader public have, for most of the past two centuries, looked at the American Revolution principally as the first step in the creation of the American nation. They have stressed the process of nation building epitomized by the creation of a republican political regime in each state and the subsequent establishment of a federal system for the distribution of power between the states and the nation. They have emphasized the centrality of the drive for national self-realization that, beginning during the revolutionary era, provided the foundation for an American national identity. From the national-state perspective that has largely shaped the writing of United States history, such an emphasis makes considerable sense. For developing an understanding of *why* a revolution occurred in North America during the late eighteenth century and *what* that revolution was, however, it is, in at least two major respects, seriously deficient. First, it obscures the extraordinary extent to which the American Revolution was very much a British revolution. Second, it seriously underestimates the powerful continuities between the colonial and the national eras and thereby significantly overestimates the revolutionary character of the revolution.

In this essay, I will argue that the American Revolution can be most fully comprehended by viewing it as the first step in the still incomplete process of dismantling the imperial structures created during the early modern era to bring newly encountered areas of the globe into political, economic, and cultural association with the new nation-states of Europe. The first of many such events, the American Revolution differed somewhat from many of those that followed it. I will sketch out some of the more important of these differences, differences that defined and accounted for the particularity of the American Revolution. In doing so, I will focus on three subjects: first, the nature of the British imperial polity in which the revolution occurred; second, the character of the political societies that participated in it; and, third, the nature of the republican polities created during it.

With regard to the first subject, the early modern English or, after 1707, British Empire was not held together by force.¹ England may have been one of the earliest and most centralized and efficient of the nation-states that emerged in western Europe during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Like all the rest of those states, however, it was, for much of the two centuries after 1560 and more

¹ This subject is explored more fully in Jack P. Greene, *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville, Va., 1994).

especially after the union with Scotland, a composite state characterized by indirect governance, fragmented authority, an inchoate theory of national sovereignty, and limited fiscal, administrative, and coercive resources. These conditions dictated that the new extended transatlantic polity we now call the British Empire would not be characterized by a devolution of authority outward from an imperial center to new American peripheries. Rather, authority in that empire would be constructed from the peripheries outward, in two phases. The first involved the creation in America, through the activities of participants in the colonizing impulse, of new arenas of local and individual power. The second involved the actual creation of authority through negotiation between these new arenas and the metropolitan representatives of the center that aspired to bring them under its jurisdiction and to which they desired to be attached. In the earliest stages of this colonizing process, the English state, lacking in revenue, had no choice but to farm out the task of colonization to private groups organized into chartered trading companies or to wealthy individuals known as proprietors. But none of these entities was able to mobilize on its own the resources necessary to establish a successful colony. Hence, they had no choice but to seek cooperation and contributions from settlers, traders, and other individual participants in the colonizing process.

Efforts to enlist such cooperation acknowledged the fact that the actual process of establishing effective centers of English power in America was often less the result of the activities of colonial organizers or licensees than of the many groups and individuals who took actual possession of land, built estates and businesses, turned what had previously been wholly aboriginal social landscapes into partly European ones, constructed and presided over a viable system of economic arrangements, created towns, counties, parishes, or other political units, and subjugated, reduced to profitable labor, killed off, or expelled the original inhabitants. By dint of their industry and initiative, tens of thousands of immigrants created social spaces for themselves and their families and thereby manufactured for themselves status, capital, and power.

Throughout early modern English/British America, independent individual participants in the colonizing process, English and other Europeans, were thus engaged in what can be described as a deep and widespread process of individual self-empowerment. In the contemporary Old World, only a tiny fraction of the male population ever managed to rise out of a state of socioeconomic dependency to achieve the civic competence, the full right to have a voice in political decisions, that was the preserve of independent property holders. By contrast, as a consequence of the easy availability of land and other resources, a very large proportion of the adult male white colonists acquired land or other resources, built estates, and achieved individual independence.²

This development gave rise to strong demands on the part of the large empowered settler populations for the extension to the colonies of the same rights to security of property and civic participation that appertained to the empowered, high status, and independent property holders in the polities from which they came. In their view, colonial government, like metropolitan government, should guarantee

² For a fuller consideration of these matters, see Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 63–129.

that men of their standing would not be governed without consultation or in ways that were patently against their interests. Along with the vast distance of the colonies from Britain, these circumstances powerfully pushed those who were nominally in charge of the colonies toward the establishment and toleration of political structures that involved active consultation with local settlers. Consultation meant that local populations would more willingly both acknowledge the legitimacy of the authority of private agents of colonization and contribute to local costs. The earliest stages of colonization thus resulted in the emergence in new colonial peripheries of many new and relatively autonomous centers of English power effectively under local control.³

Once these centers of local power had been established, agents of metropolitan centralization found it exceedingly difficult to bring them under regulation. Even after the crown had assumed responsibility for all but a few of the colonies, royal officials found themselves having to govern large populations of independent property holders who insisted on living under political arrangements that provided them with extraordinary local autonomy *and* with the fundamental guarantees of Englishness, including especially government by consent, rule by law, and the sanctity of private property, defined as property in individual legal and civil rights as well as property in land and other forms of wealth.

Combined with the scarcity of fiscal and coercive resources and the reluctance of the metropolitan government to spend money for imperial purposes, settler expectations inevitably meant that authority in the early modern British Empire would not be concentrated at the center but, instead, distributed between the center and the peripheries. More specifically, these conditions meant that the metropolitan government would lack the means unilaterally to enforce its will and authority in distant peripheries, that central direction in the British Empire would be minimal, that metropolitan authority in the colonies would be consensual and heavily dependent on provincial opinion, and that effective power in distant colonial polities would be firmly situated in provincial and local governments, which were widely participatory and solidly under the control of large, broadly based, and resident property-owning settler classes. The early modern British Empire was thus a loose association of largely self-governing polities. What was legal, what was constitutional, was determined not by fiat but by negotiation.

The self-made, possessing settler classes of these polities acknowledged metropolitan authority not because it was imposed on them or, primarily, because, as some contemporaries wrote, it afforded them a degree of protection in a war-prone world and gave them access to wider markets and cheaper manufactures. Rather, they accepted that authority because it brought with it incorporation into a larger system of national identity that guaranteed their Englishness, their inheritance in the form of English legal and political traditions, and their continuing control over the polities they had helped to create and to which they were committed. Predominantly reflecting a respect for the extensive empowerment and high degree of corporate and individual liberty of landowning classes, British imperial gover-

³ Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788* (Athens, Ga., 1986), deals at greater length with the issues treated in this and succeeding paragraphs.

nance, like British internal governance, functioned in the colonies to preserve that empowerment and liberty and the property on which it was founded.

A similar case in reference to the role of the peripheries in the construction of authority can be made concerning all early modern European empires, but contemporary British commentators had no doubt that Britain had "dealt more liberally with her colonies than [had] any other nation." No other European state seemed to have extended its colonies so much "liberty to manage their own affairs their own way." "In every thing, except their foreign trade," noted Adam Smith, "the liberty of English colonists" was "complete. It is in every respect equal to that of their fellow-citizens at home, and is secured in the same manner, by an assembly of the representatives of the people." "The government of the English colonies," he observed, "is perhaps the only one which, since the world began, could give perfect security to the inhabitants of so very distant a province."⁴

IF THE BRITISH EMPIRE WAS A CONSENSUAL EMPIRE composed of a loose association of essentially self-governing polities in which authority and effective power were distributed between the center and the peripheries, the settler societies that emerged in colonial British America were, both socially and politically, certainly the most radical in the contemporary Western world.⁵ Colonial enterprisers and many of the earliest settlers hoped to establish hierarchical social orders and authoritative institutions of state and church of the kind they had known in England. From the beginning, however, social and economic conditions in America operated to prevent them from realizing their aspirations. The wide availability of land and the scarcity of labor incited individual settlers to industry, activity, and schemes of improvement, and they built societies that were radically different from most societies in the Old World. These new settler societies had, among the free segments of the population, significantly higher proportions of property holders, higher rates of family formation, broader opportunities for achieving economic competence and personal empowerment, less poverty, fewer and less rigid social distinctions, and far less powerful and obtrusive political and religious establishments.

The fundamental social barrier that in the Old World separated the genteel from the common sort who worked with their hands was far more permeable and far less formidable in America. In the expansive world of colonial British America, a world characterized, especially during the six decades just before the American Revolution, by extraordinary territorial, demographic, and economic growth and social development, the more or less continuous process of social elaboration in older areas and community formation in newer regions meant the more or less continuous creation of new opportunities, new property, and new authority. From the beginning of settlement, ambitious men and women seized the opportunities available to them to acquire substance and to demand a share of that public

⁴ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), in R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, eds., *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1976–83), 2: 572, 583–84, 586.

⁵ This subject is discussed at length in Greene, *Intellectual Construction*, 63–129.

authority that throughout the English-speaking world had long been an attribute of substance.

As a result, the settler societies of colonial British America never developed the social foundations necessary for either an aristocracy or a social system of legally established ranks. Social differentiation proceeded apace, as some families outdistanced others in the drive for material success and social achievement. But social hierarchies were always open to infiltration or challenge from below: elite authority was tenuous, deference was weak, social relations exhibited a deeply egalitarian cast, gentility coexisted uneasily with commonality, and the combinations of older and newer gentlemen who dominated public life on the eve of the revolution did so at the sufferance of their less wealthy neighbors. From time to time and place to place, some members of these largely self-created and always continuously circulating and reformulating elites aspired to unify social, political, cultural, and economic authority in themselves, but few of them were ever able to do so to a significant degree over a long period. In contrast to the complex and highly stratified world of early modern Europe, these settler societies were thus essentially rankless societies in the sense that all free people occupied the same status before the law and enjoyed the same opportunity to strive for social respect. The profoundly egalitarian social orders of the free segments of these settler societies would provide a sturdy foundation for the limited egalitarian impulses of revolutionary and early republican America.⁶

If these settler societies were exceptional in terms of their abundant life chances for free individuals and social elasticity, they were also latently republican. Long before they formally became republican in 1776, the British colonies in America, as Adam Smith pointed out in *The Wealth of Nations*, were “republican” in “their manners . . . and their governments.”⁷ With economic competence and political empowerment so widely distributed, government rested on a broad, popular base. Political leaders, increasingly drawn from a narrower band of those ambitious to shine in the public realm, could retain power only by catering to the wider interests they shared with this larger citizenry. In the remarkably popular polities they created, settlers dominated both the legislatures that enacted and the courts and civil offices that enforced the laws, laws that principally expressed settler concerns to preserve the property they were creating through their individual pursuits of happiness.

Compared with that of England, the public realm in these settler polities was relatively inexpensive and unobtrusive. Civil or bureaucratic establishments were small and largely volunteer. With little poverty, there were few expenses for maintaining the poor. With either weak church establishments and practical toleration or full religious freedom, there were small or no tithes. With no standing armies, defense costs were slight except during the last intercolonial wars from 1739 to 1763. All of these conditions meant that, compared to the polities of the Old World, taxes were inconsiderable and the proportion of private income that went

⁶ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), provides a general account of colonial British-American social development.

⁷ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 585.

for public expenditures was very small. Serving a citizenry that exhibited an unusual degree of political enlightenment and a warm attachment to their identities as freeborn Britons, the leaders of these settler republics stood for not only inexpensive but also locally autonomous government. Deeply suspicious of any intrusions of external power from the metropolis, they were determined to keep authority in local hands.

In these essentially self-regulating societies, as the Scottish emigrant and Pennsylvania lawyer James Wilson pointed out, society was evidently not “the scaffolding of government,” but government was “the scaffolding of society.” The purpose of government and law was to “protect and to improve social life” by making sure that the lands, goods, chattels, and rights “collected by the labour and industry of” settlers remained, inviolably, “their property,”⁸ and the measure of a good government was the extent to which it promoted “the peace, happiness, and prosperity, the increase, and the affections of the people.”⁹

Colonial British Americans thus subscribed to the ideas that society was anterior to government; that the functions of laws, governments, and constitutions were to promote the ends of civil society, especially the great end of facilitating the pursuit of happiness by the individuals who composed that society; and that that pursuit would be, for most people, conducted far more satisfyingly in the society of the family, the neighborhood, or local civic institutions than in the small public arenas at the provincial level. Within these settler republics, as within the broader British imperial polity, much effective power remained within and radiated upward from the localities. Everywhere by the middle decades of the eighteenth century, well-articulated provincial creole identities sustained this deep and abiding localism. These identities were derived out of the nature of the specific physical spaces occupied, the societies constructed in those spaces, and the experiences—the histories—shared by several generations of inhabitants of those spaces.

Throughout the colonial period and beyond, however, the radical character of these social polities always existed in tension with another and perhaps an even deeper social impulse, the impulse to create in America cultural spaces and societies that were recognizably English. Settlers thought of themselves as involved in a great social and cultural transformation of the territories they occupied. In this transformation, individual European settlers and African slaves and their creole descendants slowly substituted a European for an indigenous landscape and system of political and cultural arrangements. Beginning on the European seaboard, they replaced the extensive agricultural villages, hunting camps, and paths of the Amerindians with intensive agricultural settlements laced with roads, country market towns tied to sizable coastal trading posts, and increasingly sophisticated commercial and social infrastructures, including stores, taverns, courthouses, and churches. In the process, they inscribed the landscape with property lines and created civil polities to enforce property divisions.

Those involved in this process—settlers, land developers, merchants, and artisans—conceived of it as a massive civilizing project. Deeply aware of the profound

⁸ James Wilson, *Lectures on Law*, in Robert Green McCloskey, ed., *The Works of James Wilson*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1: 86, 88, 233.

⁹ Samuel Williams, *Natural and Civil History of Vermont*, 2 vols. (Walpole, N.H., 1794), 2: 415.

transformative effects of what they were doing, they thought of themselves as engaged in a laborious and noble effort to conquer the wilderness by felling forests, creating new fields, orchards, and pastures, substituting domestic for wild animals, and otherwise bringing the land under their mastery. In the process, they changed indigenous landscapes that to them appeared rude, uncultivated, and under-utilized into spaces that were civil, cultivated, and productive: improved spaces that represented the outermost extensions of those Old World places on which they relied for their norms and standards of a civil society. From the beginning of English settlement in 1607, this story of the transformation of the wilderness was the principal story that informed, connected, and gave meaning to the lives of the millions of people who participated in it.

Along with their ancient bonds of consanguinity, culture, traditions, and language, their close ties of economic interest, their continuing need for metropolitan military and naval protection, and their enjoyment of the laws and liberties of Britons, the obvious achievements represented by this ongoing transformation powerfully reinforced, throughout the late colonial era, settler attachment to Britain. Simultaneously, however, the continuing gap between those achievements and the standards of the metropolitan center, between the relatively undifferentiated and simple agricultural societies settlers had created in America and the increasingly refined and cultivated world of metropolitan Britain, as well as their extensive use of African slavery rendered their claims to Britishness problematic and stimulated a profound yearning for metropolitan recognition of the validity of those claims.

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LATER POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS, the revolution that occurred in this particular empire on the part of these particular societies was distinctive.¹⁰ It was not the result of internal tensions, social, religious, or political. Although the southern and middle colonies were wealthier than New England and although high military expenditures during the Seven Years' War created short-term economic problems for some colonies, all of them were broadly prosperous on the eve of the American Revolution. Throughout the 1760s and 1770s, the colonies continued to exhibit the territorial expansion, the economic and demographic growth, and the social elaboration that had long characterized them. What may make the American Revolution different is that the origins of the revolution lay not in America but in Britain. As metropolitan officials increasingly began to appreciate the growing economic and strategic importance of the colonies to British prosperity and national power in the 1740s and 1750s, they more and more began to worry lest the weakness of metropolitan authority and the extensive autonomy enjoyed by the colonies might somehow lead to their loss.

Moved by such fears and developing a new sense of imperial order that would only reach full flower in the nineteenth century, they undertook a series of measures, the combined effects of which would have been to change the British

¹⁰ The interpretation advanced here is developed more fully in Jack P. Greene, "Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution," in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1998–99), 2: 208–30.

Empire from the loose federal polity it had long been into a more unitary polity with authority more clearly fixed at the center.¹¹ Such measures directly challenged the autonomy of colonies over their local affairs. By subjecting the colonies to legislation and other directives to which the settler populations of those colonies had not given their consent, those measures also called into question settler claims to a British identity, the central element of which was the capacity of colonists, as Britons, to enjoy the traditional rights of Britons. Not surprisingly, these measures, interpreted by the vast majority of the broadly empowered settler populations in the colonies as an effort to subject them to a far more intrusive imperial order, elicited a powerful defense of the local corporate rights of the colonies and a rising demand for explicit metropolitan recognition of settler entitlement to the British liberties and the British identity settlers associated with those local rights.

Along with the intense settler resistance to these new measures, the stridency of their demands wounded metropolitan pride and provoked counter and highly condescending assertions of metropolitan superiority that suggested that colonists, far from being true Britons, were a kind of Others whose low characters, rude surroundings, and barbarous cruelty to their African slaves rendered them, on the scale of civilization, only slightly above the Amerindians they had displaced or the Africans among whom they lived. Such attitudes powerfully informed the measures that elicited the broad-based and extensive settler resentment and resistance of 1774–1775 and the decision for independence in 1776. The American Revolution can thus best be understood as a settler revolt, a direct response to metropolitan measures that seemed both to challenge settler control over local affairs and to deny settler claims to a British identity.

In rejecting monarchy and the British connection and adopting republicanism, the leaders of these settler revolts did not have to preside over a wholesale, much less a violent, transformation of the radical political societies that colonial British Americans had constructed between 1607 and 1776.¹² In the words of one later commentator, “when the people of the United Colonies separated from Great Britain, they changed the form, but not the substance of their government.”¹³ In every state, peculiar social, religious, economic, and political tensions shaped the course of revolutionary development. Indeed, these local tensions primarily account for the substantial differences in the revolutionary experiences from one state to another. Wherever during the late colonial era there had been abuses of executive authority, judicial or civil corruption, unequal representation, opposition to a state church, or other political problems, the new republican state constitutions or later legislation endeavored to address those problems. Against the background of the deepening political consciousness generated by the extensive political debates over the nature of British imperial constitution after 1764, the creators of those constitutions also experimented, in limited ways, with improvements to their

¹¹ See Elizabeth Mancke, “Another British America: A Canadian Model for the Early Modern British Empire,” *Journal of Commonwealth and British History* 25 (1997): 1–36.

¹² For a contrary view, see Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992).

¹³ Chief Justice Morrison Waite, quoted by E. L. Jones, “The European Background,” in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Galman, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, Vol. 1: *The Colonial Era* (Cambridge, 1996), 109.

existing political systems. The widespread political mobilization that occurred after 1764 and especially in 1775–1776 also resulted, in many states, in an expansion of legislative seats and public offices and a downward shift in political leadership that brought more settlers of somewhat less, though still substantial, property into active roles in the public realm.¹⁴ With astonishingly few exceptions, however, leaders of late colonial regimes retained authority through the transition to republicanism, and the republican regimes they created in 1776 and after bore a striking resemblance to the social polities they replaced.

Everywhere, political authority remained in the hands of the predominant groups among the existing settler population. As during the colonial period, the central government, an unintended consequence of the union of colonies that had come together to resist metropolitan aggression, was weak. In contrast to the French Revolution, the American Revolution did not produce a unitary national state. Effective power remained in the states, even, for a century or more, after the strengthening of the national government with the Federal Constitution in the late 1780s. For at least another century, provincial or state identities remained more powerful than the continental, or American, identity that only began to develop during the 1760s and 1770s. At the state and local levels, government remained an instrument of settler desires. Although it was somewhat more broadly participatory, it continued to rest on a limited conception of civic competence, which extended only to independent people, and on equality, that is, civil or religious equality among such people. The exigencies of war stimulated an extraordinary expansion of the public realm, and, at least during the earliest decades, republican government turned out to be far more intrusive than colonial government had ever been. Yet settler leaders continued to prefer inexpensive and small government. As during the colonial era, they kept bureaucracies small, refused to pay for permanent peacetime military and naval establishments, and were cautious in supporting public works. Like their colonial counterparts, these republican polities everywhere continued to be instruments of the predominant settler classes, principally concerned with the maintenance of orderly social relations, the dispensing of justice, and, most important of all, the protection of private property.

Nor did the new republican regimes preside over a large-scale social reconstruction. The pursuit of individual domestic happiness in the private realm remained the central cultural imperative. The social order continued to be open, social relations continued to be fundamentally egalitarian, wealth remained the primary criterion for social standing, and aspiring elites continued to decry the absence of deference from those of less wealth. With no restraints on the accumulation of private wealth, social differentiation continued unabated. Despite their own frequent, albeit often unintentional, transgressions against private property, republican state settler regimes continued to reaffirm the sanctity of private property. Land titles remained secure, except for some of those who opposed the revolution, some of whose land was confiscated and sold to pay public expenses. Next to land, slaves were the most valuable form of property in the states as a whole, and notwithstanding the emergence of a powerful antislavery movement after 1760, the

¹⁴ Jackson Turner Main, "Government by the People: The American Revolution and the Democratization of the Legislatures," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 23 (1966): 391–407.

institution of slavery persisted in every state in which it retained its economic viability and represented a substantial investment. As Chief Justice John Marshall later observed, "all contracts and rights, respecting property, remained unchanged by the Revolution."¹⁵ In effect, the decision to retain or abolish slavery was, like so much else in the new American republic, a matter for local option.

So intent have some scholars been on assimilating the American Revolution to the great European revolutions, on emphasizing its revolutionary character and radical discontinuity with the American past, that they have by and large neglected to explore the bearing of earlier American political and social experience on the events and developments of the American Revolution. A comprehension of the important implications of American social experience on contemporary understandings of that experience powerfully suggests that the colonial and revolutionary eras were much of a piece. The most radical result of the revolution was the steady and substantial reconception of political and social relations that occurred over the following half-century.¹⁶ In my view, however, this conceptual discontinuity needs to be understood for what it was: an elaborate working out of the logic of some of the tendencies long characteristic of the loose imperial polity of the early modern British Empire and the radical political societies of colonial British America, societies that, precisely because of their radical character, could make such a profoundly conservative revolution.

¹⁵ John Marshall, as quoted by Jones, "European Background," 109.

¹⁶ Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*.

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AHR Forum

The Haitian Revolution

FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION represents the most thorough case study of revolutionary change anywhere in the history of the modern world.¹ In ten years of sustained internal and international warfare, a colony populated predominantly by plantation slaves overthrew both its colonial status and its economic system and established a new political state of entirely free individuals—with some ex-slaves constituting the new political authority. As only the second state to declare its independence in the Americas, Haiti had no viable administrative models to follow. The British North Americans who declared their independence in 1776 left slavery intact, and theirs was more a political revolution than a social and economic one. The success of Haiti against all odds made social revolutions a sensitive issue among the leaders of political revolt elsewhere in the Americas during the final years of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century.² Yet the genesis of the Haitian Revolution cannot be separated from the wider concomitant events of the later eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Indeed, the period between 1750 and 1850 represented an age of spontaneous, interrelated revolutions, and events in Saint

¹ The bibliography on the Haitian Revolution is large and growing. For a sample, see Colin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988); Philip D. Curtin, “The Declaration of the Rights of Man in Saint-Domingue, 1788–1791,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 30 (May 1950): 157–75; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 27–179; Alex Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy: Class, Race, and Underdevelopment since 1700* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1990); John Garrigus, “A Struggle for Respect: The Free Coloreds in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue, 1760–69” (PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1988); David Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793–1798* (London, 1982); Geggus, “The Haitian Revolution,” in *The Modern Caribbean*, Franklin W. Knight and Colin A. Palmer, eds. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), 21–50; Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979); François Girod, *De la société Creole: Saint-Domingue au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1972); Robert Debs Heintz and Nancy Gordon Heintz, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492–1971* (Boston, 1978); Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti’s Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge, 1988); C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938; New York, 1963); David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge, 1979); Thomas O. Ott, *The Haitian Revolution, 1789–1804* (Knoxville, 1973); George Tyson, Jr., ed., *Toussaint L’Ouverture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973); M. L. E. Moreau de Saint Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civil, politique et historique de la partie Française de l’île de Saint Domingue* (Philadelphia, 1796); P., *My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions*, Althéa de Peuch Parham, ed. and trans. (Baton Rouge, 1959).

² See especially Jorge I. Domínguez, *Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 146–69; Lester D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 159–77.

Domingue/Haiti constitute an integral—though often overlooked—part of the history of that larger sphere.³ These multi-faceted revolutions combined to alter the way individuals and groups saw themselves and their place in the world.⁴ But, even more, the intellectual changes of the period instilled in some political leaders a confidence (not new in the eighteenth century, but far more generalized than before) that creation and creativity were not exclusively divine or accidental attributes, and that both general societies and individual conditions could be rationally engineered.⁵

ALTHOUGH THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY was experiencing a widespread revolutionary situation, not all of it ended in full-blown, convulsing revolutions.⁶ But everywhere, the old order was being challenged. New ideas, new circumstances, and new peoples combined to create a portentously “turbulent time.”⁷ Bryan Edwards, a sensitive English planter in Jamaica and articulate member of the British Parliament, lamented in a speech to that body in 1798 that “a spirit of subversion had gone forth that set at naught the wisdom of our ancestors and the lessons of experience.”⁸ But if Edwards’s lament was for the passing of his familiar, cruel, and constricted world of privileged planters and exploited slaves, it was certainly not the only view.

For the vast majority of workers on the far-flung plantations under the tropical sun of the Americas, the revolutionary situation presented an opportunity to change fundamentally their personal world, and maybe the world of others equally unfortunate.⁹ Nowhere was the contrast sharper than in the productive and extremely valuable French Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue between 1789 and 1804. The hundreds of thousands of African slaves and tens of thousands of legally defined free coloreds found the hallowed wisdom and experiential “lessons” of Bryan Edwards to be a despicably inconvenient barrier to their quest for individual and collective liberty. Their sentiments were motivated not only by a difference of geography and culture but also by a difference of race and condition.

Within fifteen turbulent years, a colony of coerced and exploited slaves successfully liberated themselves and radically and permanently transformed things. It was

³ See R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1959); Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution*; James H. Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of Revolutionary Faith* (New York, 1980).

⁴ For an example, see Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, “Regenerating France, Regenerating the World: The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution, 1750–1831” (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1998).

⁵ Franklin W. Knight, “The Disintegration of the Slave Systems, 1772–1886,” in *General History of the Caribbean*, Vol. 3: *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, Knight, ed. (London, 1997), 322–45.

⁶ A case in point is England, where the revolutionary situation was diffused through reformist politics.

⁷ The phrase is taken from the title of *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*, David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1997).

⁸ Quoted in J. H. Parry, Philip Sherlock, and Anthony Maingot, *A Short History of the West Indies*, 4th edn. (New York, 1987), 136.

⁹ The quest for individual and collective freedom was widespread among all slaves, and occasionally new views of society and social relations embraced both slave and free, but rarely did these revolts involve the establishment of a state as in the case of Haiti. In Coro in western Venezuela in 1795, a free republic was declared that would have fundamentally altered the social status quo, but it had a very short existence. See Domínguez, *Insurrection or Loyalty*, 55–56, 151–60.

a unique case in the history of the Americas: a thorough revolution that resulted in a complete metamorphosis in the social, political, intellectual, and economic life of the colony. Socially, the lowest order of the society—slaves—became equal, free, and independent citizens. Politically, the new citizens created the second independent state in the Americas, the first independent non-European state to be carved out of the European universal empires anywhere. The Haitian model of state formation drove xenophobic fear into the hearts of all whites from Boston to Buenos Aires and shattered their complacency about the unquestioned superiority of their own political models.¹⁰ To Simón Bolívar, himself of partial African ancestry, it was the Euro-American model of revolution that was to be avoided by the Spanish-American states seeking their independence after 1810, and he suggested the best way was to free all slaves.¹¹ Intellectually, the ex-colonists gave themselves a new name—Haitians—and defined all Haitians as “black,” thereby giving a psychological blow to the emerging intellectual traditions of an increasingly racist Europe and North America that saw a hierarchical world eternally dominated by types representative of their own somatic images. In Haiti, all citizens were legally equal, regardless of color, race, or condition. Equally important, the example of Haiti convincingly refuted the ridiculous notion that still endures among some social scientists at the end of the twentieth century that slavery produced “social death” among slaves and persons of African descent.¹² And in the economic sphere, the Haitians dramatically transformed their conventional tropical plantation agriculture, especially in the north, from a structure dominated by large estates (*latifundia*) into a society of *minifundist*, or small-scale, marginal self-sufficient producers, who reoriented away from export dependency toward an internal marketing system supplemented by a minor export sector.¹³ These changes, however, were not accomplished without extremely painful dislocations and severe long-term repercussions for both the state and the society.¹⁴

¹⁰ See John Lynch, *The Spanish-American Revolutions, 1808–1826* (New York, 1973).

¹¹ Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution*, 196–200.

¹² Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982). The idea may also be found in Fick, *Making of Haiti*, 27: “To assure the submission of slaves and the mastership of the owners, slaves were introduced into the colony and eventually integrated into the plantation labor system within an overall context of social alienation and psychological, as well as physical violence. Parental and kinship ties were broken; their names were changed; their bodies were branded with red-hot irons to designate their new owners; and the slave who was once a socially integrated member of a structured community in Africa had, in a matter of months, become what has been termed a ‘socially dead person.’” It is hard to accept such a totally nullifying experience for Africans in the Americas for two reasons. The first is that Africans constructed the new American communities along with their non-African colonists, and permanently endowed the new creations with a wide array of influences from speech to cuisine to music to new technology. The various bodies of slave laws were a patent recognition that although slaves were property, they were also people requiring severe police control measures. Non-Africans established social contacts with them, and their mating produced a melange of demographic hybridity throughout the Americas. In the second place, Africans produced offspring in the Americas, and these formed viable communities everywhere—communities that were duly recognized in law and custom. The development of viable Afro-American communities throughout the Americas does not in any way negate the fact that slavery was a dehumanizing experience permeated with violence and exploitation. Nevertheless, the image of “social death” is greatly exaggerated.

¹³ Dupuy, *Haiti in the World Economy*, 55–57.

¹⁴ Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*, 2d edn. (New York, 1990), 196–219.

IF THE ORIGINS OF THE REVOLUTION in Saint Domingue lie in the broader changes of the Atlantic world during the eighteenth century, the immediate precipitants must be found in the French Revolution.¹⁵ The symbiotic relationship between the two were extremely strong and will be discussed later, but both resulted from the construction of a newly integrated Atlantic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The broader movements of empire building in the Atlantic world produced the dynamic catalyst for change that fomented political independence in the United States between 1776 and 1783. Even before that, ideas of the Enlightenment had agitated the political structures on both sides of the Atlantic, overtly challenging the traditional mercantilist notions of imperial administration and appropriating and legitimating the unorthodox free trading of previously defined interlopers and smugglers.¹⁶ The Enlightenment proposed a rational basis for reorganizing state, society, and nation.¹⁷ The leading thinkers promoted and popularized new ideas of individual and collective liberty, of political rights, and of class equality—and even, to a certain extent, of social democracy—that eventually included some unconventional thoughts about slavery.¹⁸ But their concepts of the state remained rooted in the traditional western European social experience, which did not accommodate itself easily to the current reality of the tropical American world, as Peggy Liss shows in her insightful study *Atlantic Empires*.¹⁹

Questions about the moral, religious, and economic justifications for slavery and the slave society formed part of this range of innovative ideas. Eventually, these questions led to changes in jurisprudence, such as the reluctantly delivered judgment by British Chief Justice Lord William Mansfield in 1772 that the owner of the slave James Somerset could not return him to the West Indies, implying that, by being brought to England, Somerset had indeed become a free man. In 1778, the courts of Scotland declared that slavery was illegal in that part of the realm. Together with the Mansfield ruling in England, this meant that slavery could not be considered legal in the British Isles. These legal rulings encouraged the formation of associations and groups designed to promote amelioration in the condition of slaves, or even the eventual abolition of the slave trade and slavery.²⁰

Even before the declaration of political independence on the part of the British North American colonies, slavery was under attack by a number of religious and political leaders from, for example, the Quakers and Evangelicals, such as William Wilberforce (1759–1833), Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), and Granville Sharp

¹⁵ See Gaspar and Geggus, *Turbulent Time*.

¹⁶ These changes have been examined more thoroughly in *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650–1850*, Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds. (Knoxville, Tenn., 1991).

¹⁷ While there is a wide range of opinion on exactly when the Enlightenment started, there is better consensus on what it was: a major demarcation in the emergence of the modern age and the French Revolution. See Franco Venturi, *The End of the Old Regime in Europe, 1768–1776: The First Crisis*, R. Burr Litchfield, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York, 1967–69).

¹⁸ See David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), esp. 391–445.

¹⁹ Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 105–26.

²⁰ Blackburn, *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 99–100.

(1735–1813). Antislavery movements flourished both in the metropolis and in the colonies.²¹ In 1787, Abbé Grégoire (1750–1831), Abbé Raynal (1713–1796), the marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), and others formed an antislavery committee in France called the Société des Amis des Noirs, which took up the issue in the recently convened Estates General in 1789 and later pushed for broadening the basis of citizenship in the National Assembly.²² Their benevolent proposals, however, were overtaken by events.

The intellectual changes throughout the region cannot be separated from changes in the Caribbean. During the eighteenth century, the Caribbean plantation slave societies reached their apogee. British and French (mostly) absentee sugar producers made headlines in their respective imperial capitals, drawing the attention of political economists and moral philosophers.²³ The most influential voice among the latter was probably Adam Smith (1723–1790), whose *Wealth of Nations* appeared in the auspicious year of 1776. Basing his arguments on the comparative costs of production, Smith insisted that, “from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, that the work done by free men comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves.”²⁴ Slavery, Smith further stated, was both uneconomical and irrational not only because the plantation system was a wasteful use of land but also because slaves cost more to maintain than free laborers.²⁵

The plantation system had, by the middle of the eighteenth century, created some strange communities of production throughout the Caribbean—highly artificial constructs involving labor inputs from Africa and managerial direction from Europe producing largely imported staples for an overseas market. These were the plantation communities producing sugar, coffee, cotton, and tobacco.²⁶ Elsewhere, I have referred to this unintended consequence of the sugar revolutions as the development of exploitation societies—a tiered system of interlocking castes and classes all determined by the necessities, structure, and rhythm of the plantations.²⁷

French Saint Domingue prided itself, with considerable justification, on being the richest colony in the world. According to David Geggus, Saint Domingue in the 1780s accounted for “some 40 percent of France’s foreign trade, its 7,000 or so plantations were absorbing by the 1790s also 10–15 percent of United States exports and had important commercial links with the British and Spanish West Indies as well. On the coastal plains of this colony little larger than Wales was grown about two-fifths of the world’s sugar, while from its mountainous interior came over half

²¹ Duncan J. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution* (London, 1974).

²² Ruth F. Necheles, *The Abbé Grégoire, 1787–1831: The Odyssey of an Egalitarian* (Westport, Conn., 1971), 71–90.

²³ See, for example, Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944); Robert Louis Stein, *The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988); and Patrick Villiers, “The Slave and Colonial Trade in France Just before the Revolution,” in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, Barbara L. Solow, ed. (Cambridge, 1991), 210–36.

²⁴ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), abbrev. edn. (New York, 1974), 184.

²⁵ The debate over relative labor costs of free and enslaved workers has not ended. See *Did Slavery Pay?* Hugh G. J. Aitken, ed. (Boston, 1971); Robert Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974).

²⁶ Except tobacco, the primary export crops were all introduced into the Americas by Europeans. Sugar cane came from India via the Mediterranean and the African Atlantic Islands. Coffee was Arabian in origin. Cotton was Egyptian.

²⁷ Knight, *Caribbean*, 74–82

the world's coffee."²⁸ The population was structured like a typical slave plantation exploitation society in tropical America. Approximately 25,000 white colonists, whom we might call psychological transients, dominated the social pyramid, which included an intermediate subordinate stratum of approximately the same number of free, miscegenated persons referred to throughout the French Caribbean colonies as *gens de couleur*, and a depressed, denigrated, servile, and exploited majority of some 500,000 workers from Africa or of African descent.²⁹ These demographic proportions would have been familiar to Jamaica, Barbados, or Cuba during the acme of their slave plantation regimes.³⁰ The centripetal cohesive force remained the plantations of sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo and the subsidiary activities associated with them. The plantations, therefore, joined the local society and the local economy with a human umbilical cord—the transatlantic slave trade—that attached the colony to Africa. Economic viability depended on the continuous replenishing of the labor force by importing African slaves.³¹ Nevertheless, the system was both sophisticated and complex, with commercial marketing operations that extended to several continents.³²

If whites, free colored, and slaves formed the three distinct castes in the French Caribbean colony, these caste divisions overshadowed a complex system of class and corresponding internal class antagonisms, across all sectors of the society. Among the whites, the class antagonism was between the successful so-called *grands blancs*, with their associated hirelings—plantation overseers, artisans, and supervisors—and the so-called *petits blancs*—small merchants' representatives, small proprietors, and various types of hangers-on. The antagonism was palpable. At the same time, all whites shared varying degrees of fear and mistrust of the intermediate group of *gens de couleur*, but especially the economically upwardly mobile representatives of wealth, education, and polished French culture.³³ For their own part, the free non-whites had seen their political and social abilities increasingly circumscribed during the two or so decades before the outbreak of revolution. Their wealth and education certainly placed them socially above the *petits blancs*. Yet theirs was also an internally divided group, with a division based as much on skin color as on genealogy. As for the slaves, all were distinguished—if that is the proper terminology—by their legal condition as the lifetime property of their masters, and were occasionally subject to extraordinary degrees of daily control and coercion. Within the slave sector, status divisions derived from a bewildering number of factors applied

²⁸ Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution*, 6.

²⁹ The demographic proportions varied considerably throughout the Caribbean. For figures, see Knight, *Caribbean*, 366–67.

³⁰ Knight, *Caribbean*, 120–58.

³¹ See Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Formation of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680* (Cambridge, 1992); Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1739* (Urbana, Ill., 1981); Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York, 1986); Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis," *Journal of African History* 23, no. 4 (1982): 473–501; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987).

³² See Solow, *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*; *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economics, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*, Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1992); *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds. (New York, 1979).

³³ Garrigou, "Struggle for Respect."

in an equally bewildering number of ways: skills, gender, occupation, location (urban or rural, household or field), relationship to production, or simply the arbitrary whim of the master.³⁴

The slave society was an extremely explosive society, although the tensions could be, and were, carefully and constantly negotiated between and across the various castes.³⁵ While the common fact of owning slaves might have produced some mutual interest across caste lines, that occurrence was not frequent enough or strong enough to establish a manifest class solidarity. White and free colored slaveowners were often insensitive to the basic humanity and civil rights of the slaves, but they were forced nevertheless to negotiate continuously the way in which they operated with their slaves in order to prevent the collapse of their world. Nor did similar race and color facilitate an affinity between free non-whites and slaves. Slaves never accepted their legal condemnation, but perpetual military resistance to the system of plantation slavery was inherent neither to Saint Domingue in particular nor to the Caribbean in general.³⁶ So when and where the system broke down resulted more from a combination of circumstances than from the inherent revolutionary disposition of the individual artificial commercial construct.

Without the outbreak of the French Revolution, it is unlikely that the system in Saint Domingue would have broken down in 1789. And while Haiti precipitated the collapse of the system regionally, it seems fair to say that a system such as the Caribbean slave system bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction and therefore could not last indefinitely. As David Geggus points out,

More than twenty [slave revolts] occurred in the years 1789–1832, most of them in the Greater Caribbean. Coeval with the heyday of the abolitionist movement in Europe and chiefly associated with Creole slaves, the phenomenon emerged well before the French abolition of slavery or the Saint-Domingue uprising, even before the declaration of the Rights of Man. A few comparable examples occurred earlier in the century, but the series in question began with an attempted rebellion in Martinique in August 1789. Slaves claimed that the government in Europe had abolished slavery but that local slaveowners were preventing the island governor from implementing the new law. The pattern would be repeated again and again across the region for the next forty years and would culminate in the three large-scale insurrections in Barbados, 1816, Demerara, 1823, and Jamaica, 1831. Together with the Saint-Domingue insurrection of 1791, these were the biggest slave rebellions in the history of the Americas.³⁷

In the case of Saint Domingue—as later in the cases of Cuba and Puerto Rico—abolition came from an economically weakened and politically isolated metropolis.

³⁴ Regardless of the extreme degree of coercion, it is fatuous to insist that slavery obliterated from Africans and their descendants the ability to be creative, socially active, and even to establish some modicum of self-respect and economic status. See Roderick A. McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La., 1993), especially its excellent bibliography.

³⁵ Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (New York, 1990), 103–10, 160–69.

³⁶ Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982).

³⁷ David Patrick Geggus, "Slavery, War and Revolution in the Greater Caribbean," in Gaspar and Geggus, *Turbulent Time*, 7–8.

THE LOCAL BASES of the society and the organization of political power could not have been more different in France and its overseas colonies. In France in 1789, the political estates had a long tradition, and the social hierarchy was closely related to genealogy and antiquity. In Saint Domingue, the political system was relatively new, and the hierarchy was determined arbitrarily by race and the occupational relationship to the plantation. Yet the novelty of the colonial situation did not produce a separate and particular language to describe its reality, and the limitations of a common language (that of the metropolis) created a pathetic confusion with tragic consequences for metropolis and colony.

The basic divisions of French society derived from socioeconomic class distinctions. The popular slogans generated by the revolution—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and the Rights of Man—did not express sentiments equally applicable in both metropolis and colony.³⁸ What is more, the Estates General, and later the National Assembly, simply could not understand how the French could be divided by a common language. And yet they hopelessly were.

The confusion sprung from two foundations. In the first place, the reports of grievances (*cahiers de doléances*) of the colonies represented overwhelmingly not the views of a cross-section of the population but merely those of wealthy plantation owners and merchants, especially the absentee residents in France. Moreover, as the French were to find out eventually, the colony was quite complex geographically. The wealthy, expatriate planters of the Plain du Nord were a distinct numerical minority. The interests and preoccupations of the middling sorts of West Province and South Province were vastly different. In the second place, each segment of the free population accepted the slogans of the revolution to win acceptance in France, but they then particularized and emphasized only such portions as applied to their individual causes. The *grands blancs* saw the Rights of Man as the rights and privileges of bourgeois man, much as the framers of North American independence in Philadelphia in 1776. Moreover, *grands blancs* saw liberty not as a private affair but rather as greater colonial autonomy, especially in economic matters. They also hoped that the metropolis would authorize more free trade, thereby weakening the restrictive effects of the mercantilist *commerce exclusif* with the mother country. *Petits blancs* wanted equality, that is, active citizenship for all white persons, not just the wealthy property owners, and less bureaucratic control over the colonies. But they stressed a fraternity based on a whiteness of skin color that they equated with being genuinely French. *Gens de couleur* also wanted equality and fraternity, but they based their claim on an equality of all free regardless of skin color, since they fulfilled all other qualifications for active citizenship. Slaves were not part of the initial discussion and sloganeering, but from their subsequent actions they clearly supported liberty. It was not the liberty of the whites, however. Theirs was a personal freedom that undermined their relationship to their masters and the plantation, and jeopardized the wealth of a considerable number of those who were already free.³⁹

In both France and its Caribbean colonies, the course of the revolution took strangely parallel paths. The revolution truly began in both with the calling of the

³⁸ Curtin, "Declaration of the Rights of Man," 157–75.

³⁹ Curtin, "Declaration of the Rights of Man"; Ott, *Haitian Revolution*, 28–75.

Estates General to Versailles in the fateful year of 1789.⁴⁰ Immediately, conflict over form and representation developed, although it affected metropolis and colonies in different ways. In the metropolis, the Estates General, despite not having met for 175 years, had an ancient history and tradition, albeit almost forgotten. The various overseas colonists who assumed they were or aspired to be Frenchmen and to participate in the deliberations and the unfolding course of events did not really share that history and that tradition. In many ways, they were new men created by a new type of society—the plantation slave society. Their experience was quite distinct from that of the planters and slaveowners in the British Caribbean. In Jamaica, Edward Long was an influential and wealthy member of British society as well as an established Jamaican planter. Bryan Edwards was a long-serving member of the Jamaica Legislature and after 1796 a legitimate member of the British Parliament, representing simultaneously a metropolitan constituency and overseas colonial interests.⁴¹

At first, things seemed to be going well for the French colonial representatives, as the Estates General declared itself a National Assembly in 1789 and the National Assembly proclaimed France to be a republic in August 1792. In France, as James Billington puts it, “the subsequent history of armed rebellion reveals a seemingly irresistible drive toward a strong, central executive. Robespierre’s twelve-man Committee of Public Safety (1793–94), gave way to a five-man Directorate (1795–99), to a three-man Consulate, to the designation of Napoleon as First Consul in 1799, and finally to Napoleon’s coronation as emperor in 1804.”⁴² In the colonies, the same movement is discernible with a major difference—at least in Saint Domingue. The consolidation of power during the period of armed rebellion gravitated toward non-whites and ended up in the hands of slaves and ex-slaves or their descendants.

With the colonial situation far too confusing for the metropolitan legislators to resolve easily, the armed revolt in the colonies started with an attempted coup by the *grands blancs* in the north who resented the *petits blancs*—controlled Colonial Assembly of St. Marc (in West Province) writing a constitution for the entire colony in 1790. Both white groups armed their slaves and prepared for war in the name of the revolution.⁴³ When, however, the National Assembly passed the May Decree enfranchising propertied mulattos, they temporarily forgot their class differences and forged an uneasy alliance to forestall the revolutionary threat of racial equality. The determined desire of the free non-whites to make a stand for their rights—also arming their slaves for war—made the impending civil war an inevitable racial war.

The precedent set by the superordinate free groups was not lost on the slaves,

⁴⁰ The French Revolution may be followed in, among others, Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York, 1989); Leo Gershoy, *The French Revolution, 1789–1799* (New York, 1960); Albert Soboul, *The French Revolution, 1787–1799: From the Storming of the Bastille to Napoleon*, Alan Forest and Colin Jones, trans. (London, 1989); Gaetano Salvemini, *The French Revolution, 1788–1792*, I. M. Rawson, trans. (New York, 1954).

⁴¹ On Long and Edwards, see Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford, 1971), 73–79; Elsa Goveia, *A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Mexico City, 1956), 53–63.

⁴² Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men*, 22.

⁴³ Carolyn Fick, “The French Revolution in Saint-Domingue: A Triumph or a Failure?” in Gaspar and Geggus, *Turbulent Time*, 53–55.

who comprised the overwhelming majority of the population. If they could fight in separate causes for the antagonistic free sectors of the population, they could fight on their own behalf. And so they did. Violence, first employed by the whites, became the common currency of political change. Finally, in August 1791, after fighting for nearly two years on one or another side of free persons who claimed they were fighting for liberty, the slaves of the Plain du Nord applied their fighting to their own cause. And once they had started, they refused to settle for anything less than full freedom for themselves. When it became clear that their emancipation could not be sustained within the colonial political system, they created an independent state in 1804 to secure it. It was the logical extension of the collective slave revolt that began in 1791.

But before that could happen, Saint Domingue experienced a period of chaos between 1792 and 1802. At one time, as many as six warring factions were in the field simultaneously: slaves, free persons of color, *petits blancs*, *grands blancs*, and invading Spanish and English troops, as well as the French vainly trying to restore order and control. Alliances were made and dissolved in opportunistic succession. As the killing increased, power slowly gravitated to the overwhelming majority of the population—the former slaves no longer willing to continue their servility. After 1793, under the control of Pierre-Dominique Toussaint Louverture, ex-slave and ex-slaveowner, the tide of war turned inexorably, assuring the victory of the concept of liberty held by the slaves.⁴⁴ It was duly, if temporarily, ratified by the National Assembly. But that was neither the end of the fighting nor the end of slavery.

The victory of the slaves in 1793 was, ironically, a victory for colonialism and the revolution in France. The leftward drift of the revolution and the implacable zeal of its colonial administrators, especially the Jacobin commissioner Léger Félicité Sonthonax, to eradicate all traces of counterrevolution and royalism—which he identified with the whites—in Saint Domingue facilitated the ultimate victory of the blacks over the whites.⁴⁵ Sonthonax's role, however, does not detract from the brilliant military leadership and political astuteness provided by Toussaint Louverture. In 1797, he became governor general of the colony and in the next four years expelled all invading forces (including the French) and gave it a remarkably modern and democratic constitution. He also suppressed (but failed to eradicate) the revolt of the free coloreds led by André Rigaud and Alexander Pétion in the south, captured the neighboring Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, and freed its small number of slaves. Saint Domingue was a new society with a new political structure. As a reward, Toussaint Louverture made himself governor general for life, much to the displeasure of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Why did the revolution follow such a unique course in Saint Domingue and eventually culminate in the abolition of slavery? Carolyn Fick presents a plausible explanation:

It can be argued therefore that the abolition of slavery in Saint Domingue resulted from a combination of mutually reinforcing factors that fell into place at a particular historical

⁴⁴ Toussaint Louverture always wrote his name without an apostrophe, although many French and non-French writers have, for reasons unknown, used L'Ouverture.

⁴⁵ Robert L. Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax: The Lost Sentinel of the Republic* (Rutherford, N.J., 1985).

juncture. No single factor or even combination of factors—including the beginning of the French Revolution with its catalytic ideology of equality and liberty, the colonial revolt of the planters and the free coloreds, the context of imperial warfare, and the obtrusive role of a revolutionary abolitionist as civil commissioner—warranted the termination of slavery in Saint Domingue in the absence of independent, militarily organized slave rebellion . . .

From the vantage point of revolutionary France the abolition of slavery seems almost to have been a by-product of the revolution and hardly an issue of pressing concerns to the nation. It was Sonthonax who initiated the abolition of slavery in Saint Domingue, not the Convention. In fact, France only learned that slavery had been abolished in Saint Domingue when the colony's three deputies, Dufay, Mills, and Jean-Baptiste Mars Bellay (respectively a white, a mulatto, and a former free black), arrived in France in January, 1794 to take their seats and asked on February 3 that the Convention officially abolish slavery throughout the colonies . . .

The crucial link then, between the metropolitan revolution and the black revolution in Saint Domingue seems to reside in the conjunctural and complementary elements of a self-determined, massive slave rebellion, on the one hand, and the presence in the colony of a practical abolitionist in the person of Sonthonax, on the other.⁴⁶

Such "conjunctural and complementary elements" did not appear elsewhere in the Americas—not even in the neighboring French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

The reality of a semi-politically free Saint-Domingue with a free black population ran counter to the grandiose dreams of Napoleon to reestablish a viable French-American empire. It also created what Anthony Maingot has called a "terrified consciousness" among the rest of the slave masters in the Americas.⁴⁷ Driven by his desire to restore slavery and disregarding the local population and its leaders, Napoleon sent his brother-in-law General Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc with about 10,000 of the finest French troops in 1802 to accomplish his aim. It was a disastrously futile effort. Napoleon ultimately lost the colony, his brother-in-law, and most of the 44,000 troops eventually sent out to conduct the savage and bitter campaign of reconquest. Although Touissant was treacherously spirited away to exile and premature death in France, the independence of Haiti was declared by his former lieutenant, now the new governor general, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, on January 1, 1804. Haiti, the Caribbean, and the Americas would never be the same as before the slave uprising of 1791.

THE IMPACT OF THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION was both immediate and widespread. The antislavery fighting immediately spawned unrest throughout the region, especially in communities of Maroons in Jamaica, and among slaves in St. Kitts. It sent a wave of immigrants flooding outward to the neighboring islands, and to the United States and Europe. It revitalized agricultural production in Cuba and Puerto Rico. As Alfred Hunt has shown, Haitian emigrants also profoundly affected American language, religion, politics, culture, cuisine, architecture, medicine, and the conflict

⁴⁶ Fick, "French Revolution," 67–69.

⁴⁷ Anthony P. Maingot, "Haiti and the Terrified Consciousness of the Caribbean," in *Ethnicity in the Caribbean*, Gert Oostindie, ed. (London, 1996), 53–80.

over slavery, especially in Louisiana.⁴⁸ Most of all, the revolution deeply affected the psychology of the whites throughout the Atlantic world. The Haitian Revolution undoubtedly accentuated the sensitivity to race, color, and status across the Caribbean.

Among the political and economic elites of the neighboring Caribbean states, the example of a black independent state as a viable alternative to the Maroon complicated their domestic relations. The predominantly non-white lower orders of society might have admired the achievement in Haiti, but they were conscious that it could not be easily duplicated. "Haiti represented the living proof of the consequences of not just black freedom," wrote Maingot, "but, indeed, black rule. It was the latter which was feared; therefore, the former had to be curtailed if not totally prohibited."⁴⁹ The favorable coincidence of time, place, and circumstances that produced a Haiti failed to materialize again. For the rest of white America, the cry of "Remember Haiti" proved an effective way to restrain exuberant local desires for political liberty, especially in slave societies. Indeed, the long delay in achieving Cuban political independence can largely be attributed to astute Spanish metropolitan use of the "terrified consciousness" of the Cuban Creoles to a scenario like that in Saint Domingue between 1789 and 1804.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, after 1804, it would be difficult for the local political and economic elites to continue the complacent status quo of the mid-eighteenth century. Haiti cast an inevitable shadow over all slave societies. Antislavery movements grew stronger and bolder, especially in Great Britain, and the colonial slaves themselves became increasingly more restless. Most important, in the Caribbean, whites lost the confidence that they had before 1789 to maintain the slave system indefinitely. In 1808, the British abolished their transatlantic slave trade, and they dismantled the slave system between 1834 and 1838. During that time, free non-whites (and Jews) were given political equality with whites in many colonies. The French abolished their slave trade in 1818, although their slave system, reconstituted by 1803 in Martinique and Guadeloupe, limped on until 1848. Both British and French imperial slave systems—as well as the Dutch and the Danish—were dismantled administratively. The same could be said for the mainland Spanish-American states and Brazil. In the United States, slavery ended abruptly in a disastrous civil war. Spain abolished slavery in Puerto

⁴⁸ Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America*.

⁴⁹ Maingot, "Haiti," 56–57.

⁵⁰ For the "Africanization of Cuba scare," see Philip S. Foner, *A History of Cuba and Its Relation with the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1963), 2: 45–85; Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817–1886* (Austin, Tex., 1967), 115–21; Luis Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires: Economy, Society, and Patterns of Political Thought in the Hispanic Caribbean, 1840–1878* (Athens, Ga., 1994), 33–40; Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, Conn., 1988), 184–86, 265–66; Gerald E. Poyo, "With All and for the Good of All": *The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848–1899* (Durham, N.C., 1989), 6–7, 86. For the impact of the Haitian Revolution elsewhere in the Caribbean, see Philip D. Curtin, *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830–1865* (1952; New York, 1970); H. P. Jacobs, *Sixty Years of Change, 1806–1866: Progress and Reaction in Kingston and the Countryside* (Kingston, 1973), 12–37; Bridget Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783–1962* (Kingston, 1981), 25–51; Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados* (Cambridge, 1990), 78–79; Edward L. Cox, *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1984), 76–100; Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1995), 91–164; Valentin Peguero and Danilo de los Santos, *Visión general de la historia dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1978), 125–78.

Rico (where it was not important) in 1873. The Cuban case, where slavery was extremely important, proved far more difficult and also resulted in a long, destructive civil war before emancipation was finally accomplished in 1886. By then, it was not the Haitian Revolution but Haiti itself that evoked negative reactions among its neighbors.

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AHR Forum
The Process of Mexican Independence

VIRGINIA GUEDEA

THE PROCESS OF MEXICO'S EMANCIPATION BEGAN, as in other parts of Spanish America, with the imperial crisis of 1808. Originating in the very heart of the empire, when Napoleon Bonaparte occupied Spain, it precipitated a series of rapid changes that, in the beginning, like the crisis itself, were fundamentally political. The imperial crisis not only intensified political activities in New Spain but also generated new forms of political life and thought. Over time, this created and nurtured a new political culture with which the new nation initiated its independent existence. Yet there were two aspects to the country's emancipation: politicization and militarization. The armed struggle, which began in 1810, opened the door to a process of militarization that did not end after independence had been achieved. This essay will be concerned more with the political transformations than with the accompanying war, however, because warfare did not envelop the entire Viceroyalty of New Spain, whereas the political changes did.

The foundations of the Spanish Empire's legitimacy disintegrated in 1808 when the French invaded the Iberian Peninsula and forced father and son, the contending kings Carlos IV and Fernando VII, to abdicate. There followed an important event in the Peninsula that affected the entire subsequent process: the prominent appearance upon the scene of the element on which the Spanish state would be reconstituted: *the people*. Faced with the submission of their kings and many officials to Napoleon, the people, that anonymous undifferentiated mass, *el común*, as it was called, decided to take the initiative. The people fought with all means at their disposal against the French invaders.¹

The forms of struggle in the Peninsula, both in the battlefield and the political arena, are enormously significant. First, the war of *guerrillas*, reinvented in Spain, became the model adopted by the Americans, as they called themselves, during their subsequent struggle against the military forces defending the colonial order. Second, in defense of their king, their country, and their religion, the Spanish people decided to take the government into their own hands. They created new institutions—the governing *juntas*—in which the people participated. In Spain, the movement, initially centrifugal because it started in the localities, soon became

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¹ On the Spanish crisis of 1808, see Miguel Artola, *Antiguo Régimen y revolución liberal* (Barcelona, 1978); and Josep Fontana, *La crisis del Antiguo Régimen, 1808–1833* (Barcelona, 1979).

centripetal, first at the provincial level and later at the imperial level, when it sought to include all the Spanish dominions.²

Almost all the territories that constituted the Spanish Empire responded at first in the same way. In defense of king, country, and religion, they, too, formed governing *juntas*, because they shared goodwill as well as grievances toward the mother country, owing to their common colonial relationship with the metropolis. The different regions of the monarchy, however, held diverse autonomist interests, which had been either initiated or strengthened by the eighteenth-century Bourbon reforms, and which impelled and conditioned the response of each region's inhabitants to the imperial crisis. That is why, while initially responding in the same way, the various components of the Spanish Empire ultimately underwent different experiences.³

In New Spain, something unique transpired: the rupture of the social compact. This occurred at the center of viceregal power in Mexico City, was carried out by some of its highest authorities, and, as a result, affected everyone. The imperial crisis initially appeared to provide an opportunity for New Spain's autonomists to advance their interests. It was an occasion to undo the Bourbon reforms—which, in order to exploit the viceroyalty more fully and efficiently, had sought to exclude Americans from the government of New Spain—as well as to insist on equality with the metropolis. The Ayuntamiento (municipal council) of Mexico City, which became the vehicle for autonomist interests, proposed establishing a governing *junta* for New Spain, justifying it on the same constitutional grounds used by the people of the Peninsula in their struggle against the French, as well as by other colonial *ayuntamientos* elsewhere in the empire. The Ayuntamiento of Mexico City maintained that New Spain was a kingdom incorporated to the crown of Castile by conquest; that, in the absence of the king, sovereignty reposed in the kingdom, particularly in those superior tribunals that governed it, and in those corporations that represented the public voice.⁴ Although, in reality, the claims of the Ayuntamiento of Mexico City derived from legal ordinances not used for a long time, colonial authorities considered the concepts very dangerous when applied to the empire's perilous circumstances.

The defenders of imperial interests, European Spaniards with direct links to the metropolis, and their voice, the Audiencia (high court) of Mexico, responded to the claims of the autonomists by emphasizing the New World's colonial status and demanding submission to the Peninsula. Earlier, New Spain's Creole and Peninsular elites had united in their opposition to the 1804 Law of Consolidation, which required the church to recall its loans to the public; now, faced with conflicting aspirations, they divided and, in doing so, split the colony's society.

² A recent and interesting study of these *juntas* is the work of Antonio Moliner, *Revolución burguesa y movimiento juntero en España (La acción de las juntas a través de la correspondencia diplomática y consular francesa, 1808–1868)* (Lleida, 1997).

³ These different experiences are analyzed by Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁴ "Representación del Ayuntamiento de México al virrey José de Iturrigaray," Mexico, July 19, 1808, in Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 a 1821*, 6 vols. (Mexico City, 1878–82), 2: 479–81; and "Representación del Ayuntamiento de México al virrey Iturrigaray," Mexico, August 5, 1808, in Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *El virrey Iturrigaray y los orígenes de la independencia de México* (Madrid, 1940), 390–93.

Viceroy José de Iturrigaray, who saw an opportunity to buttress his authority, undermined by the collapse of the monarchy in the Peninsula, convened a series of meetings to discuss the Ayuntamiento's proposal to establish a governing *junta* for New Spain. Rather than reaching an agreement, however, the assemblies brought into the open the two opposing positions: the Creole or American versus the Peninsular or European. The gatherings also resulted in some interesting discussions, such as the nature and composition of the people and New Spain's place in the imperial system.

The debate ended in violence on the night of September 15, 1808, when the defenders of imperial interests imprisoned their own viceroy and the principal autonomists. This coup d'état radicalized the confrontation between them. It also marked the beginning of the definition and, later, the polarization, of the positions adopted by New Spaniards toward the new circumstances the Spanish Empire and particularly the Viceroyalty of New Spain were experiencing. The opposed positions resulted from the orientation of their respective interests: the Europeans toward the Peninsula and the Americans toward the interior of the colony. These were not the only forces at work. The people also appeared upon New Spain's political scene, in discourse as well as action.⁵

The new circumstances that the Spanish Empire experienced opened up new possibilities for action. One emerged within the system when liberals in the Peninsula took the initiative in reorganizing the political structure of the Spanish Empire. In March 1810, they convened the General and Extraordinary Cortes (or parliament), which represented the entire Spanish Nation, as the empire was now called. Later, in March 1812, they promulgated a constitution that recognized sovereignty as residing essentially in the nation, which alone possessed the power to establish its fundamental laws.

The first opportunity for Americans to participate in the political reorganization occurred in January 1809, when the Supreme Central Governing Junta of the Kingdom, which had been established in the Peninsula on September 25, 1808, instructed New Spain to elect a deputy to represent the viceroyalty in the Junta Central. New World representation in the highest organ of metropolitan government, besides validating the Americans' claim that the viceroyalty was an integral part of the monarchy, reopened the path to representative government closed by the coup d'état. The election decree, which placed the responsibility for holding the elections in the hands of the various *ayuntamientos*, restored their authority. An even more extensive opportunity to participate in restructuring the government of the Spanish Empire occurred the following year when the Junta Central instructed the *ayuntamientos* to hold elections for representatives from the provinces of New Spain to the General and Extraordinary Cortes.⁶

Other possibilities for action emerged outside the system. The use of force by

⁵ For the events of 1808, see Lafuente Ferrari, *El virrey Iturrigaray*; and Virginia Guedea, "Criollos y peninsulares en 1808: Dos puntos de vista sobre lo español," tesis de licenciatura (Mexico City, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1994).

⁶ See Francois-Xavier Guerra, "Las primeras elecciones generales americanas (1809)," in *Modernidad e independencias: Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas* (Madrid, 1992), 177–225; and Virginia Guedea, "The First Popular Elections in Mexico City, 1812–1813," in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., ed., *The Evolution of the Mexican Political System* (Wilmington, Del., 1993), 46–48.

partisans of the regime led discontented New Spaniards to follow their example. After the 1808 coup, almost all the opposition to the regime was organized at first in secret. The general discontent was expressed by means of numerous anonymous broadsheets and conspiracies organized under the cover of social gatherings (*tertulias*) and other spaces of sociability that the cities and towns of the viceroyalty provided. Nearly all the plots were urban; individuals from many social groups, including Indians, took part; and all failed. A good example of these movements is the conspiracy discovered in 1809 in the city of Valladolid in Michoacán. When the colonial authorities, understandably afraid that such expressions of discontent would spread, resorted to repression, they exacerbated the differences between the defenders of the status quo and the autonomists.

THE DISCOVERY, IN SEPTEMBER 1810, of a conspiracy in the city of Querétaro and elsewhere in the Bajío region led to an open and declared breach with the regime, when one of its members, Father Miguel Hidalgo, initiated an insurrection. Although Father Hidalgo did not at first offer clear alternatives to New Spaniards, especially the viceroyalty's elites, it did appeal to many, particularly the lower orders.⁷ Because the people of New Spain shared a common political culture, all agreed on the need to combat *mal gobierno* (bad government—a traditional slogan) and to defend the realm, the king, and the Catholic religion from the French. In addition, the leaders of the insurgency sought to create more opportunities for Americans to govern themselves, an autonomist aspiration in the purest Creole tradition. One goal that would remain constant during the entire emancipation process was the establishment of an alternative organ of government—a governing *junta*—an institution much desired by discontented Americans since 1808. But the peasants and workers who formed the bulk of the insurgent ranks had very different goals, such as access to land and improved working conditions. Moreover, many of those who for one reason or another had not found a place within the social structure of New Spain—the marginalized of every class and condition—joined the insurgency and made their own imprint on the armed movement. These differences caused important contradictions within the insurgency.⁸

There were also regional differences. Insurgency broke out across New Spain, not as a cohesive and integrated movement, but autonomously and, in most cases, to seek relief for local and provincial grievances. Thus it would be more proper to speak of various insurgencies, not just one. Moreover, leaders such as Ignacio Rayón and José María Morelos, who attempted to provide unity and cohesion to the movement, were on occasion themselves rather provincial. Rarely were other insurgent commanders interested in the movement as a whole. All these factors

⁷ For the insurrection led by Miguel Hidalgo, see Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., *The Hidalgo Revolt: Prelude to Mexican Independence*, 2d edn. (Gainesville, Fla., 1970); and Christon I. Archer, "Bite of the Hydra: The Rebellion of Cura Miguel Hidalgo, 1810–1811," in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., ed., *Patterns of Contention in Mexican History* (Wilmington, Del., 1992), 69–93.

⁸ Eric van Young analyzes the agrarian origins of the insurrection in "Hacia la revuelta: Orígenes agrarios de la rebelión de Hidalgo en la región de Guadalajara," in *La crisis del orden colonial: Estructura agraria y rebeliones populares de la Nueva España, 1750–1821* (Mexico City, 1992), 305–34.



Hidalgo.

*Cura de Dolores. Dans son costume de guerre, proclamant l'indépendance du Mexique (Bustillo et Petit 1810)
d'après un tableau original.*

Father Miguel Hidalgo, the cura of Dolores. In 1810, his revolt began the war for Mexican independence. Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.

made it extremely difficult for the principal leaders to establish a common front to coordinate all of the insurgents.⁹

Despite their efforts, the insurgency, particularly at the beginning, became violent, disorderly, and destructive; it provoked opposition even among many of those discontented with the colonial regime. Fear of and dismay at the insurgency strengthened the authorities, whose response was coherent and uniform. The regime rapidly organized the armed forces under its control and sought to crush the

⁹ An interesting study of the regions is Brian R. Hamnett, *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions, 1750–1824* (New York, 1986).



Caricature of an insurgent. Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación.

various insurgencies; indeed, it tried to eliminate all manifestations of discontent, because it believed, and not without reason, that if allowed to fester they would gain popularity, or, worse, that the disaffected would join the armed rebels.

Whereas the colonial regime had an army, the insurgents did not. In contrast to their well-organized opponents, the few trained and capable insurgent military leaders commanded disorganized and poorly armed forces. Moreover, the authorities and their supporters, in particular General Félix María Calleja, the most capable royalist military officer, understood that they had to deploy local forces to

confront a movement that appeared in various regions at the same time. Thus the royalists reverted to the pre-Bourbon system of local militias, which proved to be very efficient. During the first phase of the war, the organized royalist forces defeated the disorganized insurgents on numerous occasions, made Hidalgo and his followers flee north, and on March 21, 1811, captured the principal leaders, barely six months after the movement began. Hidalgo was executed.¹⁰

The war was bloody and destructive. As neither royalists nor insurgents possessed many firearms, they fought at close quarters with lances, knives, slings, bows and arrows, and clubs. And the war proved costly to the viceroyalty's economy—already weakened by large sums sent to the Peninsula to fight the French—by destroying its commercial networks. The provincial economies felt the cost as well: both the insurgents and the royalists burned and destroyed crops, haciendas, and towns. When traditional trade networks were destroyed, partisans on both sides were forced to establish new patterns of trade and new forms of exchange.

As if this were not enough, the Catholic church divided into supporters and opponents. The higher clergy, allied with the colonial regime, assailed the insurgents with anathemas and excommunications. Although such weapons eventually lost their potency, in part because the lower clergy in several cases supported the insurgency, they nonetheless frightened many New Spaniards, particularly those still neutral.

Several insurgent leaders, especially Rayón and Morelos, who understood very early the problems inherent in a disorganized, unintegrated movement, decided to transform it into a unified, coherent cause. In this effort, they gained the support of discontented individuals living in regions controlled by the colonial regime, primarily the cities. As a result, the insurgents began to receive more help from such groups; for example, they obtained a printing press, which enabled them to publish materials explaining their goals and to defend themselves from attacks by the regime, which, until then, had controlled the media. Thus appeared many, if ephemeral, insurgent periodicals. Professionals, above all lawyers, who joined the insurgents helped form a more effective political organization. This, in turn, helped create an image of an organized political and military movement, which attracted greater support throughout the viceroyalty.

Shortly after the disastrous end of Hidalgo and other early insurgent leaders in 1811, Rayón, after informing Viceroy Francisco Xavier Venegas of his intention, established a governing *junta* in August 1811 in the town of Zitácuaro. Although the Supreme National American Junta, also known as the Junta of Zitácuaro, proposed to represent the nation, from which it claimed to derive its authority, its formation did not signify a complete break with the Spanish Empire; it continued to invoke the name of the monarch. The Junta of Zitácuaro was to consist of five individuals named by the representatives of the provinces of New Spain, but, given the urgency

¹⁰ Christon I. Archer has written extensively about the royalist army. See "The Army of New Spain and the Wars of Independence, 1790–1821," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 61 (November 1981): 705–14.

of the moment, only three were elected—Rayón, José Sixto Berdusco, and José María Liceaga—by only thirteen insurgent commanders, though after widespread consultation. Even partisans living in areas controlled by the colonial regime were consulted.¹¹

The failure of the Supreme Junta to achieve the success its founders and supporters had expected owed less to the opposition of the colonial regime than to divisions among its members. At first, a war fought on various fronts kept the leaders apart; later, personal enmities divided them and prevented the creation of a unified center of authority. Even the appointment of Morelos as a fourth member failed to prevent the insurgency from fragmenting into four large zones commanded by independent captains-general, who did not always agree. After failing to end the divisions among his colleagues, Morelos proposed replacing the Supreme Junta with a congress elected by the inhabitants of each province, thereby more completely representing the provinces of New Spain.

On the advice of the lawyer Carlos María de Bustamante, Morelos set up extensive and lengthy elections in the territories under his control—the provinces of Tecpan, Veracruz, Puebla, Mexico, and Michoacán. The province of Oaxaca, which had already elected a representative to be the Junta's fifth and last member, was allowed to send him as the first deputy to the new congress. The nature of the elections varied in the different provinces; in some instances, the electoral practices introduced by the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (also known as the Constitution of Cádiz) were used. As a result, despite the different social structures among the regions and difficulties that occurred in some, large sectors of the population participated.¹²

The Supreme National American Congress established in Chilpancingo in September 1813 constituted a true alternative government. The influences of the Constitution of Cádiz are apparent in its make-up and attributes. Composed of representatives from several provinces that together covered a vast territory, the Supreme Congress assumed national sovereignty, divided the government into three branches, and coordinated its activities. It also confirmed the elections of the executive, who would direct the military, as well as of the judiciary. Both had been chosen in elections, albeit not direct popular ones, in which individuals and corporations from various regions of New Spain had taken part. On November 6, 1813, the Supreme Congress finally declared independence from Spain and proceeded to constitute a new nation; after extensive consultations with various sectors throughout the country, it enacted a republican constitution in October 1814, which recognized the division of powers among the three branches of government and established the sovereignty of the congress. The substitution of the Supreme Congress for the Supreme Junta, however, did not end conflict among the principal leaders. On the contrary, it multiplied the possibilities for confrontation.

Insurgent leaders were concerned with another important question: recognition

¹¹ Virginia Guedea, "Los procesos electorales insurgentes," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 11 (1991): 201–49.

¹² Guedea, "Los procesos electorales insurgentes."

independence of Texas in a document that echoed the United States' own Declaration of Independence, and is indicative of future events in that region.¹³

IN THE MEANTIME, Spain was trying not only to get rid of the French but to establish a new political order as well. The new order was important to New Spaniards because it allowed the political participation of large sectors of the population within the system. Thus it undermined the significance of the insurgency as an alternative for the disaffected in the viceroyalty. The Constitution of Cádiz, promulgated in New Spain in September 1812, introduced representative government at three levels—local (the constitutional *ayuntamientos*), regional (the provincial deputations), and imperial (the Cortes). The constitution provided the autonomists and the discontented with the means to achieve their goals legally. Moreover, freedom of the press guaranteed by the new charter offered the opportunity for open criticism of the colonial regime.

At the local level, the new constitutional *ayuntamientos* (which were established in towns with a population of a thousand or more souls) introduced popular representative government, became a mechanism for the expression of autonomist interests, and contributed to the strengthening of local groups. Although the new government was to be chosen through indirect elections, the first phase of those elections included all those enjoying the rights of citizens, that is, large sectors of the population. The constitution enfranchised all adult men of Spanish and Indian descent: American as well as European Spaniards and mestizos could vote. Although men of African descent and the colored castes were denied the franchise, it proved difficult in New Spain to distinguish them when large popular sectors participated in the elections. As a result, large numbers of men of African descent and colored castes appear to have voted.

The elections held in November 1812 in Mexico City exemplify the varied nature of popular participation in the new system. Large numbers voted, including the Indians of the two native communities (*parcialidades*) of the capital and many of the colored castes. The electoral results were unfavorable to the colonial regime; only Americans, many of them known to be opposed to the regime or frankly pro-insurgent, were elected. To compound the humiliation of the authorities, the populace joyously celebrated the results for nearly two days, although they made no further effort to undermine the colonial regime. Nonetheless, Viceroy Venegas responded by suspending Mexico City elections and abolishing freedom of the press. Even though elections were not resumed in the capital until April 1813, after Félix María Calleja succeeded Venegas as viceroy, elections were held in other cities, towns, and villages of the viceroyalty.¹⁴

As a result of the efforts of some American deputies, most important among them Miguel Ramos Arizpe and José Miguel Guridi y Alcocer from New Spain, the

¹³ I have dealt with this *junta* in "Autonomía e independencia: La Junta de gobierno insurgente de San Antonio de Béjar, 1813," in Virginia Guedea, ed., *La independencia y la formación de las autonomías territoriales mexicanas 1808–1824* (Mexico City, in press).

¹⁴ Guedea, "First Popular Elections in Mexico City, 1812–1813," 45–69; and Virginia Guedea, "El pueblo de México y la política capitalina, 1808 y 1812," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 10 (Winter 1994): 27–61.

Constitution of 1812 introduced a new institution, the provincial deputation, to allow local groups to govern their regions.¹⁵ Although not all of the six provincial deputations allocated to the Viceroyalty of New Spain were elected during the first constitutional period, and those that were functioned only a short time, large sectors of the population took part in the first phase of the elections to establish them. The election of deputies to represent New Spain at the Cortes, the first phase of which was held at the same time as elections to the provincial deputations, mirrored the other two elections: there was mass participation, and Americans won all the seats.

So alarmed were the colonial authorities by the results of elections clearly demonstrating discontent with the regime that they tried to overturn them. Besides suspending some of the elections, they prosecuted well-known autonomists and malcontents, as well as insurgent partisans. The authorities acted because many New Spaniards took advantage of the opportunities offered both by the insurgency and the introduction of the constitutional system to gain control of the government. In addition, and this was extremely dangerous for the colonial regime, the new political options permitted those who struggled from within the system to join forces with those outside it. Secret societies were formed, at least two of them true secret political organizations, an indication that a new political culture was developing despite the difficulties experienced.

New Spaniards lacked experience with such organizations, which were forbidden, and they could not keep a secret, even when they were plotting: on more than one occasion, their lack of caution led to discovery. The conspiracies of 1811 in the capital provide a case in point. The first, an orthodox autonomist movement that sought to establish a governing *junta*, was denounced in April. The second, which sought to aid Rayón and the Junta of Zitácuaro, was discovered the following August.¹⁶

The secret society known as the Guadalupes, organized around a nucleus that included distinguished Mexico City residents, coordinated the interests of many malcontents, among them various Indians. Initially formed to help the insurgents who were attempting to form an alternative government, the Guadalupes sent first Rayón and, later, Morelos and Mariano Matamoros, money, weapons, men, and information. At the same time, the Guadalupes advanced their autonomist goals within the system by getting out the vote and successfully electing candidates to the constitutional Ayuntamiento of Mexico City, the provincial deputation of New Spain, and the Cortes during the elections of 1813 and 1814. The society remained active until 1814, when the colonial authorities collected enough information from captured insurgent documents to proceed against it.¹⁷

Another secret society—modeled on the Society of Rational Knights, founded by

¹⁵ Manuel Chust has studied the participation of Americans in the Cortes; see “América y el problema federal en las Cortes de Cádiz,” in José A. Piqueras and Manuel Chust, compilers, *Republicanos y repúblicas en España* (Madrid, 1996), 45–79; “La vía autonomista novohispana: Una propuesta federal en las Cortes de Cádiz,” *Estudios de historia Novohispana* 15 (1995): 159–87; and *La cuestión nacional americana en las Cortes de Cádiz, 1810–1814* (Mexico City, 1999).

¹⁶ Virginia Guedea, “The Conspiracies of 1811 or How the Criollos Learned to Organize in Secret,” paper presented at the conference “Mexican Wars of Independence, the Empire, and the Early Republic,” University of Calgary, April 4–5, 1991.

¹⁷ See Ernesto de la Torre Villar, ed., *Los “Guadalupes” y la independencia, con una selección de*

Americans in Cádiz at the time the Cortes was meeting there—was established in the city of Jalapa, and it also aided the local insurgents with money, weapons, men, and information. It, too, established close ties with the local insurgent alternative government, the Provisional Governing Junta of Naolingo. The society lasted scarcely three months, however. When it was discovered, many of its members were imprisoned, while others fled to join the Provisional Junta.¹⁸

UNFORTUNATELY FOR BOTH the insurgents and the autonomists and malcontents, the two groups could not form an effective alliance. Their failure to reach a consensus proved not only detrimental to the opponents of the colonial regime but beneficial to the regime itself. Moreover, men of law clashed with men of arms in the highest organ of the insurgent government. When the lawyers won and took control of the armed struggle away from the soldiers, the result was, first, military defeat and later the collapse of the insurgent movement.

Both Rayón and Morelos suffered grave losses while attempting to obey the instructions of the Supreme Congress. Morelos's defeats had serious consequences. He lost his most effective subordinate commanders, Mariano Matamoros and Hermenegildo Galeana. The capture of his documents revealed the names of his contacts and supporters to the authorities and enabled them to arrest and prosecute many members of the secret society of Guadalupe. The insurgency, therefore, lost important supporters. As a result of the defeats, the Supreme Congress stripped Morelos of executive power; he ceased to command an important armed force and became merely the chief of the escort of the legislative branch.

The year 1814 was marked by insurgent defeats but also by the return of King Fernando VII to Spain from French captivity. He abolished the constitutional system and restored the old regime, transformations that had grave repercussions in New Spain. Freed of the restrictions imposed by the liberal legislation of the Cortes, the colonial authorities proceeded against the autonomists and malcontents; the imprisonment and death of Morelos at the end of 1815 marked the beginning of the end of the organized insurgency. In December, the insurgent leader Manuel Mier y Terán dissolved the Supreme Congress in the city of Tehuacán. Thereafter, the movement shattered into a thousand pieces.

According to Christon I. Archer, who disagrees with the majority of historians, the disappearance of what I have called the organized insurgency did not signify the end of the insurgent movement, or even the loss of its strength. Instead, he maintains, the disintegration of a movement that had never been fully integrated led to increased fighting and harmed a colonial regime forced to spend more money and find more men to confront its many opponents.¹⁹ Archer is correct, if the

documentos inéditos, 2d edn. (Mexico City, 1985); and Virginia Guedea, *En busca de un gobierno alterno: Los Guadalupe de México* (Mexico City, 1992).

¹⁸ See Virginia Guedea, "Una nueva forma de organización política: La sociedad secreta de Jalapa, 1812," in Amaya Garritz, comp., *Un hombre entre Europa y América, Homenaje a Juan Antonio Ortega y Medina* (Mexico City, 1993), 185–208.

¹⁹ Christon I. Archer, "Insurrection-Reaction-Revolution-Fragmentation: Reconstructing the Cho-

insurgent movement is seen exclusively as a military phenomenon. As a political movement, however, it virtually ceased to function after 1815.

Despite the dispersion and disintegration of the insurgents, efforts continued to restore a united front to coordinate the movement and establish the principles upon which a new political order could be formed. Thus the Governing Junta of the Western Provinces, also known as the Subaltern Junta of Taretan, which had been set up by the Supreme Congress before it was dissolved, continued to operate. Soon afterward, it formed the Junta of Jaujilla, which recruited troops and lasted until 1818. Although Rayón refused to recognize the Junta, other insurgent leaders such as Vicente Guerrero acknowledged its authority. The Spanish liberal Javier Mina, who invaded New Spain in 1817 to try to restore the Constitution of 1812, consulted with the Junta of Jaujilla and turned to it for weapons and men. Eventually, that body suffered the same fate as its predecessors: royalist forces captured its members. Although Guerrero established another *junta* in the hacienda Las Balsas in an effort to coordinate insurgent activities, it too lasted only a short time.

The lack of cohesion among the insurgents was clearly evident during Mina's expedition. The presence of professional foreign troops commanded by a skilled officer should have given the insurgent cause a tremendous impetus. Mina not only failed to obtain much support, however, but on occasion he was harassed by insurgent leaders who perceived him as a threat to their power bases in the regions in which they had entrenched themselves. Despite causing panic among the colonial authorities, the expedition utterly failed.²⁰

When the authorities counterattacked the dispersed and regionalized insurgency with the offer of pardons as well as with troops, many insurgents laid down their arms. At that point, the insurgency lost its military force and virtually ended as a political movement. By 1820, it appeared that the Viceroyalty of New Spain had been almost pacified.

GIVEN NEW SPAIN'S COLONIAL STATUS, its independence movement ended, as it began, with events that occurred in the metropolis, where constitutionalists managed to restore the constitution in March 1820. Secret societies, which played a key role in the triumph of the constitutionalists, also began to proliferate in New Spain, but how that occurred is not yet clear. With the exception of the Guadalupes and the Jalapa society, which had been modeled on the one in Cádiz, none of the secret societies in New Spain had direct ties with the insurgents. Masonic lodges, organized by officers attached to units sent from Spain, were in existence very early in a few urban centers, such as in Mexico City after 1813, and later in Campeche and Mérida in the Yucatán Peninsula around 1818. Freemasons in the capital had much to do with the restoration of the constitutional system in 1820, and with the removal of Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca the following year. The Yucatecan

reography of Meltdown in New Spain during the Independence Era," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 10 (Winter 1994): 63–98.

²⁰ The first account of Xavier Mina's expedition is given by William Davis Robinson in his *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution; Including a Narrative of the Expedition of General Xavier Mina . . .* (Philadelphia, 1820).

Freemasons integrated into their ranks former members of earlier societies: both the liberal *sanjuanistas*, who favored the constitutional system, and the principal supporters of absolutism, the *rutineros*. The Freemasons also contributed to the reestablishment of the constitution, and they removed the governor and captain-general of the Yucatán Peninsula.

Thereafter, Freemasonry's influence grew in the colony. It received added impetus with the arrival in 1821 of a distinguished Freemason, Juan O'Donojú, to be the last superior political chief (the office that replaced the viceroy under the constitution) of New Spain. After independence had been attained and, particularly, after the establishment of a federal republic in 1824, Freemasonry and the groups it organized would play a decisive role in the country's political life.

Although the return of the constitutional system in 1820 gave New Spaniards the opportunity to further their interests through the numerous elections that were held for constitutional *ayuntamientos*, provincial deputations, and the Cortes, the majority also became convinced that to obtain the changes they desired, they could no longer remain at the mercy of the political fluctuations of the Iberian Peninsula. Thus autonomists, malcontents, and others began once again to organize against the established order. An urban conspiracy, as in 1810, led to a new armed movement, but the similarity of both movements ends there. The independence movement was of a very different sort than the previous insurgency.

The rebels of 1821 were royalist troops led by distinguished officers and commanded by Colonel Agustín de Iturbide: they were professional, disciplined, and organized soldiers. Although Viceroy Apodaca had ordered him in November 1820 to crush the remnants of the insurgency in the south, Iturbide entered into talks with its leaders early in 1821 to persuade them to declare independence. The new rebels engaged in virtually no fighting because cities and towns rapidly accepted the Plan of Iguala, as the independence program was called. There was little bloodshed and destruction; moreover, practically all the former insurgents joined Iturbide's movement. They were integrated at a much lower level, however, than the royalists who had adhered to the cause.

The movement headed by Iturbide obtained consensus regarding one concrete objective: independence. In part, that occurred because of war-weariness. After more than a decade of warfare, everyone was exhausted. Although the Plan of Iguala invited all the inhabitants of New Spain to unite, it left the church, the state administration, and the courts intact, and its new army, the Army of the Three Guarantees, was based on the former royal army. Interestingly, the Plan of Iguala also provided for the establishment of a governing *junta*—the autonomists' goal since 1808—to administer the country until a Cortes was convened and wrote a constitution for the new Mexican Empire.²¹

Upon his arrival in New Spain in July 1821, Superior Political Chief O'Donojú ratified the Plan of Iguala by signing the Treaty of Córdoba, which recognized the independence of the Mexican Empire. The treaty included precise details about the

²¹ "Plan de Iguala," 24 de febrero de 1821, in *Diario político militar mexicano*, 6 septiembre 1821, t. 1, n. 6, pp. 21–24, and 7 septiembre 1821, n. 7, p. 25, in Genaro García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos. obra conmemorativa del primer centenario de la independencia de México*, 7 vols. (Mexico City, 1910), vol. 4, s.p.

formation of the Provisional Governing Junta, which was to be composed “of the most distinguished and notable men” of the realm, and stipulated that the Junta would select a regency to act as the executive (while the Junta retained legislative authority) until the Mexican Cortes met.²²

If the Plan of Iguala and the Treaty of Córdoba established the bases of independence, the Provisional Governing Junta was entrusted with creating the foundations on which the new state would be built. Chosen by Iturbide, the Junta excluded both former insurgents and republicans; in fact, it consisted of the capital's elite and officers of the new army. The Declaration of Independence of the Mexican Empire is interesting not only because of its text but also because of its signatories. It was signed by the members of the Provisional Governing Junta, which included the most distinguished members of the capital's elite, former autonomists and malcontents as well as the leading royalist commanders. But not a single former insurgent was to be found among the signatories.

After finally achieving power, however, the elite of Mexico City proved unable to unite and failed to consolidate its political power. The consensus soon began to dissipate. Iturbide had used an army that relied more on persuasion than force to convince New Spaniards to declare independence. He managed to bring together the interests of autonomists, malcontents, and even insurgents, as well as the majority of royalist military commanders because the Plan of Iguala offered something to each group. But the apparent ease with which he was able to establish a consensus, enter the hitherto impenetrable capital city, and establish the long-desired governing *junta* would have grave consequences. He managed to orchestrate a consensus on independence, but once it had been achieved, there was no agreement about how to constitute the new nation.²³

²² “Tratados celebrados en la Villa de Córdoba el 24 de agosto de 1821 entre Juan O’Donojú, teniente general de los ejércitos de España, y Agustín de Iturbide, primer jefe del E. I. M. de las Tres Garantías,” in *Diario político militar mexicano*, 3 septiembre 1821, t. 1, n. 3, pp. 11–12, 4 septiembre 1821, n. 4, pp. 13–16, and 5 septiembre 1821, n. 5, pp. 17–18, in García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. 4.

²³ The works of several historians of the first half of the nineteenth century continue to be indispensable for understanding the process of Mexican independence. In particular, see the works of Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico desde los primeros movimientos que prepararon su independencia en el año de 1808 hasta la época presente*, 5 vols. (Mexico City, 1849–52); and that of Carlos María de Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana, comenzada en 15 de septiembre de 1810 por el ciudadano Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, cura del pueblo de los Dolores, en el obispado de Michoacán*, 2d edn., 5 vols. (Mexico City, 1843–46).

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AHR Forum

The Emancipation of America

JAIME E. RODRÍGUEZ O.

Since the Europeans believe there is no other America than the one their nation possesses, an erroneous nomenclature has formed in each nation . . . In France, generally, when one speaks of America one means Saint Domingue; in Portugal, Brazil. The English call their islands in the Caribbean Archipelago, our Indies or the West Indies; and for the English there is no other North America than the United States. All Spanish North America is to them *South America*, even though the largest part of the region is in the north. The people of the United States follow that usage and they are offended when we, in order to distinguish them, call them Anglo Americans. They wish to be the only Americans or North Americans even though neither name is totally appropriate. Americans of the United States is too long; in the end, they will have to be content with the name *guasintones*, from their capital Washington, . . . just as they call us Mexicans, from the name of our capital.

Servando Teresa de Mier, Washington, 1820.

THE EMANCIPATION OF MOST OF AMERICA—that is, the Western Hemisphere—may be best understood as a series of reactions by the settlers to the actions and events that occurred in their mother countries. Although Spanish-American, British-American, and French-American societies were profoundly different, they each began the process toward independence in response to metropolitan threats to their self-interests and to their sense of being an integral and important component of their monarchies.¹ The leaders of the independence movements considered themselves to be Spaniards, Britons, and Frenchmen defending their Spanish, British, and French rights. The social and political structure, resource base, and, most of all, the timing and context of each region's emancipation affected the process and determined the future of the newly independent nations.

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¹ In this essay, the term “monarchy” is used instead of the word “empire” for several reasons. First, monarchy is a form of government in the same manner that republic is. Second, the term empire implies a degree of subordination that did not exist at the time and that the people of those monarchies, whether in Europe or America, did not accept. That sort of subordinate relationship was characteristic of the later European empires of the nineteenth century. Third, the term empire suggests a degree of centralization and control that did not exist at the time.

THE MONARCHIES THAT CONQUERED AND SETTLED the New World during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not modern nation-states.² Although the Spanish, English, and French crowns first gained ascendancy over neighboring territories in the Old World, the nature of those conquests forged different kinds of relationships between the newly included peoples and the dominant society. The Spanish rulers, for instance, initially incorporated into their Iberian kingdoms peoples—Jews and Muslims—who, though Caucasian, were perceived as belonging to different cultures. Further expansion into North Africa and the Canary Islands brought other groups into the confederation that was the Spanish Monarchy. At its height, the Spanish crown claimed the entire Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, parts of Italy, France, and the Germanies, Flanders and the Netherlands, parts of North Africa, islands in the Mediterranean and off the west coast of Africa, as well as America, islands in the Pacific, the Philippines, and parts of India.³ Although the Spanish monarchs imposed religious unity by force in 1492, they sought neither linguistic nor cultural uniformity.⁴ Heirs to centuries of Muslim domination of the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish rulers conceived their universal monarchy as being composed of many lands, peoples, and cultures, not all of equal status. The Indians of America constituted one more, albeit special, group.

The Spanish New World was organized into two legal systems: the *república de indios*, Republic of Indians, and, for everyone else, the *república de españoles*, Republic of Spaniards. The Indians became subjects of the Spanish crown, though in a subordinate status, much as the Jews and Christians had been under Muslim rule.⁵ The distinction, however, proved impossible to maintain: the Spanish

² The Spanish Monarchy identified its component parts as kingdoms, principalities, counties, duchies, etc. The Spanish term *virreinato*, normally translated into English as “vicerealty,” means literally vice kingdom; it was used to refer to those areas administered by a *virrey* (viceroys in French or vice king in English). The Spanish Monarchy possessed vicerealties in Europe as well as in America. The regions of Spanish America were called *reinos* (kingdoms), and its inhabitants did not consider themselves “colonists.” See the essays in Mark Greengrass, ed., *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1991); and John H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 52–69.

³ Earlier historians, such as Roger B. Merriman, understood the Spanish Monarchy as a great confederation; see *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*, 4 vols. (New York, 1918–34). In contrast, more recent scholars tend to concentrate on individual parts of the monarchy. See, for example, Ernest Belenguer, *El imperio hispánico, 1479–1665* (Barcelona, 1994), which examines only the European portion of the monarchy. Most syntheses of the New World possessions no longer limit themselves to those of the Spanish Monarchy but discuss all of Latin America; a good example is Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 2d edn. (New York, 1994).

⁴ Although Castilian—the language that is generally called Spanish—became the dominant tongue within the monarchy, it was not the only one spoken in the Peninsula. More important, Spanish scholars provided Indian languages with alphabets and grammars quite early. The first Castilian grammar was published in 1492, for example, whereas the first Nahuatl (the language of central Mexico) grammar appeared in 1531. (Miguel León-Portilla, personal communication with author, October 6, 1997.)

⁵ It is often asserted that the Indians were considered minors. That is not entirely correct. Spanish law, which was based on Roman law, distinguished between two forms of legal minority. The first, *infantes* and *inpúberes*—that is, persons sixteen years and younger—lacked legal independence and were supervised by a *tutor*. The second consisted of individuals younger than twenty-five years—the age of legal maturity—and older than sixteen. They possessed the right to act independently on all legal matters, but they were supervised by a *curator* who protected them in case others “abused their lack of experience, lack of malice, or incapacity.” The Indians of Spanish America were considered minors in the second sense. In their case, the king—that is, the monarchy—functioned as their curator. See María del Refugio González, *Historia del derecho mexicano*, 2d edn. (Mexico City, 1997), 36.

Monarchy was too vast and the lands it occupied too populous for Europeans to become the largest group in America. Over the years, miscegenation and economic development transformed the kingdoms of Spanish America into multi-racial societies in which the Indians, though legally protected and kept in a secondary status, entered the larger society as cultural and often as biological mestizos. The Africans and Asians who were brought to the New World underwent a similar process of cultural and biological integration. Although a racial hierarchy of castes emerged, economic development and population growth resulted in considerable racial and social mobility, particularly during the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶

The English experience was significantly different. Although the conquest of Ireland and the incorporation of Wales and Scotland were at times violent, they did not constitute the inclusion of fundamentally different cultures. Nevertheless, the English viewed the Catholic Irish as barbarous savages “only nominally Christian, and generally intractable.”⁷ Later, they perceived the North American Indians in the same way: wild, savage peoples who could not be incorporated into “civilized society.”⁸ Thus the Indians in the regions conquered and settled by the English crown found themselves displaced. As Patricia Seed explains:

The basic aims of English colonization were the assertion of authority over indigenous land, proclaiming North America “a vacant land,” whose occupants were not using fertile agricultural ground in useful and appropriate ways. While the Spanish Crown officially declared all Indians its subjects and vassals in 1542, Indians collectively never became subjects of the English Crown (save in isolated instances), and did not become citizens of the United States until 1924.⁹

Moreover, both the free people of color and the large African-origin slave population, who lived principally in the south, remained at the margins of society. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the British-American colonies were dominated by a people who excluded non-whites—and even some whites—from full participation and abhorred racial mixing.¹⁰

French explorers, missionaries, traders, and settlers established themselves in North America—in Canada and the Mississippi River basin (“Louisiana”)—during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and later in the Caribbean islands. France lost its thinly populated possessions in North America in 1762–1763 as a result of the Seven Years’ War; Britain obtained Canada, and Spain, Louisiana.¹¹ The

⁶ Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998), 7–11. See also Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico*, 2d edn. (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 196–248.

⁷ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 20.

⁸ Nicholas P. Canny, “The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 30 (1973): 575–98.

⁹ Patricia Seed, “‘Are These Not Also Men?': The Indians’ Humanity and Capacity for Spanish Civilization,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (October 1993): 651.

¹⁰ Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 104.

¹¹ W. J. Eccles, *France in America*, rev. edn. (Markham, Ontario, 1990), 1–221; Jean Meyer, *Francia y América del siglo XVI al siglo XX* (Madrid, 1992); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995), 41–68.

extremely valuable islands in the Caribbean, however, remained French. Initially, during the late seventeenth century, indentured servants (*engagés*) were recruited in France for three-year terms in the West Indies. As the plantation economy expanded, large numbers of African slaves replaced the indentured servants because they were a cheap and more reliable labor force. By the end of the eighteenth century, the planters of Saint Domingue imported 30,000 African slaves a year to meet their labor needs.

The exploited slave majority formed the base of the social pyramid. Above them stood a group of free people of color, the *gens de couleur*, composed primarily of racially mixed persons and a few blacks. Some of them formed a wealthy, sophisticated, and cultured elite with ties to France. The Europeans of Saint Domingue did not constitute a socially homogeneous group. The *grands blancs*, the planters, high officials, and large merchants, constituted the political, social, and economic elite of Saint Domingue. In contrast, the *petits blancs*, many of them descendants of the seventeenth-century *engagés*, found themselves in an ambiguous position. They considered themselves to be racially superior to the *gens de couleur* elite but lacked their wealth and education.

As Franklin Knight indicates, the social structure of the French colony revealed the structural distortion of a "slave plantation exploitation society."¹² People were divided by race as well as by socioeconomic status: the *grands blancs* held the *petits blancs* in contempt; the latter feared and despised the free people of color, who were often their economic and cultural superiors; and the *gens de couleur*, while disdainful of the *petits blancs*, feared and loathed the slaves.¹³

THE THREE MONARCHIES governed their American possessions by consent, not force. All three were obliged to grant their settlers greater autonomy than the people of the metropolis, both because the crowns lacked the resources to develop the regions themselves and because the New World offered more economic opportunities to its inhabitants than the Old. As a result, to somewhat different degrees, the three crowns exercised a form of rule that has been characterized as "benign neglect." During the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth centuries, royal power was scarcely felt by the new inhabitants of America; they essentially governed themselves. Despite these similarities, the three monarchies maintained their authority in the New World in very different ways.

The structure of the Spanish Monarchy appears to have been highly centralized. The king administered his American possessions through the Council of the Indies, which oversaw viceroalties, captaincies-general, and other administrative subdivisions governed by viceroys and other royal officials. In reality, however, the crown lacked the fiscal and coercive resources to enforce its will. Although representative assemblies (*cortes*) were not established in the New World, numerous other bodies represented the interests of its inhabitants.

Native society, which enjoyed rights to lands, language, culture, laws, and

¹² Franklin W. Knight, "The Haitian Revolution," *AHR* 105 (February 2000): 108.

¹³ Thomas O. Ott, *The Haitian Revolution, 1789–1804* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1973), 3–21; Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville, 1990), 15–28.

traditions under the Republic of Indians, also possessed its own governments, popularly known as *repúblicas*. Located in the settled pre-Hispanic areas, these regional governments consisted of the principal town and seat of administration (*cabecera*) and subordinate villages (*pueblos sujetos*). The *repúblicas* did not exist in isolation. Even in areas of dense Indian population, those polities coexisted with Spanish cities, mestizo and mulatto towns, and rural estates of various kinds. Indeed, San Juan Tenochtitlan and Santiago Tlatelolco, the successors of the two island cities that made up pre-Hispanic Mexico City, coexisted during the entire colonial period with the Spanish capital city of Mexico, itself the largest city in the Western Hemisphere.¹⁴

The Republic of Spaniards, which expanded over time not only because of population growth but also because of miscegenation and acculturation, included countless representative corporate bodies. Municipal councils that governed provinces (*ayuntamientos*), universities, cathedral chapters, convents, confraternities, mining and merchant organizations, and numerous craft guilds elected officials who represented their constituents. All these corporate entities, as well as the *repúblicas*, enjoyed a large measure of self-government and transmitted their views to the higher authorities such as the high courts (*audiencias*) and viceroys or directly to the Council of the Indies and the king.¹⁵

Spanish Americans considered their *patrias* (lands) to be kingdoms in the worldwide Spanish Monarchy, and not colonies. They believed that an unwritten constitution required that the royal authorities consult the king's New World subjects. As John Leddy Phelan observed, "usually there emerged a workable compromise between what the central authorities ideally wanted and what local conditions and pressures would realistically tolerate."¹⁶

British America, like its Spanish counterpart, was in Jack Greene's words "a consensual empire."¹⁷ The great difference, however, was that it had a substantially larger white settler population than either Spanish or French America. They—not the Indians, the free people of color, or the slaves—are the ones whom U.S. historians have in mind when they write about the rights and opportunities available in the thirteen colonies.¹⁸ Only if one limits consideration to that important group, and ignores all of the others, is it true that the British Americans possessed greater rights and liberties than the other Americans. They alone enjoyed the right to convene local assemblies. (Although Spanish Americans, in theory, had the right to convene their own representative assemblies, that did not occur.) Moreover, the

¹⁴ The best literature on the subject of *repúblicas* exists for Mexico. See, for example, José Miranda, *Las ideas y las instituciones políticas mexicanas* (1952; Mexico City, 1978); Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la ciudad de México: Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (Zamora, 1983); Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964); and Robert Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1991).

¹⁵ Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 19–22, 46–49.

¹⁶ John Leddy Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia, 1781* (Madison, Wis., 1978), xviii.

¹⁷ Jack P. Greene, "The American Revolution," *AHR* 105 (February 2000): 96.

¹⁸ Gordon S. Wood, on the other hand, argues that free blacks possessed a status similar to that of white "plebeians." See *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992), 11–56.

British Americans probably exercised a greater degree of self-government than the Spanish Americans or the inhabitants of Saint Domingue.

The French West Indies also developed a form of self-government by the early eighteenth century. Limited to the white minority and dominated by the *grands blancs*, a system of superior councils emerged that proved strong enough to disregard royal ordinances not to their liking. Indeed, some councils aspired to play the role of the Parlement of Paris, claiming the right to register the king's laws. Although the nature of representation and negotiation was much weaker in French America than in Spanish or British America, the region nonetheless offered its minority white population more of both than the people of France possessed.¹⁹ Thus, in varying degrees, Greene's observation, "What was legal, what was constitutional, was determined not by fiat but by negotiation," is true of the three Americas.²⁰

LIFE IN THE NEW WORLD was determined substantially by the natural endowments of each region. The thirteen colonies of British America possessed extensive, fertile agricultural lands. They were united not only by easy coastal communications but also by magnificent river systems. (The Louisiana Purchase of 1803, which included the mouth of the Mississippi River, would further facilitate transportation and contribute to the dramatic expansion of the young United States.) Because of the greater availability of agricultural land and of efficient, low-cost water transportation, most white British Americans acquired property, and many were able to export a variety of agricultural products to Europe and the West Indies. These conditions helped create the dynamic propertied classes. They constituted the "egalitarian social orders of the free segments of these settler societies [who] would provide a sturdy foundation for the limited egalitarian impulses of revolutionary and early republican [British] America" described by Greene.²¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, about 5.5 million people, excluding the Indians, lived in the former British America, the United States.

Spanish America, though claiming the vast majority of the continent, possessed very limited fertile land. The best soil was located in the thinly populated periphery in the extreme south and extreme north. Only about 15 percent of present-day Mexico is arable without irrigation, while the vast fertile Pampas of present-day Argentina—like the Great Plains of North America—were considered in the eighteenth century to be a desert because they could not be cultivated with the technology of the time.

The settled portions of eighteenth-century Spanish America, the region's heartland, were characterized by massive mountain ranges, jagged canyons, great deserts, and vast rain forests, all formidable barriers to communication. Despite Spanish America's extensive shorelines on both sides of the continent, coastal shipping was restricted by the lack of good harbors and by the location of the major population and production centers in the highlands away from the coast. Moreover, as none of

¹⁹ Eccles, *France in America*, 158–66; Meyer, *Francia y América*.

²⁰ Greene, "American Revolution," 95.

²¹ Greene, "American Revolution," 97.

the settled areas possessed navigable rivers, the cost and difficulty of land transport, universally more expensive than water, limited external trade to a few tropical agricultural products and valuable exports such as silver. As a result, the Spanish-American kingdoms, though part of the same monarchy, had little contact with one another unless they were neighbors.

The physical environment determined the nature of not only the economy but also the society. New Spain, blessed with vast deposits of silver, developed a complex and wealthy economy. Its large, advanced Indian population rapidly adapted to the new political and social system, learning to protect its interests within both the Republic of Indians and the Republic of Spaniards. The Viceroyalty of New Spain gradually became a multi-racial society whose members were integrated culturally and economically, to varying degrees, into a hybrid mestizo society that was neither Indian nor Spanish.²² At the end of the eighteenth century, New Spain—with a population of nearly 6 million—was the richest, most populous, most developed part of the Spanish Monarchy in America. In contrast, the Río de la Plata, a thinly populated peripheral region, far from Europe, remained isolated and economically marginal during most of the period. It was elevated to the status of a viceroyalty only in 1776. Previously, the interior sold its agricultural and livestock production to the silver mines in Upper Peru, while Buenos Aires and the Pampas raised livestock. The area did not expand rapidly until after 1776, when Buenos Aires became the outlet for trade from the interior, particularly the silver mines in Charcas, present-day Bolivia. By 1800, the region, excluding Upper Peru, had a population of about 500,000, composed of a tiny white urban elite, a small mestizo middle group, and a large nomadic Indian population.

Saint Domingue, though occupying only the western third of the island of Hispaniola, became during the second half of the eighteenth century the most productive colony in the West Indies. As David Geggus observes, in the 1780s to 1790s Saint Domingue accounted for “some 40 percent of France’s foreign trade, . . . On the coastal plains of this little colony little larger than Wales was grown about two-fifths of the world’s sugar, while from its mountainous interior came over half the world’s coffee.”²³ Its productivity doomed most of Saint Domingue’s inhabitants to exploitation. As Knight indicates, “Approximately 25,000 white colonists, whom we might call psychological transients, dominated the social pyramid, which included an intermediate subordinate stratum of approximately the same number of free, miscegenated persons . . . and a depressed, denigrated, servile, and exploited majority group of some 500,000 workers from Africa or of African descent.”²⁴

TWO CONTRADICTORY TENDENCIES emerged in the Atlantic world during the second half of the eighteenth century: the assertion by Americans—both Spanish and British—of a sense of unique identity (*conciencia de sí*) and the attempt of the Bourbon and Hanoverian monarchies to increase control of their Americas and

²² MacLachlan and Rodríguez O., *Forging of the Cosmic Race*, 144–228.

²³ Quoted in Knight, “Haitian Revolution,” 107–08.

²⁴ Knight, “Haitian Revolution,” 108.

transform them into profitable colonies. From the Río de la Plata in the south to New England in the north, the peoples of the settler societies identified with their *patrias*, their localities, which they thought of as America. Indeed, the name “America” became prominent at that time; earlier, the continent had been known as “the Indies.” Whereas educated members of both communities emphasized the unique characteristics of their lands and peoples, the Spanish Americans incorporated their Indian heritage into their interpretation of American identity, while the British Americans did not. The distinction is exemplified in two great works of the time: Francisco Javier Clavijero’s *Historia antigua de México* and Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on Virginia*.²⁵ The latter exalted white British Americans, while the former glorified the ancient Mexicans.

Spanish Americans and British Americans considered themselves either true Spaniards or true Britons, the possessors of all the rights and privileges of those peoples. Spanish Americans developed a compact theory of government. They derived their rights from two sources: their Indian progenitors, who originally possessed the land, and their Spanish ancestors, who in conquering the New World obtained privileges from the crown, including the right to convene their own representative assemblies (*cortes*). The compact was not made between America and Spain, however, but between each New World kingdom and the monarch.²⁶ Similarly, British Americans based their claims to self-government on their rights as Englishmen. In particular, “they insisted that each of their own local legislatures enjoyed full legislative authority and exclusive power to tax within its respective jurisdiction.”²⁷

Although both the Spanish and British crowns had considered asserting more control over their American possessions in the 1740s and 1750s, little was accomplished until the end of the Seven Years’ War. That conflict, a world war fought in Europe, America—both north and south—and Asia, changed the balance of power in the New World. France withdrew from North America in 1763, leaving Spain and Britain as the principal contenders for control of the region. Both monarchies established standing armies in America for the first time, and both introduced new regulations and structures designed to enable them to exercise greater control over their vast and distant territories. Impressed by the great wealth that France extracted from its Caribbean islands, particularly Saint Domingue, Spain and Britain decided to transform their Americas into colonies in the modern sense of the word: they not only attempted to exercise greater control, they also sought to profit from them. Since these changes in the Spanish world are called the

²⁵ Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 13–19.

²⁶ Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 47–48. Father Servando Teresa de Mier, one of the most distinguished advocates of the thesis of American rights, declared: “Our kings, far from having considered establishing in our Americas the modern system of colonies of other nations, not only made our [kingdoms] the equals of Spain but also granted us the best [institutions] she possessed . . . In conclusion, it is evident that under the constitution granted by the kings of Spain to the Americas, these lands are kingdoms independent of her [Spain] without any other link but the king, . . . who according to political theorists, must govern us as though he were the king of each one of them [the American realms].” Servando Teresa de Mier, “Idea de la Constitución dada a las Américas por los reyes de España antes de la invasión del antiguo despotismo,” in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., ed., *Obras completas de Servando Teresa de Mier*, Vol. 4, *La formación de un republicano* (Mexico City, 1988), 57.

²⁷ Jack P. Greene, *Understanding the American Revolution: Issues and Actors* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995), 74–75.

Bourbon reforms, the comparable transformations in the British are best conceived as the Hanoverian reforms.

As was to be expected, both British and Spanish Americans objected to the new imperialism. Why British Americans objected so strongly to the new measures, such as the introduction of a standing army, the Stamp Act, the Navigation Acts, and the tea tax, and why the British government insisted on enforcing its authority is still not fully understood.²⁸ The British monarchy clearly feared that the colonials would insist on independence if their demands were met. At the same time, the colonists were convinced that the Hanoverian reforms sought to deprive them of their rights and liberties as Englishmen. Thus the American Revolution resulted from "the inability of the disputants to agree upon the nature of the British Empire."²⁹ But, in addition, the British, like the Spanish subsequently, proved unwilling to accept a settlement comparable to the later British Commonwealth.

THE NATURE AND PROCESS of the struggles for emancipation from the mother countries were as different as the three Americas. The war for the independence of the Thirteen Colonies became an international conflict in which France and Spain fought Britain on both land and sea. At the height of the struggle, France fielded a force of more than 10,000 men in North America—an army larger than the royal regular army in New Spain—while Spanish troops harassed the British along its border with New Spain, and the combined French and Spanish navies neutralized the British fleet at sea. As a result of foreign involvement, the United States obtained its independence through an international settlement, the Treaty of Paris of 1783.³⁰

Many of the founders of the new nation were members of the oligarchy. During the struggle for independence, the British-American upper and upper-middle classes shared moderate goals. Although other social groups participated in the struggle, they did not challenge the elites. No social revolution threatened their interests.³¹ The U.S. war of independence was characterized by traditional military engagements. Local insurgents with goals fundamentally different from those of the elites are notable for their absence. No rural insurrection occurred. The black slaves did not revolt against their masters. And the Indians did not take the opportunity to recover the lands from which they had been dispossessed.³²

Although regional tensions existed, and although the first U.S. constitution, the

²⁸ One explanation is offered by Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776* (1972; New York, 1991). Theodore Draper provides a somewhat different view in *A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution* (New York, 1996).

²⁹ Greene, *Understanding the American Revolution*, 72.

³⁰ The struggle for U.S. independence is discussed in Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (New York, 1982); Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763–1789* (New York, 1971); Marshall Smelser, *The Winning of Independence* (Chicago, 1972); and Willard M. Wallace, *Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1951).

³¹ On the other hand, Wood, wrongly in my opinion, argues that the American Revolution was "as radical and social as any revolution in history." *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 5.

³² Some Indian groups supported the British government, but no large-scale Indian movement erupted that might have threatened the British Americans.

Articles of Confederation, was rapidly discarded in favor of the stronger Constitution of 1787, the British-American elites managed to direct the new nation without serious challenges from other social groups.³³ As Greene has noted:

despite the universalistic pronouncements of the Declaration of Independence and the apparent inclusiveness of the phrase “We the People” in the Constitution, the American Revolution was a limited revolution that really fully applied, immediately, only to adult white independent men. Because such a large proportion of the American population fell into that category, the American Revolution seemed to contemporaries to be far more egalitarian and inclusive than it actually was. But whole groups of people—slaves, servants, propertyless workers, women, minors, free people of African and Amerindian descent, and even, in some places, non-Christians—were systematically excluded from the suffrage and the public space that the suffrage guaranteed.³⁴

The United States emerged as an oligarchic republic that slowly incorporated other groups into full participation, a process that continues today.

THE ORIGINS OF THE REVOLUTION IN SAINT DOMINGUE, as Knight observes, “lie in the broader changes of the Atlantic world during the eighteenth century.”³⁵ The American Revolution, for example, directly affected France. The cost of aiding the British-American rebels contributed to the fiscal and constitutional crisis that destroyed the French monarchy. When the nobility refused to accept increased taxes, the monarchy was forced to convene the Estates General, and when that parliament met in 1789, a coalition of the Third Estate and a significant minority of liberal nobles transformed the body into a national assembly initiating the French Revolution.

The French Revolution influenced the nature and process of the Haitian Revolution. As Knight indicates:

The *grands blancs* saw the Rights of Man as the rights and privileges of bourgeois man, much as the framers of North American independence in Philadelphia in 1776. Moreover, *grands blancs* saw liberty not as a private affair but rather as greater colonial autonomy . . . [In this, they were following the earlier political tradition of their superior councils.] They also hoped that the metropolis would authorize more free trade, thereby weakening the restrictive effects of the mercantilist *commerce exclusif* with the mother country. *Petits blancs* wanted equality, that is, active citizenship for all white persons, not just the wealthy property owners, and less bureaucratic control over the colonies. But they stressed a fraternity based on whiteness of skin color that they equated with being genuinely French. *Gens de couleur* also wanted equality and fraternity, but they based their claim on an equality of all free regardless of skin color, since they fulfilled all other qualifications for active citizenship. Slaves were not part of the initial discussion and sloganeering, but from their subsequent actions they clearly supported liberty. It was not the liberty of the whites, however. Theirs was a personal

³³ See Merrill Jensen, *The Articles of Confederation* (1940; rpt. edn., Madison, Wis., 1959); Roger H. Brown, *Redeeming the Republic: Federalists, Taxation, and the Origins of the Constitution* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); and Stuart Bruchey, *The Roots of American Economic Growth, 1607–1861* (New York, 1965).

³⁴ Greene, *Understanding the American Revolution*, 389.

³⁵ Knight, “Haitian Revolution,” 106.

freedom that undermined their relationship to their masters and the plantation, and jeopardized the wealth of a considerable number of those who were already free.³⁶

The violence in Saint Domingue was initiated by the whites in 1790. As the *grands blancs* and the *petits blancs* fought for control of the colony, they armed not only themselves but also their slaves. When the French National Assembly granted political rights to the free *gens de couleur*, the whites temporarily united to limit political power to their race only. Naturally, the free people of color also armed their slaves to defend their interests. After two years of fighting for the liberty and equality of the free people of Haiti—white and non-white—the slaves began to fight for their own freedom. Although Pierre-Dominique Toussaint Louverture won a temporary victory for the slaves in 1793, which the National Assembly in France appeared to ratify when it abolished slavery, the struggle continued for another decade. The British and the Spanish as well as the French intervened in the conflict, but Toussaint Louverture's forces drove them from the island, controlled internal dissent, and even captured Spanish Santo Domingo.

When Toussaint Louverture had outlasted all his rival officials and named himself governor general for life in July 1801, however, he still did not declare independence. French attempts to reassert control of Saint Domingue caused the final rupture. The new emperor of the French, Napoleon Bonaparte, who wished to restore French power in America, seized Louisiana from the Spanish and, in 1802, dispatched a French army to restore order in Saint Domingue. Although Toussaint Louverture was captured and sent to prison in France, where he died, his cause survived. Jean-Jacques Dessalines, his successor, defeated the French, and declared Haitian independence on January 1, 1804.³⁷ As Knight observes, Haiti

was a unique case in the history of the Americas: a thorough revolution that resulted in a complete metamorphosis in the social, political, intellectual, and economic life of the colony. Socially, the lowest order of the society—the slaves—became equal, free, and independent citizens. Politically, the new citizens created the second independent state in the Americas, and the first independent non-European state to be carved out of the universal European empires anywhere. The Haitian model of state formation drove xenophobic fear into the hearts of all whites from Boston to Buenos Aires.³⁸

The upheavals in the Spanish world differed significantly from those in British and French America. The independence of Spanish America did not constitute an anti-colonial movement, as many assert, but formed part not only of the *revolution* within the Spanish world but also of the *dissolution* of the Spanish Monarchy. Indeed, Spain was one of the new nations that emerged from the break-up of that worldwide polity.³⁹

Spain, like Great Britain, attempted to reorganize its new world possessions

³⁶ Knight, "Haitian Revolution," 110.

³⁷ The Haitian Revolution is well discussed in C. L. R. James's classic study *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 3d edn. (London, 1980); Ott, *Haitian Revolution*; and Fick, *Making of Haiti*. Two recent studies place the movement in its international context: Dolores Hernández Guerrero, *La revolución haitiana y el fin de un sueño colonial (1791-1803)* (Mexico City, 1997); and Johanna von Grafenstein Gareis, *Nueva España en el Circuncaribe, 1779-1808: Revolución, competencia imperial y vínculos intercoloniales* (Mexico City, 1997).

³⁸ Knight, "The Haitian Revolution," 104-05.

³⁹ This argument is developed in my book, *The Independence of Spanish America*.

during the last years of the eighteenth century. It established a small standing army and a large force of provincial militias, formed new administrative boundaries, introduced a different system of administration—the intendancies—restricted the privileges of the clergy, restructured trade, and limited the appointment of Americans to government in their *patrias*.

Although Spanish Americans objected, sometimes violently, to the Bourbon reforms, they did not imitate their northern brethren by seeking independence. The Spanish Monarchy was sufficiently certain of its Spanish-American subjects' loyalty that it fought Great Britain during the British-American struggle and signed the Treaty of Paris, which recognized the independence of the United States.

The Bourbon reforms, however, did encounter massive opposition in Spanish America: those harmed by the changes used every legal remedy to stymie or modify the new system and on occasion turned to armed resistance to redress their grievances. Tax increases, the expulsion of the Jesuits, and other changes led to protests and to violent riots in Quito in 1765, in central New Spain the following year, and in Upper Peru during the years 1777 to 1780. The most serious upheavals—the Túpac Amaru revolt, which threatened to engulf the entire Viceroyalty of Peru during 1780–1783, and the Comunero revolt in New Granada in 1781—were overcome with great difficulty. Nevertheless, with a combination of compromise and the use of force, the Spanish crown managed to contain these conflicts.

Spanish Americans opposed those innovations that injured them and managed to modify many to suit their interests. Although the Bourbon reforms initially harmed some areas and groups, even as they benefited others, the existing political and administrative structures appeared capable of negotiating acceptable accommodations and establishing a new equilibrium. The constitutional crisis of the Spanish Monarchy had not yet reached the breaking point. Events in Europe, however, prevented an orderly readjustment. The French Revolution, which unleashed twenty years of war in which Spain became an unwilling participant, further eroded stability. Thus, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Spanish Monarchy faced the greatest crisis of its history.⁴⁰

The political revolution of the Spanish world began, as Virginia Guedea observes, “with the imperial crisis of 1808.”⁴¹ The collapse of the Spanish Monarchy, as a result of the French invasion of the Peninsula and the abdication of its rulers, triggered a series of events that culminated in the establishment of representative government throughout the Spanish world. The first step in that process was the formation of local governing *juntas* in Spain and America, which invoked the Spanish legal principle that, in the absence of the king, sovereignty reverted to the people. While the Peninsular provinces made that transition easily, the American kingdoms faced the opposition of royal officials, resident Europeans, and their New World allies.

Events in Spain had profound effects in the New World. Unwilling to accept French domination, the people of Spain, as Guedea indicates, opposed the

⁴⁰ Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 19–35.

⁴¹ Virginia Guedea, “The Process of Mexican Independence,” *AHR* 105 (February 2000): 116.

invader.⁴² Though initially divided, the provinces of the Peninsula ultimately joined forces on September 25, 1808, to form a government of national defense, the Junta Suprema Central Gubernativa del Reino (Supreme Central Governing Committee of the Kingdom), and to wage a war of liberation. The Spanish national government, however, could not defeat the French without the aid of its overseas territories. Therefore, the new regime recognized the equality of the American kingdoms and in 1809 invited them to elect representatives to the Junta Central.

Although restricted to a small elite, the elections enhanced the political role of the municipalities, the *ayuntamientos*, and were the first in a series of elections that provided Spanish Americans with the opportunity to participate in government at various levels. When the Junta Central convened a national assembly, the Cortes, in 1810, it again invited the American kingdoms to send delegates.⁴³ The elections to the Cortes extended political participation more broadly than those for the Junta Central, including "Spaniards born in America and Asia, . . . those domiciled and resident in those lands as well as the Indians and the sons of Spaniards and Indians."⁴⁴ Before the Cortes met, the Junta Central dissolved itself, appointing a Council of Regency to act as the executive.

The deputies from Spain and America, who enacted the constitution of the Spanish Monarchy in March 1812 in the city of Cádiz, transformed the Hispanic world. The Constitution of 1812 was not a purely Spanish document; it was as much an American charter as a Spanish one, because the American deputies to the Cortes played a central role in drafting it. The Charter of Cádiz abolished seigniorial institutions, the Inquisition, Indian tribute, forced labor—both in America and in the Peninsula—and asserted the state's control over the church. It created a unitary state with uniform laws for all parts of the Spanish Monarchy, substantially restricted the authority of the king, and entrusted the Cortes with decisive power. When it enfranchised all adult men, except those of African ancestry, without requiring either literacy or property qualifications, the Constitution of 1812 surpassed all existing representative governments, such as those of Great Britain, the United States, and France, in providing political rights to the vast majority of the male population.⁴⁵

The constitution of the Spanish Monarchy not only expanded the electorate, it also dramatically increased the scope of political activity. The new charter established representative government at three levels: the municipality (the constitutional *ayuntamiento*), the province (the provincial deputation), and the monarchy (the Cortes). By permitting cities and towns with a thousand or more

⁴² Guedea, "Process of Mexican Independence," 116.

⁴³ Virginia Guedea, "The First Popular Elections in Mexico City, 1812–1823," in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., ed., *The Origins of Mexican National Politics, 1808–1847* (Wilmington, Del., 1997), 39–42.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 81–82.

⁴⁵ Racism, undoubtedly, contributed substantially to the denial of political rights to the colored castes, the people of African ancestry. The question, however, was also affected by misleading estimates of the populations of Spain and America. At the time, Spain possessed a population of about 10.5 million people, while, according to Alexander von Humbolt's inflated figures that were accepted as accurate by the participants in the debate, Spanish America had a population of about 16 million. Since the colored castes were believed to number about 6 million, their exclusion equalized the population counted for purposes of representation. Thus the Peninsulars ensured that they would not become a minority in their own parliament. Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 107–20.

inhabitants to form *ayuntamientos*, it transferred political power to the local level and incorporated vast numbers of people into the political process. Studies of the popular elections in Spanish America demonstrate that, although the elites dominated politics, hundreds of thousands of middle and lower-class men, including Indians, mestizos, and colored castes, participated in politics.⁴⁶

Despite the unparalleled democratization of the political system, civil war erupted in Spanish America because some groups that refused to accept the government in Spain formed local *juntas*, while others that recognized the new authorities in the Peninsula opposed them. Supporters of autonomy grounded their arguments on the *unwritten* colonial constitution, the compact between the individual kingdoms and the monarch. According to their interpretation, if that relationship were severed, for whatever reason, nothing bound an American kingdom to Spain or to any other New World realm. However, Spaniards and Spanish Americans in the New World, who believed that the Council of Regency and the Cortes constituted the only legitimate government, opposed the formation of local *juntas*. Conflicts also erupted in some American kingdoms when provincial cities concluded that they, too, possessed the right to form their own local governments, a view that the capitals of their realms rejected with force. In a few regions, the elites were divided among themselves. And, in some instances, conflict broke out between the cities and the countryside.

Civil wars erupted in the New World that pitted supporters of the Spanish national government against the *juntas*, the capitals against the provinces, the elites against one another, and the towns against the countryside. Local conditions determined the nature and manner in which the conflict developed. As Guedea points out, because of the Europeans' coup d'état of 1808, the autonomist movement in New Spain began with urban conspiracies that subsequently erupted into widespread rural insurgencies. With the exception of Peru, the kingdoms of South America established governing *juntas* in 1809 and in 1810, which assumed authority in the name of the imprisoned King Fernando VII and sought to dominate their regions.

Because all areas of the Spanish Monarchy possessed the same political culture, these movements, including the insurgencies in New Spain, all justified their actions on the same grounds and in virtually identical terms. They argued that because of the imprisonment of the king, sovereignty reverted to them. Most South American *juntas* initially consisted of both Peninsulars and Americans. Once it appeared that Spain might fall completely under French domination, however, more radical Spanish Americans took control, ousting the Europeans from government. Although most of the governing *juntas* acted as though they were independent and a few eventually declared independence from the Spanish Monarchy, the vast majority of the politically active population of Spanish America desired to retain ties with the Spanish Monarchy and proved reluctant to sever them completely.

⁴⁶ See Guedea, "First Popular Elections in Mexico City," 39–63; Virginia Guedea, "El pueblo de México y la política capitalina, 1808–1812," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 10 (Winter 1994): 27–61; and Guedea, *En busca de un gobierno altermo: Los Guadalupe de México* (Mexico City, 1992), 233–315. See also Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 92–103; as well as Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "Las primeras elecciones constitucionales en el Reino de Quito, 1809–1814 y 1821–1822," *Procesos* (in press).



N.A.M.S.D. FERNANDO VII.

An idealized portrait of King Fernando VII. Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.

The Spanish-American movements of 1810, like those in Spain in 1808, arose from a desire to remain independent of French domination. The great difference between the Peninsula and America was that the regions of Spain fought an external enemy, while the New World kingdoms grappled with internal divisions. The conflict in Spanish America waxed and waned during the first constitutional period, 1810–1814, and, at times, when the authorities acted with restraint, accommodation seemed possible.

King Fernando's return from captivity in May 1814 provided an opportunity to restore the unity of the Spanish world. Virtually every act that had occurred since 1808—the struggle against the French, the political revolution enacted by the Cortes, and the autonomy movements in America—had been taken in his name. Although he abolished the constitution, at first it appeared that the king might accept moderate reforms, but ultimately he opted to rely on force to restore royal order in the New World. Free from constitutional restraints, the royal authorities in the New World crushed most autonomy movements, such as those in New Spain, Venezuela, Nueva Granada, Quito, and Chile. Only the isolated Río de la Plata remained beyond the reach of a weakened Spanish Monarchy.

Repression by the crown prompted decisive action by the minority of Spanish America's politically active population that favored independence. In South America, self-proclaimed generals, such as Simón Bolívar, and former professional soldiers, such as José de San Martín, gained immense power and prestige as the leaders of the bloody struggles to gain independence. Although civilian and clerical institutions, such as *ayuntamientos*, courts, parishes, and cathedral chapters, continued to function, and although new governments were formed and congresses elected, military power predominated.

It was clear by 1819 that King Fernando would have to send more troops if he wished to retain control of Spanish America, but raising yet another expeditionary force to reconquer the New World only increased discontent in the Peninsula. The liberals, exploiting the army's disenchantment with the war in America, eventually forced the king in March 1820 to restore the constitution. The return of constitutional order transformed the Hispanic political system for the third time in a decade.

The restoration of constitutional government elicited disparate responses in Spanish America. When the news arrived in May, the people of New Spain and Guatemala (Central America) enthusiastically reestablished the constitutional system. In the ensuing months, they conducted elections for countless constitutional *ayuntamientos*, provincial deputations, and the Cortes.

Political instability in the Peninsula during the previous twelve years, however, had convinced many New Spaniards that it was prudent to establish an autonomous government within the Spanish Monarchy. The autonomists, the members of the national elite who ultimately gained power after independence, opted for a constitutional monarchy. They pursued two courses of action: they sought autonomy within the Spanish Monarchy and they also worked to establish an autonomous government at home.

New Spain's deputies to the Cortes proposed a project for New World autonomy that would create three American kingdoms governed by Spanish princes and allied with the Peninsula. This proposal to form a Spanish commonwealth resembled the later British Commonwealth. Indeed, the proponents argued that they did not wish to follow the example of the United States. Instead, like Canada, they sought to retain ties with the monarchy. The Spanish majority in the Cortes, however, rejected the proposal that would have granted Spanish Americans the home rule they had been seeking since 1808.



Hacienda account book whose images celebrate "Liberty," 1818. A woman (America), an eagle with the flag "Liberty," and an Indian overturning a castle (Spain). Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.

At the same time, New Spain's autonomists convinced the prominent royalist Colonel Agustín de Iturbide to accept their plan for autonomy, which was similar to the one presented to the Cortes. Independence was assured in 1821 when Iturbide and his supporters gained the backing of the majority of the royal army. Mexico achieved its independence not because the royal authorities had lost on the

battlefield but because New Spaniards no longer supported the crown politically.⁴⁷ Central America also declared independence and joined the new Mexican Empire. It seceded peacefully in 1823, after the empire was abolished, and formed a separate nation.

The newly independent Mexicans carefully followed the precedents of the Spanish constitutional system. Although they initially established an empire, they replaced it in 1824 with a federal republic, modeling their new constitution on the Spanish charter because it was part of their recent political experience. Distinguished New Spanish statesmen, like José Guridi y Alcocer and Miguel Ramos Arizpe, who had participated in writing the Constitution of 1812, also served in the Mexican Constituent Congress. To many Mexicans, the Constitution of 1812 was as much their charter as Spain's. In keeping with Hispanic constitutional practices, they also formed a government with a powerful legislature and a weak executive branch. Federalism in Mexico arose naturally from the earlier political experience; the provincial deputations created by the Spanish constitution to govern the provinces simply converted themselves into states.⁴⁸ Like Mexico, the new Central American republic established a federation based on Hispanic constitutional practices.

In South America, the restoration of the Spanish constitution provided advocates of independence with the opportunity to press their campaign to liberate the continent. In contrast to New Spain, the South American insurgents defeated the royal authorities in battle. Two pincer movements, one from the south and the other from the north, eventually converged on Peru, ending Spanish rule.

Two competing political traditions emerged during the independence period: one, forged in more than a decade of war, emphasized strong executive power, and the other, based on the civilian parliamentary experience, insisted on the preeminence of the legislature. They epitomized a fundamental disagreement about the nature of government. New Spain, which achieved independence through political compromise rather than by force of arms, is representative of the civil tradition. There, the Hispanic constitutional system triumphed and continued to evolve. Despite subsequent coups by soldiers, civilian politicians dominated Mexican politics.

In contrast, military force liberated northern South America. Unlike Mexico, in Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, the men of arms dominated the men of law, and the Hispanic constitutional experience exerted little influence. The three newly independent South American nations established strong centralist governments with powerful chief executives and weak legislatures. In 1830, Colombia—sometimes called Gran Colombia—splintered into three countries: Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. The preponderance of the men of arms, however, was harder to eradicate.

The Southern Cone, which also had gained independence by force, did not fall under the control of military men. There, warfare with royalist forces had been

⁴⁷ Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "The Transition from Colony to Nation: New Spain, 1820–1821," in Rodríguez O., *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750–1850* (Boulder, Colo., 1994), 97–132.

⁴⁸ On this point, consult Nettie Lee Benson, *The Provincial Deputation in Mexico: Harbinger of Provincial Autonomy, Independence, and Federalism* (Austin, Tex., 1992).

limited. Most of the fighting occurred among provinces that struggled for autonomy from their capital cities. Chile eventually established a highly centralized oligarchical republic while, in the Río de la Plata, the various provinces formed a loose confederation. Despite the differences between the two countries, civilians dominated both nations.⁴⁹

THE FATE OF THE NEW NATIONS of America depended to a great extent on timing. The British-American struggle for independence constituted part of a larger international conflict. The new nation gained both its independence and diplomatic recognition as part of an international agreement, the Treaty of Paris of 1783. Consequently, the United States had neither to spend large sums of money for its defense nor, like the Spanish-American countries, to devote years of political and diplomatic effort to obtain recognition from an aggrieved motherland. Fortuitously, the United States enjoyed a post-independence prosperity engendered by twenty years of war in Europe. The French Revolution of 1789 and the subsequent wars generated an insatiable demand for U.S. products. Moreover, Spain's involvement in those wars created a great commercial opportunity for the young republic because that monarchy had to rely on neutral shipping to conduct its trade with Spanish America. Thus political and social tensions within the United States were alleviated by its prosperity.

The independence of the United States, moreover, did not result in the political and economic destruction of the British world. Despite brief and relatively minor conflicts, cultural, economic, and diplomatic relations continued between the former metropolis and the former colony. More significantly, during the nineteenth century, Great Britain became the preeminent industrial, commercial, financial, technological, and naval power in the world. The history of the United States would have been considerably different had Spain achieved that preeminence while Britain collapsed. In a world dominated by a country with a different language, religion, and culture, the United States would have been less privileged politically, less able to exploit its rich endowment of easily available resources, and, moreover, would have had to contend with powerful neighbors. That situation, of course, did not occur. Instead, the United States grew territorially through conquest, expanded economically, and maintained a stable political system that became increasingly democratic.

Although Haiti began its process of independence, like the rest of America, by continuing patterns and processes that had been evolving for years, it experienced a dramatic social as well as political revolution. At first, Saint Domingue participated in the transformations of the French Revolution, but the slaves, who were not included in those changes, insisted on freedom and equality. The bloody and destructive wars that were necessary to achieve those goals jeopardized the country's economic and political future. As Knight observes, "the Haitians dramatically transformed their conventional tropical plantation agriculture, especially in the north, from a structure dominated by large estates (*latifundia*) into a society of

⁴⁹ Rodríguez O., *Independence of Spanish America*, 75–246.

minifundist, or small-scale, marginal self-sufficient producers, who reoriented away from export dependency toward an internal marketing system supplemented by a minor export sector.”⁵⁰ In addition, a revolution of former slaves—people of African ancestry—terrified the white societies of both America and Europe. When their armies failed to subdue the Haitians, the Europeans isolated the country. Although some Haitians sought to continue sugar exports, most markets were closed to them. Instead, European nations introduced profitable tropical agriculture to other Caribbean islands. Thus the citizens of Haiti, an impoverished, isolated land, proved unable to form an economically prosperous and politically stable nation.

The emancipation of Spanish America did not merely consist of separation from the mother country, as in the case of the United States. It also destroyed a vast and responsive social, political, and economic system that had functioned relatively well, despite its many imperfections. For nearly three hundred years, the worldwide Spanish Monarchy had proven to be flexible and capable of accommodating social tensions and conflicting political and economic interests. Despite inefficiencies and inequities, the monarchy functioned as an economic system and, as a unit, possessed the strength to participate effectively in the world economy. After independence, the former Spanish Monarchy’s separate parts functioned at a competitive disadvantage. In that regard, nineteenth-century Spain, like the former American kingdoms, was just one more newly independent nation groping for a place in an uncertain and difficult world.

By 1826, the overseas possessions of the Spanish Monarchy, one of the world’s most imposing political structures at the end of the eighteenth century, consisted only of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and a few other Pacific islands. In contrast with the United States, which obtained its independence in 1783, just in time to benefit from the insatiable demand for its products generated by the twenty years of war in Europe that followed the French Revolution of 1789, the Spanish world achieved emancipation *after* the end of the European conflicts. Not only did the new nations have to rebuild their shattered economies, they also faced a lack of demand for their products. Instead, Europe and the United States were eager to flood Spanish America with their goods. The new countries thus did not enjoy prosperity during their formative years as the United States had. Rather, the Spanish-American states had to face grave internal and external problems with diminished resources.

Spain and Spanish America’s nineteenth-century experiences provide stark proof of the cost of independence. The two regions suffered political chaos, economic decline, economic imperialism, and foreign intervention. Both the Peninsula and the nations of the New World endured civil wars and military uprisings (*pronunciamientos*). In their efforts to resolve their political and economic crises, Spain and Spanish America experimented with monarchism and republicanism, centralism and federalism, representative government and dictatorship. Unfortunately, there was no simple solution for nations whose economies had been destroyed by war and whose political systems had been shattered by revolution.

⁵⁰ Knight, “Haitian Revolution,” 105.

Only in the last third of the nineteenth century did the nations of Spanish America and Spain begin to consolidate their states. By then, Spain, and most Spanish-American countries, had established stable governments and undertaken the difficult process of economic rehabilitation. Unfortunately, the former Spanish Monarchy had languished during fifty crucial years in which Britain, France, Germany, and the United States had advanced to a different stage of economic development. In the period since the great political revolution had dissolved the Spanish Monarchy, the North Atlantic world had changed dramatically. Western European and United States industrial corporations and financial institutions had achieved such size and strength that the emerging economies of Spanish America and Spain simply could not compete. Consequently, the members of the former Spanish Monarchy had to accept a secondary role in the new world order.

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Review Essay

Restarting Chinese History

MERLE GOLDMAN

WHEN UPDATING THE LATE John K. Fairbank's book, *China: A New History*¹—extending its narrative to cover the developments of the post-Mao era of Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin—I often had a sense of *déjà vu*. So many of the changes under way during the rule of Mao's successors in the last two decades of the twentieth century resonated with changes begun in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is true that Deng was of the Long March generation credited with carrying out the 1949 revolution and that Jiang remains, like his immediate predecessors, a leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Nevertheless, their policies of moving China's economy to the market and opening Chinese society to the outside world have created a country that more closely resembles the China of the period preceding the 1949 revolution than it does the People's Republic of China of the Maoist era (1949–1976).

This sense of a revival of interrupted historical trends and trajectories has been reinforced by a number of significant books that focus on either the first or last decades of the twentieth century. These recent works show ways in which the extraordinary changes in China during the 1980s and 1990s built on practices and institutions first created or experimented with almost one hundred years earlier. Some of them make this point directly, others indirectly.² Still others, by contrast, only shed a distant light on these phenomena. When taken together, however, the overall effect of this body of literature is striking. It suggests that, contrary to those pundits and scholars who at the conclusion of the Cold War talked about “the end of history,” just the opposite has actually taken place. With the fall of the Soviet empire and the general bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism, the post-Communist societies of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China—which might be

I want to thank Paul A. Cohen for his counsel on this article. For a pre-1989 discussion of his that touches on some key themes raised below, see Cohen, “The Post-Mao Reforms in Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 47, no. 3 (August 1988): 518–40.

¹ John K. Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, enl. edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

² Joshua A. Fogel and Peter G. Zarrow, eds., *Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890–1920* (Armonk, N.Y., 1997); Bruce J. Dickson, *Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties* (Oxford, 1997); Murray Scot Tanner, *The Politics of Lawmaking in Post-Mao China* (Oxford, 1998); B. Michael Frolic and Timothy Brook, eds., *Civil Society in China* (Armonk, 1997); and Deborah Davis, Richard Kraus, Barry Naughton, and Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China* (Cambridge, 1995). Dickson, *Democratization*, and Tanner, *Politics of Lawmaking*, are the two works that are least direct in linking contemporary events to early twentieth-century historical trajectories and phenomena.

thought of as post-socialist though not yet post-Leninist—have been picking up where they left off before mid-century. They have been reweaving historical patterns that were diverted or unraveled by the establishment of Communist Party states, through indigenous revolutions, Soviet invasions, or a combination of factors.³

In the case of China, the resumption of history, in the sense I am using this phrase, predated the upheavals of 1989–1991, so pivotal in the East European case. Soon after Mao's death in 1976, well before the fall of the Berlin Wall or demise of the Soviet Union, several historical patterns began to reemerge. These helped to make the People's Republic of China, by the time it marked the first half-century of Communist rule on October 1, 1999, into a country that neither Marx nor Lenin nor even Mao would recognize. There was thus more than a little irony to the fact that the symbolically significant National Day celebrations of autumn 1999 were accompanied by a show of Soviet-like military power and a speech by Jiang that hailed China as a model Marxist-Leninist state.

Although Mao might have trouble figuring out what to make of the newest "New China," any Chinese intellectual who lived in the early decades of the twentieth century would have no trouble recognizing it. The expanding market economy, international involvements, landholding system, intellectual and cultural pluralism, emerging civil society, and embryonic democratic procedures of the post-Mao period greatly resemble the China of the Republican era (1912–1949).

WHILE THE 1949 REVOLUTION interrupted many developments set in motion in the first decades of the twentieth century, we need to remember that the Mao era was not completely *sui generis*. Historian Philip Kuhn points out to his classes at Harvard that two major strains exist in modern Chinese history. One was established by the Taiping Uprising (1848–1864), a millenarian movement whose founder, Hong Xiuquan, was influenced by a combination of traditional Chinese apocalyptic thinking and Christian fundamentalism. In the mid-nineteenth century, he and his followers attempted to establish a heavenly kingdom on earth, where everyone would be equal, but the leaders would have absolute authority. Mao comes out of this utopian Taiping tradition and the older chiliastic tradition of peasant rebellions in China's pre-modern history—discussed recently in these pages in David Ownby's contribution to the December 1999 *Forum* on millenniums—as well as out of a Marxian utopian tradition.⁴

The other strain Kuhn points to is the self-strengthening movement launched by late nineteenth-century reform officials who sought, by means of economic and technological development and authoritarian rule, to modernize the Chinese economy in order to make China competitive with the West. This developmental state tradition extended sporadically into the twentieth century. It was abruptly

³ The emphasis put, in some discussions of Eastern Europe, on 1989 as marking "the return of history" as opposed to the end of it is alluded to in Timothy Garton Ash, "Ten Years After," *New York Review of Books* (November 18, 1999): 16–19. See also Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy* (New York, 1993).

⁴ David Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1513–30.

interrupted by Mao's utopian policies of collectivization in 1955, the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), policies that were supposedly to transform China quickly into a revolutionary society. Instead, the collectivization led to rural impoverishment, the Great Leap to the death of 30 million people, and the Cultural Revolution to a state of anarchy bordering on civil war.

When Deng Xiaoping succeeded Mao as China's "paramount leader" in late 1978, he resumed the developmental state tradition of the late nineteenth century, and Deng's successor, Jiang Zemin, has continued it also. The Deng reforms have finally fulfilled the wish of China's reformers since the late nineteenth century to make China "rich and powerful" (*fuqiang*). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, China has a greater international presence than at any other time in the past hundred years. And while the growth in China's gross national product began to slow in the late 1990s, after twenty years of annual 9 percent economic growth, a majority of Chinese have experienced a marked improvement in their standard of living. Despite the beginning of a modern educational and industrial infrastructure in the early years of the People's Republic, much of this infrastructure was ultimately undermined by Mao's destructive utopian programs. Deng, much more than Mao, made possible the attainment of the reformers' century-old dream of making China once again a great and prospering nation.

Deng and his colleagues accomplished this goal by drawing on two traditions, one familiar and the other novel to the late twentieth century, neither fully acknowledged as sources of inspiration. On the one hand, they borrowed from techniques and ideas associated with the more moderate, gradual methods and reforms of their late nineteenth and early twentieth-century predecessors within China. On the other, they emulated the developmental strategies of their post-Confucian neighbors—Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan—based on land reform, market economies, and export trade. They have yet, however, to emulate their neighbors in taking the key step toward democratization of their political system.

In fact, China's present leaders assert that democratic institutions and Western values are alien to their history and culture. Yet this assertion reveals an ignorance of their own modern history and culture. The local self-government and civil society that slowly emerged in late twentieth-century China had begun earlier in that century, as described in a number of well-documented essays by Western and Chinese scholars in *Imagining the People* (1997), edited by Joshua Fogel and Peter Zarrow. Inspired by reforms in the West and in Japan as well as by the sense of threat of Western imperialism and internal disintegration, reform-minded elites and officials at the beginning of the twentieth century promoted self-government at various levels of society. They saw wealth and power deriving not only from economic development but also from people participating in local government and assuming political responsibility. Zarrow explains in his introduction that, despite the elitism of the early reformers, they sought to create an active citizenry involved in state-building. The idea was to empower local people and imbue them with a concept of citizenship that tied individuals to the state. By replacing the traditional leadership of local elders with a system legitimized by the vote of the people, local

elections, reformers believed they were taking the first step toward creating a more stable political order.

True, suffrage was limited, as it was in the early stages of democratization in the West. Those who could vote were males who met certain education or property requirements; they were gentry, scholars, local notables, merchants, or returning students who had studied abroad. In 1907, the city of Tianjin had its first Western-style election, and in 1909, provincial elections were held all over China. By the end of 1911, the number of elected county and sub-county councils approached 5,000.⁵ The momentum of these reforms waned by the 1920s, not because of the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 but because of the ensuing chaos of the warlord period. Nevertheless, in those early decades, the process of self-government went further up the political ladder than in China today, where direct elections are still primarily at the village level.

Although local self-government ended in China with the 1949 Communist Revolution, it continued in that other Chinese society, Taiwan. As described by Bruce Dickson in *Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties* (1997), when the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, it shared with the Communist leaders in Beijing not only the same political culture and tradition of governance based on centuries of imperial rule but also a political party organized along Leninist lines. As in the People's Republic, the Kuomintang on Taiwan extended its control by creating a party-state supported by networks of party cells throughout the government, military, and society. It, too, banned any organized opposition.

Nevertheless, Dickson shows in revealing detail the differences between the totalitarian state established in the People's Republic during the Mao era and the authoritarian state established in Taiwan during the Chiang Kai-shek era. In the 1950s, the Kuomintang introduced self-government at the local level to stabilize its rule. By the 1970s, it began bringing into the Kuomintang leadership native Taiwanese, elected to local office, who became advocates of political reform. As Dickson explains, the Kuomintang became increasingly responsive to demands from below, looking in particular to local elections for reliable feedback on its policies and for competent officials to help maintain its rule.

It was only in the late 1980s post-Mao era that mainland China approved village elections, also to create more stability in the countryside. Elected village leaders filled a vacuum left by the disintegration of the party's control in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution and the end of the communes that accompanied the decollectivization of agriculture in the early 1980s. The Deng leadership also experimented with multi-candidate elections at district and county levels in major cities in 1980, but it stopped that practice when candidates were elected who dissented from party policies. Although, in late 1998, Beijing and other cities again began to experiment with elections to local councils, so far China's leaders have generally repressed direct elections and feedback on its performance beyond the village level.

Dickson doubts that democratic practices in the People's Republic will creep up

⁵ Roger Thompson, "China's First Local Elections," *History Today* (July 1997): 51–52.

from the local level to envelop the entire political structure, as happened in Taiwan. Yet, in December 1998, a township in Sichuan province, without permission from Beijing, held a direct election for the first time. Although this experiment was at first officially criticized as not sanctioned in the constitution, shortly afterward, the experiment was publicized on China's national television, CCTV. Nevertheless, as Dickson asserts, in order for democracy to become rooted in a society, it must be practiced at the top as well as at the bottom.⁶ This happened in Taiwan when Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-Kuo (Jiang Jingguo), who succeeded him to power in Taiwan, began to democratize the Leninist party-state by recognizing opposition parties and allowing freedom of the press shortly before he died in 1988. By 1995, Taiwan became the first and only ethnic Chinese society to choose a president through direct elections.

The Kuomintang's transformation, Dickson also emphasizes, was reinforced by an elite transition in the party from the revolutionary generation to technocrats. While the People's Republic has had a similar generational transition, Dickson explains the difference by the fact that no officials, other than those at the village level, owe their posts to the institutionalized process of being elected. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of Taiwan's political elite has degrees in the social sciences, humanities, and professions, and most received advanced degrees from Western or Japanese universities, where they were exposed to alternative political institutions and values. In contrast, the higher education of China's current technocratic leadership is in engineering and the natural sciences. Few went abroad to study, and those who did went to the former Soviet bloc. China's current party leader, Jiang Zemin, and the head of the National People's Congress, Li Peng, were trained in the Soviet Union during the 1950s. These technocrats may be more pragmatic in economic terms than their revolutionary predecessors, but they have not shown themselves to be more liberal in their political views. While technocrats are not necessarily democrats, as Dickson points out, the succeeding generations of China's leaders, trained in the West, may become more like their Taiwan counterparts.⁷

Finally, Dickson observes that an organized opposition, even weakly organized as it was in Taiwan, provides a partner with which the party-state can negotiate over divisive issues. Although the Kuomintang on Taiwan at various times, especially in its early days, harshly suppressed any opposition, it allowed informal political groups to form and, by 1987, legitimized them to run in local elections. Today, one of them, the Democratic Progressive Party, even challenges the Kuomintang's political supremacy. By contrast, the Communist Party has prevented the formation of any independent political organizations, formally or informally. Because there was no alternative to the Communist Party in China, China's pro-democracy demonstrations in the spring of 1989 provoked a violent military crackdown on June 4 rather than a negotiated response. Deng Xiaoping refused to deal with the ad hoc groups set up during the demonstrations and believed there was no other option than to send in the army to stop the demonstrators. By contrast, in Eastern Europe,

⁶ Dickson, *Democratization*, 178–79.

⁷ Dickson, *Democratization*, 240.

where alternative political associations existed, the 1989 demonstrations led to profound political change.

Consequently, during periods of social unrest and/or demonstrations, there is no political group with which the party can negotiate to diffuse tensions. Despite mounting peasant unrest—peasant protests against local corruption and tax overcharges, spreading worker demonstrations due to a slowing economy, increasing unemployment because of the reform of state industries, and more assertive religious sects demanding recognition, as the Daoist-Buddhist Falun Gong did on April 26, 1999, by surrounding the central government's offices—it appears that the party has not learned the lesson of the 1989 events. Without alternative parties, a freer media, a genuine legislature, and direct elections above the village level, those with grievances have no other way to express their discontent than through demonstrations, which the party leadership suppresses for fear they could ignite a social conflagration. The few dozen people who attempted to set up an alternative party in 1998, the China Democracy Party, have been sentenced to long prison terms.

Dickson concludes that home-grown Leninist parties with strong totalitarian legacies, as in the former Soviet Union and China, find it hard to adapt and survive. Those with weaker totalitarian legacies, such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Taiwan, are more likely to make the kinds of incremental adaptations that allowed the Kuomintang to carry out a peaceful, gradual transition to democracy in Taiwan. China's Communist Party may not follow the Kuomintang path as Dickson asserts, but it is not clear that it will go the way of the former Soviet Union's unsuccessful shock approach to political as well as economic reform.

CHINA IN THE POST-MAO ERA, nevertheless, has gradually been adapting some Leninist institutions. One example is the increasing assertiveness of the National People's Congress, China's rubber-stamp legislature during the Mao era. Murray Scot Tanner describes these changes in the congress in his richly documented work, *The Politics of Lawmaking in Post-Mao China* (1998). Whereas, under Mao, the congress approved virtually unanimously every decision of the top leadership, in the Deng-Jiang era, it has become a more autonomous institution. Its growing legislative independence, which Tanner details, also builds on late Qing reforms.

The late Qing reformers not only went some distance in establishing provincial assemblies, they also envisioned a constitutional form of government with an elected national legislature. In fact, in 1913, history was made when the first national democratic election for upper and lower houses of parliament was held in which a number of political parties participated and actively campaigned. Although the legislature became merely a façade after its initial meetings, when a series of military strongmen manipulated it for their own purposes, its establishment set a precedent. Deputies to the National People's Congress are not elected and are still appointed by the leadership, but in the post-Mao period, the congress appears to be resuming where the first parliament left off by seeking to play a significant role in policy making and to act as a check on the leadership.

As with the introduction of village self-government, the transformation of the hitherto-irrelevant National People's Congress evolved from the effort to rein in the arbitrariness and chaos created by the Cultural Revolution. After Mao's death in 1976, party reformers sought to turn the congress into a law-making institution that established regular procedures for governance. Equally important, as Tanner shows, the prominent retired officials who have headed it sought to increase its power as a means of increasing their own power. In the 1980s, when the Congress was presided over by a conservative party leader, it blocked the legislation of the more reformist party leaders; in the early 1990s, when the political orientations were reversed, the congress hampered legislation of the more conservative party leaders. Consequently, instead of unanimously approving party directives as it did in the past, Tanner points out how the congress delays, amends, tables, and even returns bills to the leadership for major changes, though it has yet to initiate legislation. Moreover, dissenting votes and abstentions, ranging from 20 to 40 percent, are far more common in recent years than unanimous votes. The congress has also set up a bureaucracy and committee system to support its legislation.

Equally significant, the National People's Congress has become a serious arena for debate over important issues. It is a forum for various disaffected social groups, such as women and workers, and for diverse regional interests, such as the neglected inner provinces and minority areas. It is also influenced by various think-tanks with specific policy concerns, such as getting a bankruptcy law adopted, which Tanner lucidly describes. In discussions of party policies, particularly in meetings of the Standing Committee of the congress, critics can push the boundaries of the permissible and work out compromises. In the process, Tanner insists, it has "normalized" moderate dissent.⁸ By opening up debate, broadening consultation, and allowing various groups access through hearings, the congress has become increasingly more accountable to its constituents. Though unelected, delegates to the congress more and more represent the interests of their constituents rather than those of the leaders in Beijing. The growing power of the congress, Tanner emphasizes, has inadvertently led to a decentralization of decision-making, which until the post-Mao era was concentrated in one or a few leaders at the top.

Historically, Tanner points out, most legislatures have become influential in policy making long before they become democratic. Clearly, much more political reform is needed before the congress can be considered a democratic institution. Its role as a check on the executive has to be institutionalized and legalized; delegates need to be elected and made politically accountable. Nevertheless, the changes in the congress have already helped create a more active political climate and reshape political behavior in a more consultative direction. Tanner persuasively argues that these reforms should be understood in institutional rather than liberalizing terms. The institutional reforms have been wrought by battles among power holders and interest groups rather than by the liberalizing rhetoric and efforts of principled intellectuals. But for the congress as well as local self-government to become truly democratic, these institutions also need democratic advocates at the very top and bottom, as Dickson has shown so well in his study of Taiwan.

⁸ Tanner, *Politics of Lawmaking*, chap. 10.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY also can nurture democracy. A number of China scholars have written about whether or not civil society or elements of what the West associates with a civil society, such as a sphere of public life that is self-generating and self-supporting with some autonomy from the state, exists now or has ever existed in China.⁹ Two major collections of articles on the subject—*Civil Society in China* (1997) and *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China* (1995)—further debate this issue. Generally, most of the authors in both volumes agree that, due to China's move to the capitalist market and to the outside world, large-scale changes are under way in the society once dominated by the state during the Mao era. Moreover, in reaction to the repressiveness of the Mao years, the Deng-Jiang leadership purposely loosened its grip over social groups, with the important exception of political groups, in an effort to revitalize society. As a widening public sphere opens up between state and society, people have joined together to pursue particular interests or issues. Most agree that a public sphere exists in China today; the contention is over the degree of its autonomy and its political potential.

A number of the historians in both volumes emphasize that this development of a public sphere resumes a trend under way in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when a weakening state sponsored or coopted social organizations to help it administer society. Similarly, the various new groups emerging in post-Mao China are the mediators and purveyors of services that the state no longer provides. They help the economic reforms and may contribute to orderly government, but they do not necessarily promote an open, democratic process. Social scientists in both volumes also stress that, unlike civil society in the West or in Eastern Europe during the last years of the Soviet period, the relationship of Chinese society to the state is not one of confrontation but of cooperation. In their introduction to *Civil Society in China*, however, Timothy Brook and Bernard Frolic argue that this is not necessarily a case of Chinese exceptionalism. In the West, civil society also emerged in close relationship to the state and works more with it than against it.¹⁰

Don Price, in the Fogel and Zarrow volume discussed earlier, traces the beginning of "civil society discourse" to the turn of the twentieth century.¹¹ Even though Liang Qichao, the major political thinker at this time, did not use the term "civil society," Zarrow asserts that he defined its equivalent in his encouragement of voluntary political associations, a strong press, and various schools, which limited state power and legitimately influenced decision-making.¹² In the early decades of the twentieth century, political parties, social organizations, and intellectual groups proliferated and exerted diverse forms of political pressure.

Although influenced by the West, these early views and activities were also shaped by Chinese collectivist values and, more important, by China's immediate crises—a disintegrating state after the fall of the Qing dynasty, Western and Japanese imperialism, and incipient warlordism. Consequently, China's intellectu-

⁹ See discussions of Mary Rankin, William Rowe, Frederic Wakeman, and Philip Huang in *Modern China* 19, no. 2 (1993).

¹⁰ Brook and Frolic, *Civil Society in China*, 12.

¹¹ Don C. Price, "From Civil Society to Party Government: Models of the Citizen's Role in the Late Qing," in Fogel and Zarrow, *Imagining the People*, 29.

¹² Peter G. Zarrow, "Introduction: Citizenship in China and the West," in *Imagining the People*, 232.

als, as Zarrow observes, did not think of the state and the individual as naturally antagonistic, but as working together, albeit in different ways, to save the nation.¹³ Similarly, “political rights” were seen, as they are today in China, not as individual or group claims against the state so much as a limited arena of legitimate interests within the state. But as the perceived need for a strong state intensified with the Chinese state’s disintegration into warlordism, the rights of the citizen and the individual, Price notes, tended to diminish.¹⁴

Nevertheless, until 1949, elements of civil society persisted even under Nationalist rule (1928–1949). Although the Kuomintang, like the Chinese Communist Party, aspired to total control, it was unable to make it a reality because it was bogged down in a war of attrition with Japan and the Communists. Similarly, because of its geographic distance and poor communications, the Communist Party in its revolutionary base in remote Yan’an could not exert total control over people who did not live in its immediate area. Consequently, neither the Nationalists nor the Communists in this period had the coercive political apparatus to wipe out civil society and political dissent. Only after Mao and the party came to power in 1949 and deliberately eliminated autonomous social organizations, political groups, and grass-roots associations did the state achieve almost total dominance over society. But shortly after Mao’s death, as the party began withdrawing from most areas of personal, social, cultural, and economic life, a public sphere slowly reemerged, albeit in a less politicized form. Although after June 4 any group with a political cast was outlawed and suppressed, “non-governmental” organizations mushroomed in virtually all areas of life, except in the political arena, reaching one million such associations by 1998.¹⁵

A number of the articles in the volume edited by Deborah Davis and others, *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China*, argue that it is more appropriate in the post-Mao era to talk of the expansion of public space rather than the emergence of civil society. Several define the present era as “corporatism,” because it is impossible for any organized group to exist without an official registration and with political aspirations that differs from the party’s. This resonates with the claim that Brook and Frolic make in their introduction to *Civil Society in China* that, because of the continuing hold on power of a Leninist party-state, the PRC today has a “state-led civil society” rather than a society-led civil society.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the expanding public space described in both books is not unlike that found in pre-1949 China, which was conducive to the formation of characteristics associated with civil society in the West. As one author, rephrasing the current official calls for “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” explained, China is developing “civil society with Chinese characteristics.”

Most of the essays in both the Davis and the Brook and Frolic volumes also suggest that the party is losing control over a fragmenting society. China’s cities are depicted in *Urban Spaces* as filled with traders, investors, customers, workers, students, artists, intellectuals, itinerants, entertainers, and political activists who

¹³ Fogel and Zarrow, *Imagining the People*, 13.

¹⁴ Price, “From Civil Society to Party Government,” 29.

¹⁵ Anthony Saich, “Changing State-Society Relations in China: Some Inference from the NGO Sector,” unpublished manuscript.

¹⁶ Brook and Frolic, *Civil Society in China*, 11.

meet in a number of diverse ways and in myriad groups. In some local areas along China's coast, a variety of organizations have taken advantage of the weakening party-state to move into the spaces from which the party-state has withdrawn. Although these spaces may not represent a full-fledged civil society, the degree of personal freedom with which city residents converse privately, and sometimes publicly, about a variety of subjects is comparable to that in pre-1949 cities. As the lead editor, sociologist Deborah Davis, points out in her introduction, these groups use "critical judgment" to reevaluate the legitimate scope of state power and government in ways not too dissimilar from that used in the early decades of the century.¹⁷

Yet in pre-1949 China, as now, the civil sphere could not fully develop because of periodic government repression, bureaucratic corruption, and a weakened government. David Strand, in his insightful concluding essay "Historical Perspectives" in *Urban Spaces*, explains that development of a civil society needs a national government strong enough to implement laws that help build and sustain organizational autonomy. Civil society cannot survive in a totalitarian environment, but neither, he asserts, can it thrive in a society with a weak government. Despite the similarities, however, Strand stresses that late imperial and early twentieth-century cities were markedly different from today's Chinese cities because the practices and skills associated with participatory politics, spreading to widening circles of urban residents, were more in evidence in the earlier period.

Co-editor Joshua Fogel, in the concluding essay of *Imagining the People*, looks at these events from a comparative perspective. He observes that one of the lessons China's intellectuals of the 1920s learned from the West, Meiji Japan, and the failure of their own predecessors was that a significant portion of the population had to be brought into the political process in an orderly way to prevent alienation that could lead to chaos and revolution.¹⁸ Clearly, this process had not gone far enough before 1949 to prevent the Communist Revolution. It also appears that it had not gone far enough at the end of the twentieth century to prevent large-scale demonstrations of the sort that can be so destabilizing to the party-state as well as to society.

Nevertheless, the introduction of village elections, experiments with local urban elections, and tolerance of a variety of social associations indicates that, despite some important retreats, particularly after June 4, 1989, China's post-Mao leaders also have some appreciation of the benefits of political participation. The atmosphere at the beginning of the twenty-first century resembles the early decades of the twentieth century in that, once again, numerous diverse groups and citizens are demanding a variety of social, economic, and political reforms. Yet China at the beginning of the new century is changing in a very different context and is moving in a totally different direction.

WHILE CHINA IN THE POST-MAO ERA appears to be restarting history from where it left off in 1949, it is essential to remember that history does not repeat itself. China

¹⁷ Davis, *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China*, 8.

¹⁸ Joshua A. Fogel, "The People, a Citizenry, Modern China," in *Imagining the People*, 280.

is changing in a very different political, economic, international, and technological context than existed in the first half of the twentieth century. Because of national weakness due to Western imperialism and the anarchy of warlordism, most Chinese sought to build a more powerful state in a world moving toward fascist and Marxist-Leninist states. But in reaction to Mao's centralization of state power and politicalization of virtually all areas of life (1949–1976), most Chinese, including most of its leaders, in the last decades of the twentieth century, sought to reduce the state's power and its reach in a post-Communist world that is moving in a liberalizing direction. Therefore, in contrast to creating a political, economic, and social structure conducive to establishing a strong centralized state, the post-Mao era has lessened the state's domination over society, the individual, and the economy, despite efforts of a small number of "neo-Maoists," neo-leftists, and "neo-conservatives" to reverse those trends in the 1990s.

An even more significant difference from the earlier era is that access to the outside world is not restricted to elites in Shanghai, Beijing, and other large cities along the coast and riverways as it was before 1949. With some limitations on sensitive political issues such as Tibet and Taiwan, worldwide information and popular culture are now spreading throughout the entire country via telephones, fax machines, computers, and the Internet. Movies, television, radio broadcasts, and e-mail from abroad as well as from China's cities reach virtually every Chinese village. The spread of worldwide popular culture into the furthest reaches of China indirectly subverts the party-state because it fosters values that are alien to the Marxist-Leninist emphasis on obedience and conformity as well as to the mainstream traditional Chinese culture.

Another major change is an emerging middle class. The history and experience of other countries, including China's post-Confucian neighbors, have shown that a growing middle class with rising incomes and educational levels will in time demand a greater voice on political issues. Several essays in *Imagining the People* stress that China's middle class in the early decades was emerging but was still too weak to exert any political influence of its own.¹⁹ Although China's present middle class is not yet large enough or independent enough of official patronage, it is growing very quickly and becoming wealthy. It has the potential in the near future to exert influence in its own interests. China's East Asian neighbors have demonstrated that political pluralism can gradually emerge from economic, social, and cultural pluralism and rising incomes to shift the balance of power from state to society. In time, as the reach of the party-state continues to shrink and as public space expands further, a growing and diverse middle class may organize itself as an independent political force in its own right and as an effective check on the party-state.

There is no question that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, China's expanding market economy, accelerating political decentralization, social and cultural pluralism, sprouting democratization, and international openness appear closer to its pre-1949 history than to the political centralization, state-run economy, social and cultural homogenization, and international isolation of the Mao period, as the perceptive books discussed here make clear. Nevertheless, while China has

¹⁹ As, for example, Murata Yūjirō, "Dynasty, State, and Society: The Case of Modern China," in Fogel and Zarrow, *Imagining the People*.

restarted its history and resurrected reforms and methods used in the first half of the twentieth century, it is moving in new and unpredictable directions. While the books discussed here can certainly help us understand contemporary Chinese events, they cannot be used as a guide to predicting the next stage in this complex country's always surprising historical development.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

RANDALL COLLINS. *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 1098. \$49.95.

Randall Collins's purpose in this book is to articulate a theoretical framework for understanding the history of philosophy. As the title suggests, his approach is sociological: he sees the functioning of intellectual communities as a special case of the interaction rituals that Erving Goffman found everywhere in social life, with ideas functioning as "intellectual sacred objects" that define the solidarity and distinctiveness of a group. "The distinctive interaction rituals (IRs) of intellectuals are those occasions on which intellectuals come together for the sake of their serious talk: not to socialize, nor to be practical" (p. 27). Collins notes that, in taking this position, he is implicitly rejecting a rival view that sees the solitary activity of reading and writing as the distinguishing marks of intellectual activity. Although he sees lectures and texts as "chained together," a fact contributing to the distinctiveness of the intellectual community compared to "any other kind of social activity" (p. 27), he argues that "without face-to-face rituals, writings and ideas would never be charged up with emotional energy; they would be Durkheimian emblems of a dead religion, whose worshippers never came to ceremonies" (p. 27).

All this seems very abstract, but the implications of Collins's position become apparent as he develops the implications of conceiving of intellectual communities as networks of interactions. To begin with, Collins argues that, in the competition for position in the scholarly network, the actual content or value of ideas is secondary in importance to the alliances between various intellectuals as they seek attention. "One can go all out, try to be king of the mountain, which means trying to be alone or nearly alone at the center of one of the major intellectual positions. Or one might cut one's losses and aim for a more modest position: as loyal follower of some successful position; perhaps as an ancillary or collaborator to an active research front; perhaps as a specialist in some less recognized but also less competitive topic" (p. 40). Because "attention

space" is finite, such individual strategies produce a structure in which there are only a small number ("rarely more than half a dozen") of rival positions, although "[e]ach discipline or specialty can have its own inner and outer rings, subject again to the law of small numbers" (p. 42). Collins believes that such structures are to be found not only now but whenever an intellectual world exists, and that it "is responsible for the stable patterns of ideas and or energies that make up intellectual routine."

Likely to be less persuasive to historians, however, are the sections of the book where Collins tries to demonstrate the validity of his perspective by examining intellectual communities across history. About 600 pages are given over to this project, which includes discussions of ancient Greece, China (both ancient and Buddhist/Neo-Confucian), India, medieval Europe and Islam, the scientific revolution, German idealism, and twentieth-century France. Collins's readings of these various episodes are directed to tracing the intellectual networks over time, with the results often summarized in the form of tables mapping the networks between philosophers within and between generations. At times, Collins pauses to reflect in interesting ways about long-term trends such as the causes and varieties of intellectual stagnation. But since the purely historical accounts are necessarily based on secondary accounts rather than original research into the primary sources, historians who know how fragile the evidence is may well find themselves skeptical at many points. Certainly those who work earlier than very modern times will wonder whether our evidence for Greek, say, or medieval networks is reliable enough to support conclusions as exact as those Collins presents, and they will also find many (usually) small errors to nourish their doubts.

Contributing to the dryness of the historical sections is the fact that Collins did not consider in detail the ideas at issue in various epochs. This omission was obviously intentional, since he is less interested in the ideas themselves than in the social context in which they develop; but it is a little surprising that he has so little to say about rival theories of the functioning of intellectual communities such as that of Thomas S. Kuhn. There is not necessarily a conflict between the two theories, for Collins is prepared to see Kuhnian

paradigms as a kind of cultural capital. And although Kuhn wrote about science rather than philosophy, his theories about normal science have been usefully employed in describing twelfth-century philosophy. Indeed, Collins himself frequently invokes evidence from studies of scientific communities to lend substance to some of his own positions about the characteristics of intellectual communities.

These reservations apart, for historians accustomed to externalist/internalist debates about the source of ideas, Collins provides an invaluable reminder that, for intellectuals, the most important external climate with which they have to contend is often their own professional environment.

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DAVID N. MYERS and DAVID B. RUDERMAN, editors.
The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians. (Studies in Jewish Culture and Society.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 244. \$27.50.

The essays in this book grew out of a seminar held during the 1994–1995 academic year at the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Judaic Studies that culminated in a conference on Jewish historiography in May 1995. As co-editor David N. Myers notes in his excellent summary introduction, the volume serves a number of important purposes. On the most obvious level, the essays focus on a number of twentieth-century historians who have been unfairly ignored in Jewish historiography. In choosing to include studies of such venerable British and American scholars as Cecil Roth, Israel Abrahams, and Elias Bickerman, Myers and co-editor David B. Ruderman wish both to defend their work from the often savage criticism by modern Jewish historians and to restore a certain balance between Diaspora and Israeli historical scholarship. In addition, the essays demonstrate the importance of contextualizing Jewish historical writing by illustrating the impact of important turning points, such as the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel, on the understanding of the Jewish past.

The editors of the volume place special emphasis upon the need to lift what Myers calls "the veil of inauthenticity" from the study of Jewish historiography. Thus, for example, the essays share a concern with the danger of a reverential approach to past Jewish historical writing, in which present-day scholars often have difficulty critically evaluating the works of individuals who are considered paragons in their field. In many cases, this methodological challenge has been coupled with personal and collective concerns about Jewish survival. The result has been that students of Jewish historiography (and of Jewish history) generally adopt the "hyper-scientific" approach of the nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft des Judentums* school. In contrast, the essays in the book illustrate the need to understand the rich and vibrant cultural and social

interaction of Jews with the larger society in which they live, "extra-scholarly concerns" that influence both the Jewish historian and historiographer. As Ruderman comments in the preface, there is a need to understand that Jewish historiography is no different from other treatments of past historical scholarship: "[W]ithin its novel reconstructions and revisionism are embedded both the uncertainty and existential dilemmas facing contemporary Jewish life in particular and the human condition in general" (p. x).

Despite the wide variety of topics covered, the volume generally holds together quite well. Noteworthy is Israel Jacob Yuval's examination of the writings of one of the founders of Jewish historical scholarship in Israel, Yitzhak Baer. Yuval convincingly demonstrates how Baer's emphasis on the Greek roots of rabbinic Judaism and his efforts to disassociate Jewish religious thought from Christian influence were connected with his belief in the need for Europe to remedy the Jewish Diaspora by helping to create a Jewish state. Myers's important contribution seeks to modify the stark differentiation between collective memory and critical history in Jewish historical understanding that Yosef Haim Yerushalmi first outlined in *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982). Drawing heavily from his own monograph, *Re-Inventing the Jewish Past: European Jewish Intellectuals and the Zionist Return to History* (1995), Myers examines how historians at the Hebrew University in the 1920s and 1930s sought to mediate between their commitment to Jewish national revival and their fealty to historical objectivity. Mention should also be made of Ruderman's ringing defense of Cecil Roth's treatment of Italian Jewry during the Renaissance. In attacking Roth's major critic, Robert Bonfil, for his overconcentration on internal factors in shaping Jewish life and his dark picture of the struggle for Jewish survival, Ruderman echoes the volume's emphasis on the creative interchange between Jews and their external environment.

In keeping with this theme, other essays examine the influence of Victorian society and personal religious beliefs on Israel Abraham's understanding of the Middle Ages, S. D. Goitein's analysis of the Jewish-Arab encounter as a reflection of his effort to synthesize Eastern and Western culture, and Bickerman's attempt to transcend both New Testament and Zionist scholarship through his study of how Hellenism restructured ancient Judaism. A final paper by Sara Japhet, which though extremely informative does not fit comfortably in the general framework of the volume, criticizes Philip Davies's *In Search of Ancient Israel* (1992) for its use of questionable historical sources, archaeological findings, and methodology to undermine the validity of Judaism, Jewish peoplehood, and biblical texts.

By far the most enlightening essay is Derek Penslar's survey of Zionist historiography. In the short space of twenty-two pages, Penslar neatly summarizes the major works on the history of Zionism. The final para-

graphs of the essay are devoted to an examination of the elements of continuity and change in the writings of post-Zionist historians such as Benny Morris, Avi Shlaim, and Ilan Pappé. Of special importance is Penslar's extensive critique of Zeev Sternhell's recent study of the rise and fall of the Zionist labor movement.

Less successful is Moshe Idel's analysis of Gershom Scholem. Although it clearly maps out Idel's major differences with Scholem's approach—no small accomplishment, given the author's often difficult and obtuse writing style—it fails to examine the reasons why the founder of the study of kabbalah adopted a catastrophic view of Jewish religious history. Idel's failure to probe more deeply into Scholem's motivations is not surprising, given his own emphasis upon the conservative and immanent nature of Jewish historical development. Nevertheless, Idel's approach stands in contrast to the central theme of the book, which stresses external influences and events. More seriously, unlike other contributors to the volume, Idel is directly involved in the historiographical controversy he is writing about. The result is that the essay has a quality of *parti pris* that raises more questions than it answers.

In summary, the volume is a welcome addition to the small but growing field of Jewish historiographical study. One can only hope that its contents lead other scholars to investigate further the fascinating and complex relationship that exists between the formulations and the formulations of Jewish history.

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BONNIE G. SMITH, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 306. \$35.00.

Bonnie G. Smith has written a fascinating and important book. Its revisionist feminist historiography provides a powerful and persuasive account of the deeply gendered structure of the professionalization of history in the modern West, from the late eighteenth century to the present, focusing primarily on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Smith traces, in female and male historians' practice over time, the complex interplay of a feminized, devalued, but influential amateurism with a highly masculinized, defensively dominant professionalism. Smith's erudition and range of reference are impressive—she draws on diverse and plentiful literary and theoretical as well as historical materials—and her writing is at once pungent and engaging.

One of Smith's central and most brilliantly innovative arguments is that, in the aftermath of the violent upheavals of the revolutionary period, women's historical writing, increasingly denigrated as amateur in contrast to emerging triumphal male scientific professionalism, was "symptomatic of a relationship to the past . . . filtered through trauma. Revolutionary times

brought unbearable pain, and the resulting modernity led to disorientation" (p. 8). Smith uses various current theorizations of trauma to argue that women historians used the compensatory "better story" of women worthies and panoramic (synchronic, richly detailed) or narcotic (hectically emotive, hyperbolic, literally drugged) modes of narrative to handle socially unacknowledged, sexualized women's trauma without witnessing or confronting it directly.

Professional male history allied itself with the rise of the nation-state, focusing on wars, governments, and men in general as civic and political actors and on the archive and the seminar as loci of production of the exemplary bourgeois, republican male through "scientific" expertise and exclusionary bonding. Female historians, on the other hand, largely excluded from the profession and working in highly difficult social, material, psychic, and professional circumstances, produced a variegated, eclectic corpus of alternative writing: histories of queens, noblewomen, and other women worthies; highly detailed social and cultural history; travelogues; and historical fiction and popular essays. This amateur work, although consistently devalued and repudiated by professional historians, had an increasingly profound influence on mainstream professional history, greatly expanding the boundaries of what has been, and is, considered legitimate historical practice. Smith's tandem accounts of feminine amateurism and the powerful dialectical relationship between this amateurism and mainstream masculine professional history make an extremely important contribution not just to our understanding of historiography but to our general understanding of the history of gender in modernity.

Smith begins this complex, richly textured narrative with Germaine de Staël, particularly her crucially influential work *Corinne* (1807) and its "narcotic road to the past" (p. 14). Throughout the book, Smith emphasizes the contradiction between the egalitarian republican ideals of modernity and the exclusion of women from the rights and privileges of citizenship enforced with increasing severity in the postrevolutionary period. De Staël is a prime instance of this contradiction, with one foot in "enlightened constitutionalism and liberalism" (p. 14) and another, generally repudiated and obscured in accounts of her work, in the "narcotic and erotic" (p. 17) approach to the past that characterizes female amateurism.

De Staël represents the last historical moment in which this sort of embodied, immanent, erotic, performative amateurism was still considered a legitimate mode of historical practice. Subsequent chapters chart the consolidation, sequestering, and denigration of female amateurism and the concomitant rise of nation-state-allied male professionalism through scientific work on political history in archives and university-based seminars. Smith takes the various genres of female amateurism seriously—this work constitutes the central material of the book—although she is careful to avoid producing any apologia that would be

its own "better story" about such trauma-generated writing. Her relation to women's amateur work is respectful of its profound historical importance and its strengths but, ultimately, dispassionate.

Moving chronologically through the modern period and generally alternating between accounts of female amateurism and male professionalism, Smith gives equal time and respect to the work of the professional male historians: her purpose is not to turn the tables by elevating women's work or denigrating men's. Rather she seeks to understand the role of gender hierarchy, in relation to its social-historical-psychic determinants, in producing the dialectical interaction of professional male and amateur female historical practice. Despite the late-twentieth-century advances of women's history, of women in academia in general, of modernist relativism, and of the modes of social, cultural, geographic, and ethnic history brought into the mainstream by female, minority, and postcolonial work, "masculinity continues to function as it did in the nineteenth century" (p. 239), Smith argues, as the invisible agent and referent of dominant, dominating historical practice.

MARIANNE DEKOVEN
Rutgers University

ANTHONY MOLHO and GORDON S. WOOD, editors. *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 490. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Twenty years have passed since the last panel of prominent historians reported on the current state of American scholarship in their respective fields in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, edited by Michael Kammen (1980). Then, specialization was anxiously noticed; the virtual absence of new books able to command general attention was sobering. On the whole, however, the judgments of this earlier inquest were proudly upbeat, as one might expect from a report sponsored by the American Historical Association (AHA) and intended for presentation to the International Congress of Historical Sciences.

Now, a second broadly analytical survey comes before us, examining about eighteen fields of history that American scholars cultivate. This new enterprise is similarly structured, with European history in one large section and American history in another. But it departs strikingly from its predecessor in content and spirit. First, by sponsorship and direction: this collection arose not from a celebratory occasion but from repeated consultations that a small group of scholars at Brown University, led by Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, carried out. Prospective contributors were charged with uncovering the conventions, assumptions, and convictions that shaped the rise and led to the present state of their respective fields. Individual authors could establish their own starting points. Nevertheless, a preliminary conference to

share their various plans; then a week-long immersion in the relative isolation of San Marino, with sixteen European scholars present as critics; and, finally, further revisions of the conference papers—all produced a substantial convergence among the essays without obliterating important distinctions between fields and authors.

A second departure has to do with the volume's interpretive depth. Almost all of the essays reach back to the beginning of the American historical profession, and some much farther. This long time span—contrasting with the focus of the AHA volume on the 1960s and 1970s—in itself compelled attention to major shifts of interpretation. Additionally, the editors' framework and the critical responses the authors encountered in colloquies with European critics and with one another induced them to take considerable notice not only of major changes in the American context but also of how their praxis absorbed, resisted, or simply differed from similar scholarly projects in other countries. This is not the usual collection of disconnected essays gathered under some hopeful rubric. On the other hand, the strong editorial direction and the broad consensus it elicited may have tended to muffle some dissent.

The leitmotif of the book, which a brief review must grossly schematize, is the deep rupture that opened in the 1960s in nearly all fields of history between an older historiography of politics, intellect, and progress and a new historiography of society, culture, and disconnection. The old historiography relished national distinctions; the new historiography melts boundaries and continuities in a great kaleidoscope of transnational appearances. The former perspective fixed on centers; the latter inhabits peripheries.

The first essay, a thematic overview by Daniel T. Rodgers, traces with a mixture of shrewd analysis and explosive rhetoric the rise and fall among historians of ideas of American "exceptionalism." Once unquestioned, drawing "on wells of pride as deep as those of anxiety," then qualified among early professionals by transatlantic sympathies, American exceptionalism was finally either aggressively argued or unconsciously revealed in the nation's recoil after World War II from a revolutionary world. Only since the 1980s, as stability returned to Europe and Asia, has a scholarly vanguard overcome "a yearning for proof of [American] uniqueness so deep that it tied every other nation's history in fetters" (pp. 21, 24).

Some of the following essays do illuminate this so-called exceptionalist bent. Writing on historiography, Dorothy Ross offers a complex interpretation of how the social sciences reinforced exceptionalism before the 1960s and were then shouldered aside by postmodernism. In the history of classical antiquity, Richard Saller finds only limited evidence that American-born historians applied recognizably American values to their ancient subjects. But Gabrielle Spiegel's fascinating account of medieval history shows Charles Homer Haskins insistently connecting the political

institutions of medieval England and France with those of Progressive America. In effect, Haskins and his disciples Americanized the medieval monarchies of northern Europe. In southern Europe, on the other hand, the American eye from the time of William Hickling Prescott onward focused on Spain (in Richard L. Kagan's chapter) as the retrograde embodiment of everything the United States was not. The stagnation of Spanish absolutism dramatized the promise of American liberty just as the patient growth of the English constitution illuminated the deep roots of American democracy. Similarly, Molho describes how nineteenth-century historians, magnifying the enthusiasm of American elites for Florentine culture, established an enduring conception of an Italian Renaissance as the dawn of modernity. Reinforced in the 1930s and after with the generalizing powers of European refugees, this small field rose to the forefront of American historiography. Then in the 1970s it lost simultaneously its claim to modernity and "its privileged position in the hierarchy of subjects worthy of study" (p. 284).

A vivid concluding chapter on Japan by Carol Gluck gives another turn to the exceptionalist argument. A longstanding Japanese sensitivity to foreign opinion, combined with Marxist influence, sparked resistance to American-style modernization theory and produced an insistence on difference on all sides. Nevertheless, most of the chapters in this richly varied book have little or nothing to say about pride in American distinctiveness. These include such mainstays of American history itself as the colonial era (Wood), the nineteenth century (George Fredrickson), the twentieth century (James Patterson), women and gender (Linda Kerber), American economic history (Naomi Lamoureaux), racism (Thomas C. Holt) and immigration and national identity (Philip Gleason)—in addition to the French Revolution (Keith Michael Baker and Joseph Zizek), modern Europe (Volker Berghahn and Charles Maier), Russia (Martin Malia), and, most especially, Eugen Weber's brilliant reappraisal of the survey course on Western civilization. The chapters that follow the editors' lead usually assure us that exceptionalist attitudes are waning fast in an increasingly global high culture. As the chapters unroll, the idea of exceptionalism as an important explanation of American historical scholarship seems more and more a figment of the left: an imagined history.

JOHN HIGHAM

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MERRIL D. SMITH, editor. *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 341. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.50.

Adding depth to a feminist truism, scholars have demonstrated in recent decades that the personal is not only political but historical. Since the 1960s, works exploring historical constructions of femininity and masculinity have transformed our understanding of the

American past. Recently, historians interested in gender have turned their attention to the most intimate relations between and among men and women: what Michel Foucault famously termed "the history of sexuality." Since the 1980s, pioneering studies by Estelle B. Freeman, John D'Emilio, Lillian Faderman, and George Chauncey, among others, have allowed us to peer into the bedrooms of prior generations and to glimpse the historical import of what went on there. Such works make clear that sexual practices and identities may appear static or natural but are, in fact, dynamic constructions of culture, contingent upon time, place, class, race, and other variables.

It is not surprising that these trailblazing historians of sexuality tended to focus on the post-Civil War period, when discourses about sex became relatively public, making evidence on the topic relatively plentiful. If the history of sexuality is a young field in general, it is newer still to early Americanists, whose sources are often scarce and silent, even about "public" matters. But as the essays presented in this book reveal, such obstacles are not insurmountable. The young scholars whose work editor Merrill D. Smith brings together—seven of whom are either graduate students or newly minted Ph.D.s—showcase both the promise and the problems of figuring out what sexuality meant to historical actors who would not have even recognized the term.

Smith writes in her introduction that she has "chosen to interpret sex and sexuality broadly" (p. 4), and the essays range widely in time, place, and methodology. Yet she manages to bring coherence to this motley group by dividing the volume into four parts, based on both chronology and region. Clusters of essays address, in turn, the sexual politics of early contacts among Europeans and Native peoples; relationships between religion and sexuality in colonial New England; the nexus of sex, race, and power in the southern colonies; and the evolving gender boundaries of post-revolutionary America. Astutely drawing the reader's attention to the overarching themes uniting each section, Smith enables these independently produced and previously unpublished essays to speak to each other. The result feels more like a scholarly conversation than do most anthologies.

This conversation, at least implicitly, concerns the evidentiary challenges of mapping what contributor Richard Godbeer calls the "sexual cosmos" (p. 135) of people both laconic and long dead. The paucity of surviving documents—particularly of sources that might bring to light the attitudes of non-elites and nonwhites—haunts many articles, especially the contributions of Stephanie Wood, Gordon Sayre, and Steven Neuwrith, whose essays explore the sexual frontiers along which Europeans and Indians met and mated. As Sayre explains, the scholar who would unravel the knotty fabric of domination and desire that marked intimate encounters between European men and indigenous women must make do with imperfect tools: "accounts by Europeans who didn't understand

the cultures they described" (p. 37). Where Sayre works to read between the lines of his biased sources, Neuwrith and Wood often seem to put words in their subjects' mouths, turning Mary Rowlandson into a "burgeoning frontier feminist" (p. 67), or the women who bedded Spanish conquistadors into victims of post-traumatic stress disorder. Such impositions of twentieth-century sensibilities upon early modern subjects reveal how quickly anachronism creeps in where evidence fears to tread.

Yet as the insightful contributions by Godbeer, Trevor Burnard, and Natalie Zaeck that comprise the volume's third section demonstrate, those who seek to uncover what sex meant to peoples living in the distant past need not resort to ill-fitting labels. A welcome antidote to the easy generalizations about European male dominance served up in part one, these essays revel in the particular. Godbeer and Burnard, each working with an exceptionally detailed diary, center their inquiries on the sex lives of two eighteenth-century men: Virginia planter William Byrd II, and Thomas Thistlewood, a Jamaican overseer. Zaeck draws on a wider range of legal records but confines herself to a single place in time, the Leeward Islands in the mid-eighteenth century. The essays that result from these focused *problematisques* are at once the volume's most compelling and its most contradictory. All three authors argue that sex both reflected and configured power relations in the colonial South. But their understandings of the nature of those relations differ considerably.

Byrd, Godbeer makes clear, was "profoundly ambivalent . . . toward sex and women" (p. 137). Byrd's frank descriptions of erotic encounters with slaves, servants, and women of his own social station (including, but not limited to, his wives) reveal that he indeed used sex to demonstrate his "phallocentric mastery" (p. 140). Yet at the same time, Byrd treated sexual performance as an aspect of genteel self-performance, and gentility required not only control over one's inferiors but also, more centrally, control of oneself. Byrd's diaries, in short, show a man of conscience as well as a man of appetites—an ambiguity, Godbeer tells us, that was characteristic of the day.

But not, it seems, characteristic of Thistlewood, who seems to have experienced little self-doubt about his sexual persona. In place of Byrd's agonies of ambivalence, Thistlewood's diary—which details some "1,774 acts of sexual intercourse with 109 women" over a fifteen-year period (p. 171)—is marked by utter emotional detachment. With few exceptions, Thistlewood denied the very humanity of his sex partners; he used them casually, thoughtlessly, and often violently. Thus, where Byrd's diary convinces Godbeer that provincial southern gentlemen were beset with sexual anxieties, Thistlewood's journal persuades Burnard that such men "acted virtually as they pleased, without need to fear" psychic or "social consequences" (p. 173).

In her study of the Leeward Islands, Zaeck offers a third version of the culture of sex and power in the

southern colonies. Rather than examining individual conscience or concupiscence, Zaeck focuses on the role of the state in regulating sexuality. In her account, Antigua, Nevis, St. Kitts, and Montserrat sound more like Puritan New England than like Jamaica or Virginia. While conceding that white men in the Leeward Islands freely preyed upon black women, she argues that "sexual behavior among white residents required careful regulation and public enforcement" (p. 194). Making crimes of bastardy, incest, and adultery, island governments shored up vulnerable white patriarchies by policing sexuality.

Taken singly, Godbeer, Burnard, and Zaeck each make subtle and convincing arguments about sexuality in the eighteenth-century South. Taken together, their essays provoke important questions. What accounts for the chasm that seems to separate the sexual culture of Virginia from its counterpart in Jamaica and from its analog in the Leeward Islands? Do these three authors uncover the varying mores of different places and times or merely the personal kinks of distinct individuals? Such questions of representativeness surely inhere in historical inquiries that bridge intimate and public worlds. The history of sexuality is, for this reason, often difficult history to assess, and nowhere more so, as this volume demonstrates, than in the early modern colonial world. But if the authors confront daunting evidentiary and analytical challenges, their essays confirm the importance of the enterprise. The history of sexuality is not only viable but vital for early Americanists, who study a world where sexual, social, and national identities were all simultaneously in flux.

JANE KAMENSKY
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LAURA MCCALL and DONALD YACOVONE, editors. *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender*. Foreword by MARK C. CARNES. New York: New York University Press. 1998. PP. xvi, 387. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.50.

Fortunately, this anthology advances somewhat beyond its initial premises. It starts off boldly, claiming to challenge and revise the historiography of a generation. To do so, however, it wilfully misreads and misrepresents that historiography. Asserting that historians who wrote about the nineteenth-century doctrine of "separate spheres" found a "vast chasm" between men's and women's lives, editors Laura McCall and Donald Yacovone construct a straw man or straw woman of previous historiography in order to break it down. I confess my personal interest in clarifying the misrepresentation here, since I am named as one of the "chief architects" of this historiography; yet a more general issue is involved, namely, how far a new generation of historians may reduce and schematize the work of their predecessors in order to present their own views as novel.

Several authors in this collection write as though

earlier historians who *recognized* the existence of an influential doctrine of separate spheres, *subscribed* to it and believed that men's and women's lives took entirely different paths. No one who reads the earlier women's history with any care can reasonably reach such conclusions. Women's historians of the 1970s, including myself, who wrote about the construction of "woman's sphere," were using nineteenth-century language, not inventing rubrics; we were trying to investigate the origins, trace the impact, and understand the longevity of a set of gender expectations about men's and women's natures and social roles. Most of that work dealt intentionally with the intertwining of prescription (or ideology) with lived behavior—an interplay that today is sometimes called discourse. By the 1980s, extensive criticism improve upon 1970s understandings of "separate spheres," showing how unevenly the doctrine registered in terms of class and race and confuting the notion that private and public realms were indeed separate. But contributors to this volume simply ignore the nineteenth-century ideology of gender differences; they decline to explore the contradictions, reversals, hypocrisies, and willed blindnesses involved; they prefer to state the obvious—for instance, that married couples loved one another and sought mutuality and reciprocity, or that men were devoted to their homes and families and liked to attend to domestic comforts. Among other things, this reductive approach overlooks earlier books on romantic love, such as Ellen K. Rothman's *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (1984) and Karen Lystra's *Searching the Heart: Men, Women and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (1989). Reducing 1970s and 1980s historiography to the mistaken point that men's and women's lives were entirely segregated from each other, this misreading also obviates and suppresses the critical aspect of that historiography: its effort to show how gender hierarchy was implemented through the discourse of separate spheres. The very authors in this volume who claim to be making the greatest advances are unconcerned with questions of power differentials between the sexes; "togetherness" is the whole story, and this sounds more like a throwback than an advance.

While embracing the worthwhile intent to consider gender important in both men's and women's history, the collection overreaches itself with its claims to unseat and replace the old. Some historians have been including men in "gendered" history for years, with results as stunning as Stephanie McCurry's *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the South Carolina Low Country* (1995) and Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (1995). The collection has some bright spots nonetheless. The anthology's best articles depart from rehashing the question of separate spheres. Aside from Elizabeth Varon's remarkable investigation of antebellum southern white women's partisan involvements, previously published in the

Journal of American History, the rest are on men: Jane Kamensky's on colonial speech (also previously published); Yacavone's essay on nineteenth-century homosociality and homoeroticism, which provides an eloquent introduction to this still under-noticed aspect of male friendship and achievement; Katherine Osburn's essay on Ute fathers writing to the Office of Indian Affairs; and Kevin Murphy's intriguing study of same-sex relationships among New York settlement house residents.

NANCY F. COTT
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JAMES M. MCPHERSON and WILLIAM J. COOPER, JR., editors. *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. 356. \$29.95.

As is well known, historical writing about the American Civil War is a major aspect of American book publishing; currently, books appear with such frequency that only specialists in the field are able to keep up. For reasons not entirely clear, the sectional conflict has become Americans' favorite war. This unusual book is an effort to catalogue the wide range of such writings. It is said by its distinguished editors, James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper, Jr., to provide a forum in which "recognized specialists provide authoritative, interpretive guides to the historical literature in their respective fields" of expertise (p. 3). The essays are intended to "present a wide ranging discussion of the history of writing the history of the Civil War" (p. 1). The twelve contributors also take the opportunity to set forth areas of Civil War history that have been neglected and need attention.

A review of the book would seem to require an identification of the experts and their subject matters. Thus, Gary W. Gallagher discusses the literature about northern strategy and military policy. Emory M. Thomas turns this coin and writes of writing about Confederate strategy and military policy. Joseph T. Glatthaar discusses the history of literary attention to battlefield tactics, and Reid Mitchell describes the study of Civil War soldiers, North and South, and their soldiering. Lincoln scholar Mark E. Neely, Jr., describes historians' comparisons of the presidential leadership of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. Michael E. Holt and George C. Rable, respectively, discuss the history of scholarship concerned with northern and Confederate politics during the war.

The Civil War was uniquely concerned with constitutional questions in its inception and as it proceeded. Michael Les Benedict discusses the literature tending to these aspects of the war. Phillip Shaw Paludan, also a Lincoln scholar, discusses the written social and economic history of the North, and James L. Roark attends to the treatment of the literature of Confederate economy and society. Drew Gilpin Faust concerns herself with the literature's treatment of women and gender in the Civil War. The essays conclude with

Peter Kolchin's account of the history of writing about slavery and freedom in the Civil War South.

Almost all of the essays are worthwhile; several are exceptional in that they contain substantive data and the essayists' insights with respect to their subjects. I was especially impressed by Gallagher's discussion of writing about northern strategy and military policy, which features an excellent account of the factors of slavery and emancipation. Gallagher begins by dissenting from the common assertion that the defeat of the Confederacy was a foregone conclusion. Conceding the northern material advantages at the outset, he argues that "suppressing the Confederate rebellion" presented "a formidable task" (p. 8), given the sheer size of the Confederacy—750,000 square miles—and its capacity to raise large armies with professional soldiers as leaders. Both Confederate leadership and foreign observers believed credibly that the likelihood of the Union conquering the Confederacy was an impossibility. The contrary view—secession as a forlorn hope—Gallagher attributes to the Lost Cause myth that deprecated Northern leadership and military skill.

Gallagher's observations about emancipation are thoughtful and challenging. Thus, he remarks that "emancipation has too often been cast exclusively as a political element of the war when in fact it figured prominently in both the North's national and military strategies. Virtually all scholars now agree that the addition of emancipation to union as a Northern goal altered the strategic configuration of the war" (p. 10). He quotes McPherson's statement that "Lincoln's policy toward slavery became a touchstone of the evolution of this conflict from a limited war to restore the Union to a total war to destroy the Southern social as well as political system" (p. 15). Glatthaar's discussion of the ordnance, military tactics, and literature about the daily lives of the soldiers is also very useful. An unusual factual contribution appears in his comparison and discussion of the Enfield and Springfield rifled muskets. "The American-made Springfield rifled musket, the most common infantry weapon in the war, was approximately an inch longer, weighed slightly less, and had a .58 inch bore diameter. Both weapons fired identical rounds and had bayonets that fixed to them . . . Yet Civil War infantrymen preferred the Springfield to the Enfield. Its durability better suited the rough and tumble of soldiering, it was lighter on the march, and because it required less cleaning, a high advantage to combat" (p. 64).

Benedict's essay on writing about the constitutional aspects of a war is also substantively illuminating. Under his title, "What Did the Winners Win," Paludan expertly recounts the social and economic history of the North during the war and the historians' concerns with the consequences of the war. Gilpin's attention to women and gender in the war is also a substantial contribution. She alerts us to the history of "how significantly . . . did war affect women and their perceptions of themselves [and] how did women change

the war and how the war changed women?" (p. 227). Kolchin's essay on the historical literature of slavery and freedom in the Civil War South is perhaps the volume's finest piece. He justly criticizes the war's early history for giving "short shrift to the thralldom of four million African Americans" (p. 29) and cheers the fact that scholars during the last fifty years have sharply reversed this oversight, including consideration of the slaves' contributions to their own emancipation. "The most salient feature," he writes, "of recent studies of slavery and African Americans during the Civil War is their emphasis on black agency. Like historians of antebellum slavery and Reconstruction, Civil War historians have increasingly seen blacks not as passive objects of White action but as subjects helping to make their own history" (p. 242). Benjamin Quarles's *The Negro in the Civil War* (1953) and Dudley Taylor Cornish's *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (1956) are cited in regard to this transitional treatment of slavery. Quarles is quoted: "The Negro's tale was not merely a passive one: he did not tarry in the wings, hands folded" (p. 243). Cornish writes comprehensively of blacks in the Federal armies noting that these men needed unusual courage in view of southern threats to execute captured black men; they also faced daily discrimination and hostility from white northerners. Cornish concluded that "the American Negro proved his manhood and established a strong claim to equality of treatment and opportunity" (p. 243). Since the war was all about the enslavement of African Americans, Kolchin's contribution is outstanding. The chronological change in writing about African Americans is a lesson in historiography: how a historical event is perceived by historians is markedly affected by the cultural circumstances of the historians' time. The history of the Civil War, so dominated by the issue of race, could not credibly be written until American racial prejudice against African Americans was mitigated by more liberal attitudes and better scientific and social information. It is plain that this change in racial attitudes has affected a broad range of Civil War writing.

ALAN NOLAN

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PENNY SUMMERFIELD. *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 338. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

Penny Summerfield's book is "must" reading for scholars who analyze first-person narratives, those interested in the construction of historical memory, and those particularly concerned with the history of British women in World War II. It grew out of Summerfield's own dissonance-producing experience, which she sometime later reinterpreted, having encountered particular new theoretical approaches in feminist analysis. In the late 1970s, she gave a talk to an adult education group emphasizing women's detachment from the war

effort, the "continuity of expectations regarding their . . . relationships with men," and the centrality of home versus work (p. 2). She was confronted by two angry members of the audience whose personal experience contradicted her depiction of women's subjective responses to the war. As a consequence, she resolved not to attempt to "interpret women's wartime 'consciousness' directly" (p. 3).

But Summerfield's engagement some years later with poststructuralism led her to see how she could use oral histories to investigate subjectivities. She became convinced that past experience is always reconstructed in terms of the discursive possibilities that have been available. Furthermore, subjectivities are not totally constituted or unified through a single discourse. Rather, there are competing discursive possibilities that are always available. Additionally, Summerfield turned to theories about the construction of popular memory and argued that in reconstructing their lives, people compose stories about themselves, smoothing out contradictory and fractured discourses in relation to an audience.

Summerfield has been a major contributor to historiographic debates about the war's consequences for women. She argued in the late 1970s and 1980s that the war continued a long-standing pattern of women's subordination to men and that changes in employment opportunities for women were relatively minor, part of a much longer-term restructuring of work. Other contributors to the debate about the war and social change maintained either that the war had a positive effect on women, giving them new opportunities in the workplace and outside of the domestic sphere, or that there was no change in their status. Women longed to return to a life of domesticity, and if anything, the war reinforced gender differentiation.

Summerfield now maintains that these alternative assessments of the consequences of war for British women were overly simplified. Histories, including her own, she argues, have ignored the question of how women made sense of their wartime experiences. Although they may seem to suggest how women's subjectivities were or were not transformed during the period, they do not actually address this question, and it is women's subjectivities that are the focus of this wonderful and provocative book.

The analysis of forty-two oral histories begins with a consideration of how daughters remember their parents, especially parental reaction to wartime mobilization. Summerfield then considers how women remembered themselves as participants in the war, their relationships with and impressions of the men they encountered, the nature of their friendships with other women, and how they responded to demobilization and their employment opportunities after the war ended. Finally, she examines how women assessed the ways they changed on account of their wartime experience. In each chapter, she explores the discursive possibilities the women took up, including how they made use of cultural frames that were available some

years after the end of the war (such as second wave feminism).

The book demonstrates the fluidity and indeterminacy of subjectivity. Most chapters suggest that there were no simple determinants of the discursive frameworks that structured the narratives. Rather, the book reveals the variety of ways that women positioned themselves and their relationships using the cultural constructions available to them. Summerfield emphasizes, however, that two types of subject positions emerged from the narratives. Some women deployed the construction of the good masculine citizen. She refers to these women as "heroes." In contrast, other women depicted themselves using terms associated with more traditional "feminine" attributes and indicated that they rather reluctantly took up the work that was assigned to them. She refers to these women as "stoics." Summerfield maintains that whether the women were "heroes" or "stoics" accounted for whether or not they believed the war had changed them.

This typology may be overly rigid for some peoples' tastes, especially since not all women were consistently either "heroic" or "stoic" as they narrated their wartime experiences. Additionally, Summerfield may "read" the cultural frameworks available to the women as overly unified rather than exploring the ways that any given discourse is internally contradictory and open to more than a single meaning. Such readings would have allowed her to explore how the women chose among possible meanings in addition to selecting among competing discourses in composing their accounts. These, however, are small criticisms that pale in contrast to the many significant strengths and contributions of this book.

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PATRICK O'MAHONY and GERARD DELANTY. *Rethinking Irish History: Nationalism, Identity and Ideology*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. 222. \$65.00.

This book is a short, often opaque, critical reinterpretation of the historical construction of Irish national identity. The authors, Patrick O'Mahoney and Gerard Delanty, are not historians but sociologists, and they see their volume as an exercise in "critical social science" (p. 15). Thus they hope to influence current political thinking in Ireland by subjecting the history of Irish national identity formation to critical examination. The book is based entirely on secondary work. It offers some interesting insights, and its basic point is valid, if not particularly original. However, it is written so abstractly and often so awkwardly that it seems unlikely to have the impact on either students of Irish history or current Irish political activists that its content deserves.

The authors' premise is that because a particular formulation of national identity has dominated Ireland

since the founding of the Free State, the Irish have been reluctant to examine the nation's flaws, which include economic and gender inequalities, dependent development, clerical domination of education and other social services, and prejudice against modernization. From national identity come national institutions; hence to the authors it follows that a correct understanding of the process by which national identity was constructed is necessary before a dialogue on national difficulties can take place.

O'Mahoney and Delanty begin their historical discussion with several chapters analyzing the early development of Irish national identities. They rightly say that the events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced three separate identities: the British, "a racialised doctrine of Anglo-Saxon supremacism and a political culture of institutionalised anti-Catholicism"; the Gaelic, motivated by "the myth of dispossession"; and the Ulster Presbyterian, "classical republicanism and civic humanism" (pp. 40–41). In their subsequent, richer discussion of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, O'Mahoney and Delanty stress the development of four "wings" of nationalism: the clerical conservative, the liberal democratic (Home Rule), the revolutionary separatist (Sinn Féin), and the "socially radical" (p. 62). They then contend that a relatively prosperous urban and rural petit bourgeoisie, which sought to control modernization in an effort to protect its interests, became the dominant social force. This petit bourgeois class produced a version of national identity that was Catholic and antimodern, with a strong sense of victimization. It became extremely influential in the early twentieth century.

The "master frame" of Irish identity in the first half of this century thus has been constructed from Catholicism and antimodernity. In one of their best sections, O'Mahoney and Delanty explain how the Catholic Church in effect allied with cultural nationalism before the Great War. The result was a version of national identity that emphasized "Catholic conservative communitarianism" (p. 145). This formulation of national identity, they argue, is what blocked recognition of Ireland's problems. Since the 1940s, however, social and political forces—not least the troubles in Northern Ireland—have undermined the consensus; but its main lines remain in place.

This book offers some interesting insights, especially regarding the four wings of Irish nationalism in the first decades of the twentieth century, as well as the role of violence in Northern Ireland in eroding nationalist ideology. But the analysis of patriotism and nationalism in the eighteenth century is very thin, and the authors' treatment of the political and social views of the Catholic Church is monolithic. Moreover, the book is marred by sociological jargon, awkward sentence construction, and a few surprising historical errors. It is so abstract that it seems lifeless: there are no flesh-and-blood actors in this account, no minds

thinking nationalist thoughts. For a short book, it is a very difficult read.

THOMAS WILLIAM HEYCK
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JUDITH M. HUGHES. *Freudian Analysts/Feminist Issues*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 222. \$35.00.

This book is less a history of psychoanalysis, as the author contends, than a distinctive mapping of psychoanalytic theories of female sexuality and gender. For specialists in this area, the cast of characters will be familiar: Helene Deutsch, Erik H. Erikson, Carol Gilligan, Karen Horney, Robert J. Stoller, Nancy Chodorow, and Melanie Klein. Judith M. Hughes summarizes their respective and well-known contributions and concludes with her own. Sigmund Freud also figures prominently in Hughes's presentation, but more as the authoritative point of reference than as a subject in his own right. For readers unfamiliar with the founder's writings on psychoanalysis, this book will not furnish the background necessary to appreciate Hughes's project.

The originality of the book rests mainly on its framework: namely, the notion of science as a selection process. Working from this premise, Hughes presents the cast of characters as part of a lineal history of Freudian ideas as well as members of particular psychoanalytic communities. With these two factors in mind, she evaluates the way each participated in a dialogue that spans the twentieth century to construct his or her particular theory of sexuality and gender.

To classify their contributions, Hughes reinforces the Darwinian metaphor by choosing concepts from evolutionary biology. The chapter on Deutsch opens with a definition of "retrogression" in the mode of Charles Darwin and Ernst Haeckel, and this concept becomes the trope for a summary of Deutsch's view of femininity as reaction to a developmental sequence of deprivations. "Epigenesis" serves to ground the ideas of Erikson and Gilligan, because both theorists linked gender and sexuality, although in strikingly different ways, to developmental narratives that were ultimately essentialist. Hughes saves the preeminent Darwinian signature for herself and Melanie Klein. Her final chapter, entitled "Natural Selection," pairs the currently fashionable theories of the British psychoanalyst and Hughes's own contribution, which she immodestly advises readers to approach as "rounding out Klein's work" (p. 131).

Perhaps the most innovative aspect of Hughes's schema is the inclusion of Stoller in the cast of major players. Paired with Chodorow under the chapter heading of "artificial selection," Stoller takes his rightful place in the recent history of psychoanalytic theories of gender. While working at the Gender Identity Research Clinic at UCLA, Stoller and his colleagues conducted ground-breaking research on transsexualism and cross-gender behavior. Equally important,

Stoller helped to tease apart “sex” and “gender” in psychoanalytic theory and thereby move both theory and therapeutic practice to a new plane. As Hughes points out, recent feminists—Chodorow her prime example—have built on Stoller’s foundation to envision sexuality and gender as distinct categories of analysis. As an added bonus, Hughes provides several summaries of Stoller’s fascinating case histories of transsexuals.

The explication of Hughes’s own theory of gender is surprisingly brief and undeveloped. In the introduction, Hughes identifies herself as “a descendant of Freud and a feminist” (p. 3) and prepares the reader to anticipate her appearance as a participant in the larger story. She also informs the reader that she is an object-relations theorist, an identification that makes her alignment with Klein and other British psychoanalysts emphatic. Klein’s work is “hard going” (p. 131), she warns, and, apparently, difficult to summarize. Nevertheless, Hughes tells us that adaptation to the environment—or, really, to multiple environments—is the story line the two theorists share, with Klein focused on sexuality and Hughes on gender. By recognizing that the environment is never fixed, either in reality or fantasy, Hughes explains gender constructions (and sexual predilections) as invariably multiple. In sum, there is no one such thing as femininity.

Hughes concludes: “In any individual case . . . gender identity and sexuality as well depend upon the peculiarities of a person’s past and the particularities of his/her object ties” (p. 162). This hypothesis, slightly obscured by technical language, will not strike all readers as remarkable. Nevertheless, Hughes insists that her insight into multiple gender identities surpasses the contributions of all others in its rejection of essentialism and in encouraging a discussion of differences among women.

Given this claim, the reader may wonder why Hughes did not include Judith Butler in her cast of characters. Unlike the other major players, Butler is not a psychoanalyst. She is certainly conversant with psychoanalytic theory, however, and has employed it effectively to explore the indeterminacy of gender. A comparison of multiple and indeterminate constructions of gender might have supplied the sharpness Hughes needed to position herself more clearly in relation to feminist theory.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DAVID S. KATZ and RICHARD H. POPKIN. *Messianic Revolution: Radical Religious Politics to the End of the Second Millennium*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1999. Pp. xxv, 303. \$26.00.

The authors tell us that what generated the writing of their book was the fiery confrontation at Waco, Texas on April 19, 1993 between federal agents and the

adventist sect known as the Branch Davidians. Both David S. Katz and Richard H. Popkin have published substantial work in religious and intellectual history, primarily in England. They see in the Waco tragedy a manifestation of what they call “the rich tradition of messianic revolution,” which they contend extends “unbroken for at least eight hundred years” (p. ix). To demonstrate the evolution of that tradition in a book of fewer than 300 pages is a challenging assignment.

There is much to commend about the book. It is well written and for the most part thoroughly researched, including an extensive utilization of Internet sources for the last chapters on contemporary developments. The chapters that are based largely on the authors’ previous work are especially informative. Nonetheless, despite its merits, the book is ultimately disappointing.

One continuing problem rests with terminology. Surely a concept like “messianic revolution” needs some definition. At least two important if controversial studies, by J. L. Talmon and James Billington, address the same theme, focusing more narrowly on the convergence of religious and political fervor in the era of the French Revolution and its aftermath. Neither work is cited by Katz and Popkin. There is an implication that all messianic and millenarian movements—the terms tend to be used interchangeably—have prospectively revolutionary outcomes, yet the majority of the figures discussed, from Joachim of Fiore and Isaac Newton to Jerry Falwell and the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, are in no sense revolutionaries.

The first two chapters do little to advance the book’s thesis. The first, “Renaissance Messianism,” contains an interesting and extensive discussion of the revival of interest in Hebraism and the role of the Jews in the divine plan, but there is no effort to place these developments in a larger framework. The chapter on the Reformation consists of quite superficial accounts of a few radical figures (of whom only Thomas Muntzer is demonstrably messianic), Calvinism, and the Catholic Reformation. Again the reader has little sense of how this is related to the book’s larger theme.

There follows a thorough discussion of the complicated topic of the Rosicrucian movement of the early seventeenth century, marred once again by a failure to address its specific relevance to a messianic tradition. Thereafter, the book’s last six chapters deal almost exclusively with England and the United States. The research is much more thorough than in the earlier part, and these chapters describe the thought of a substantial number of figures, both prominent and obscure. However, since Germany, France, Italy, and the Netherlands all had messianic and millenarian movements, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the authors needed at least to justify the decision to limit their study to Anglo-American developments.

There is a very full discussion of the millenarian ideas of Isaac Newton, clearer and much more readable than Newton’s own writings on the subject. Katz and Popkin state that Newton’s work was “of enor-

mous importance" and "an important link in the chain of messianic theorists" (p. 106), but it is not clear who in fact read it or how it was transmitted to later generations. In the chapter on "The Radical Enlightenment," the discussion of Emmanuel Swedenborg's ideas is especially thorough and well presented, but since Swedenborg announced that the millennium had already occurred, it is not clear how he fits any coherent definition of messianism.

The last two chapters are more successful in demonstrating the intellectual origins of some contemporary radical movements. In the nineteenth century, the theme of the role of the Jews in a divine scheme recurred, yet it gradually diverged between those who affirmed the traditional view that their conversion must precede the millennium and the new and frightening notions of those like the Christian Identity movement who proclaim that the world belongs exclusively to the Aryans. The latter apparently led one demented follower in August of 1999 to fire on Jewish children and to kill a postman because he was not white and worked for the federal government, but in what sense can such conduct be considered either "revolutionary" or "messianic"? Are the fairly conventional views on the millennium of Falwell or the popular writer Hal Lindsey revolutionary simply because they read the book of Revelation literally and believe that a great conflagration will precede the Second Coming of Jesus? The notion of "messianic revolution" becomes meaningless.

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PETER VAN DER VEER and HARTMUT LEHMANN, editors.
Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 231. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$17.95.

Studies of modern nationalism, the editors of this impressive volume assert, have largely ignored religion. At the end of the 1990s, this claim will strike many readers as a weak foil. If anything, there has been a steady output of new and exciting work showing the interdependence of nationalism and religion. Indeed, throughout the last decade, studies of nationalism and national identity have constituted a growth industry of major import.

This volume adds to the output in significant ways. First, it brings together scholars of Europe and Asia. Although there has been a significant amount of borrowing across these lines, there has been less direct contact between, and less comparative study of the development of religion and nation across, colonial divides. Here the volume suggests exciting new directions, especially the two essays that explicitly bring together metropolitan and colonial perspectives: editor Peter van der Veer on religion and nation in Britain and India, and Susan Bayly on the concept of race in these two countries. Second, a number of essays in the volume show how the colonial encounter shaped

the interdependence of religion and nationalism. Here the essays of Barbara D. Metcalf and Partha Chatterjee are particularly impressive, offering insight and a vocabulary to address the way in which an *aterritorial* identity (religion) at once fortified and undermined a spatially specific concept of hegemonic nationalism. Third, some essays show how religious divisions within a nation work their way into religious justifications for the nation. Hugh McLeod and Peter van Rooden both show that Protestant conceptions of national mission gave force to British and Dutch nationalism, but that in each case, it was Protestantism's anti-Catholic edge that cut the specific shape of a religiously informed national identity. Just how important these divisions were is also laid out, from a local perspective, in a wonderful essay by Frans Groot on the commemoration in 1872 of the taking of Den Briel in 1572, an event that symbolized the achievement of Dutch independence in the Eighty Years War (1568–1648), but an event, also, that had audibly anti-Catholic overtones. Finally, the volume takes seriously the way in which both religion and nationalism ritually and symbolically mark stages of life, and, in particular, death.

Historians will find a great deal that is new and exciting in this book. In other ways, however, the volume does not go far enough. With the exception of an essay by Groot, all of the historical essays are methodologically conservative: intellectual history done in the old way, with little attention paid to the organization of knowledge, the dissemination of ideas, the possibilities of reading. The comparisons are also limited. Although the volume is about Europe and Asia, it focuses, in Europe, only on England and the Netherlands, and in Asia, only on India and Japan. The essay on Japan (by Harry Harootunian) is an essay in very contemporary history, and the relation between religion and the genesis of Japanese nationalism is not centrally addressed. With respect to Europe, this means, also, that predominantly Catholic countries with colonial missions, such as France and Belgium, remain outside the volume's purview, and the editors van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann have desisted from reflecting on how these other cases might suggest different lines of interpretation.

The volume concludes with two short essays, each remarkable for its erudition and originality. The first, by Talal Asad, constitutes an extremely sophisticated reflection on the question of whether nationalism is a secular religion. Asad concludes that it is not and pleads for a more exacting understanding not only of the meaning of religion but also of the meaning of the secular, which contains elements of religion. "An anthropology of the secular," he concludes, "remains entirely unexplored" (p. 193). The second essay is by Benedict Anderson, whose work has powerfully influenced a whole generation of scholars. Anderson considers the putative innocence of nations, why they seem blameless, how they come to be perceived as beyond good and evil. One may wonder whether they actually achieve this, and whether some nations have

not constructed an identity based less on innocence than on sin (the postwar struggles with memory in Germany and Japan come to mind). Yet Anderson draws brilliant comparisons between the religious and the national imaginations, showing how they are strikingly different but still of a similar cloth. "Heaven harbors no nations" (p. 202), he writes, underscoring difference. But some nations have always thought themselves closer than others.

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SHMUEL ALMOG, JEHUDA REINHARZ, and ANITA SHAPIRA, editors. *Zionism and Religion*. (The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series, number 30.) Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England; for Brandeis University Press, in association with the Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History. 1998. Pp. xii, 352. \$50.00.

Tom Nairn has called nationalism "the modern Janus," claiming both continuity and rupture with an imagined past. Religion has been coopted by modern nationalist movements, which portray it as a primal manifestation of the *Volksgeist*, but the ongoing role of religion in a full-blown national movement is constantly contested. True to form, Zionism and Judaism have, for over a century, formed a complex dialectical relationship, both synergistic and antagonistic.

The essays in this collection examine this relationship. As Shlomo Avineri notes in the introduction, an appreciation of the religious underpinnings of Zionism follows naturally from an understanding of the general continuity of religious sentiment into the modern era. Just as the French Revolution and nineteenth-century socialism translated premodern messianism into a secular form, so did the promise of emancipation augur, in the view of Western European Jews, a universalist utopia of tolerance and freedom. Israel Bartal's thoughtful essay notes that although relatively few Jews in Eastern Europe shared this sentiment, Jewish life in the nineteenth-century Russian Empire retained strong corporate qualities, embodied in the courts of Hasidic rabbis, supracommunal *yeshivot*, and the community of Westernizing, "enlightened" Jews (*maskilim*), linked together through the Hebrew press. Russia's *maskilim* championed only moderate religious reform and conceived of the Jews' future existence in corporate terms. Thus, the transition of *maskilim* to nationalism was less a quantum leap than progression along a spectrum.

Zionism's most prominent opponents in Eastern Europe were not Westernized *maskilim* but rather Orthodox rabbis. Essays by Yosef Salmon, Ehud Luz, and Aviezer Ravitzky depict the popular image among the Orthodox of Zionism as a violation of oaths, allegedly sworn by the Jews to God in the wake of the destruction of the Second Temple, that they would not attempt resettlement of the Holy Land before the messianic era. Some rabbis, however, conceived of

secular Zionism in instrumental terms as a possible solution to the problems of Jewish poverty and persecution and as a necessary first step toward divine redemption. Even Orthodox supporters of Zionism, however, were hard-pressed to tolerate the secular nature of the new Jewish society that took form in Palestine of the 1880s. By the 1920s, we learn from coeditor Jehuda Reinharz, secular immigrants outnumbered the Orthodox, many of whom felt compelled to secede from Knesset Yisrael, the corporate entity of Palestinian Jewry established under the British Mandate. Thus secessionist Orthodoxy, which had emerged in Germany and Hungary a half-century previously, became rooted in the emerging Yishuv (Palestinian Jewish community).

The reaction of Orthodoxy to Zionism was, however, far more complex than mere rejection. In the United States, according to Jeffrey Gurock, Orthodox support for Zionism was relatively strong. (Unfortunately, Gurock does not provide a satisfying explanation of why this was the case.) In Europe and Palestine, the ultra-Orthodox Agudat Yisrael underwent a gradual evolution from a denial of Zionism *tout court* to a certain sympathy with the movement's veneration of productive agricultural and industrial labor. Thus, as Yaakov Tsur observes, a desire among ultra-Orthodox youth to create a "Third Yishuv," neither "Old" (rigidly Orthodox and dependent on charity) nor "New" (dynamic but secular) led to the founding of the Po'alei Agudat Yisrael. More important, numerically and politically, was the *Mizrachi* (religious Zionist) movement, which remained part of the World Zionist Organization despite the latter's commitment to the promotion of secular Hebrew culture. Unlike the ultra-Orthodox, the *Mizrachi* accepted women's suffrage and other conditions for involvement in the Yishuv's governing bodies. In one of the volume's best essays, Israel Kolatt traces both the *Mizrachi*'s concessions to secular Zionism and its battle to impose an official piety on the Yishuv in the form of sabbath observance in the public sphere.

Just as Orthodoxy contained within it strong sympathies for Zionism, so did secular Zionism, particularly the ideology of Mapai and other forms of Labor Zionism, feature powerful religious yearnings. This theme, discussed in the essays of Kolatt and coeditor Shmuel Almog, is the center of coeditor Anita Shapira's insightful essay. The Labor movement, she notes, was, in the prestate period, a community of the faithful, advocating a spartan, communalist lifestyle and featuring charismatic leaders such as Meir Ya'ari, Berl Katznelson, and Yitzhak Tabenkin. On this theme, Steven Zipperstein's essay observes that the Hebrew essayist Ahad Haam, himself of Hasidic origin, demonstrated the leadership techniques of a Hasidic rabbi and that his secular cultural organization B'nai Moshe functioned much like a Hasidic court.

Shapira shows that despite its rejection of traditional Jewish education and its disdain for formal instruction in general, the Labor movement maintained Judaism's

text-centeredness, now channeled into the Hebrew Bible and the creation of a modern Hebrew vernacular. The *kibbutzim* created new liturgies for the Passover festival, liturgies that emphasized natural and human rather than divine agency but that maintained visceral links with the Judaic heritage. On a similar note, we learn from Yaron Tsur that, during the early years of the state, Labor Zionist emissaries in Morocco, seeking to encourage traditionally minded Jews of the High Atlas to immigrate, found a common language in the imagery of Jewish messianism.

Fervid piety and a sense of mission were not limited to Orthodox and Zionist Jews. In an illuminating essay, Michael Meyer sketches out the moral high ground taken by Liberal rabbis in imperial Germany who opposed Zionism as an atheistic ideology that would corrode Jewish communal solidarity. Robert Wistrich and Stuart Cohen show us that similar sentiments were voiced in fin-de-siècle Vienna and London, where prominent Liberal rabbis and lay leaders condemned Zionism as atavistic, militaristic, and a betrayal of Judaism's universalist ethical mission. Conversely, a strong universalist quality underlay much support for Zionism in the United States up through the 1930s. Evyatar Friesel argues that early American Zionism was based less on fear of anti-Semitism than on a belief that Zionism's developmental ethos epitomized the American can-do spirit. The essays by Jonathan Sarna and Lloyd Gartner are somewhat less sanguine and attach greater importance to anti-Semitism and a sense of social isolation. But Sarna argues, like Friesel, that a melding of Zionism and Americanism was an essential component of American Zionism and long predated Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis's celebrated formulation of this ideology during World War I.

Taken together, these essays enrich our understanding of the relationship not only between Zionism and Judaism but between nationalism and religion in general. The comprehensive nature of the volume makes it essential reading for students of modern Jewish history and an attractive resource for non-specialists.

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LINDA S. FREY and MARSHA L. FREY. *The History of Diplomatic Immunity*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 727. \$80.00.

Diplomatic immunity is not a topic that sits near the top of most people's lists of important historical evolutions. It is the chief achievement of this book by Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey that it completely demonstrates how wrong an assessment that is. The subject is placed squarely within the broader context of diplomacy as a whole and, where necessary, set against the changes in international politics that have propelled the evolution of diplomacy. It becomes quite clear why immunity developed and why its history is a significant part of the history of international relations.

Beyond that, this study has other plangent virtues: it is a very long book—entirely justifiably—but it is a constant pleasure to read and never palls. This is partly because of the seamless, elegant style with which the authors discuss their subject. It is also partly because of the sound judgment they have used in winnowing the immense quantities of available material so that their chosen evidence is at once completely adequate and often pointed and amusing as well. It is important to stress this aspect. Over the years, the issues involving diplomatic immunity have been dealt with in ways that range from the scholastic to the almost wholly reciprocal, and just getting through the mounds of abstruse precedent, the legal arguments, and, more recently, the political justifications is an extraordinary burden. Extreme pedantry has never been far away. In the past, and even to this day, states have employed numerous officials whose job it has been to make sense of these thickets. They certainly need do so no longer; no more work will ever be needed, and Frey and Frey are owed the gratitude of historians, diplomats, and foreign ministries alike. Here we have, clearly set out, the unfolding story of the long journey from the divinely supervised diplomatic immunity of the ancient world, to the emergence and application of the doctrine of extraterritoriality, thence to its own demise in the face of functionalist justifications, codified in the twentieth century. This work rivals—and in its precise focus, surpasses—the great Sir Ernest Satow's *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (1922).

There hangs over the text an appropriately elegiac tone. One reason why the book can be so complete and successful is that it encapsulates the evolution of diplomatic immunity at the end of a distinct phase, very possibly at its end *tout court*. The last chapter records the beginning of this. Diplomatic immunity as it developed and was then finally recorded in the Vienna Convention of 1961 was the child of the necessities of inter-state diplomacy and representation, themselves the result of the perceived universality of the sovereign state and the eventual emergence of a world states system. In very recent times, acute and unresolved difficulties have developed over defining the extent of immunities for officials of international organizations. This is the example that is stressed here, and it is certainly instructive. There is also, however, a somewhat different problem looming. The period of state domination is over, and the state at best must share the global stage and at worst give way to new entities. But these new entities are not only international organizations. Dealing with the consequences of state collapses—perhaps the most common cause of contemporary mayhem—has turned out to require the intervention of private organizations, particularly the great global charities. Members of their staff now play a semipublic role, and their status is even more uncertain than that of more traditional international organizations. They, too, must develop a means of representation and then communication; and everything that is discussed in this book suggests that they, too,

will probably require some kind of respected immunity. It is clear that the authors regret the sometimes violent transformations that have accompanied the demise of the states system, but it is nonetheless to be hoped that Frey and Frey will not rest on their laurels, despite having produced a great book, and before too long will unveil a discussion of these developments. They are uniquely qualified to do so.

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STUART BANNER. *Anglo-American Securities Regulation: Cultural and Political Roots, 1690–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 318. \$69.95.

It is tempting to believe that today's financial markets innovate ceaselessly, continually generating new financial instruments like derivatives, options, indexes, swaps, and futures. Such markets surely offer a moving target to governments, who must adapt endlessly in a Sisyphean game of regularity catch-up. But according to Stuart Banner, how Americans think about and regulate such markets is deeply rooted in the past. There is much less new under the sun than we suppose, and the origins of securities market regulation in the United States extend back into the seventeenth-century London stock market.

A simple model of legal regulation underlies Banner's thoroughly researched argument. Regulations are produced by popular attitudes, and attitudes are shaped by experience with markets. Such attitudes are embedded in cultural traditions and so do not change quickly. Since misguided beliefs are as easily enshrined in law as accurate ones, Banner sets aside the issue of the truth of collective perceptions.

From the beginning, trading in financial securities suffered from its association with speculation. Early modern English law sanctioned forestalling, regrating, and engrossing in the market for food, and so stock market speculation looked suspicious from the start. But speculation, whether in shares or wheat and whether legal or not, simply would not go away.

Banner shows that distinctive attitudes toward the stock market had emerged even before the South Sea Bubble. In chapter one, he describes four key themes that persist through the centuries (and thus through the book), recurrently shaping popular reactions to the market. First, the market was filled with deceit and misinformation. Market insiders could not be trusted, and outsiders were repeatedly misled. Second, stock jobbers (the market "professionals") constituted a political threat. Their ownership of large amounts of public debt and central involvement in public finance gave them undue political influence. Third, the stock market threatened the social order by granting substantial wealth and influence to otherwise marginal groups like Jews and Huguenots. Fourth, stock market trading was condemned as economically unproductive.

Unlike agriculture or manufacturing, stock jobbing brought nothing tangible into the world. Those who earned their money through shares thus seemed less deserving of their wealth. The effect of the Bubble was simply to harden these ideas into a coherent perspective that then carried forward, in both popular lore and law, into later centuries and to the United States.

Banner documents this complex set of attitudes with a thorough referencing of published sources. The book is filled with extensive (and frequently entertaining) quotations. In describing the political import of the early London stock market, however, he completely fails to draw any connections to partisan conflict between Whigs and Tories, a connection that would help to explain why the market seemed so dangerous for the political and social order.

Popular attitudes and legal prescriptions shifted somewhat in the U.S., but generally the story is one of massive continuity. "Today's traders and regulators are the unknowing heirs of more than 300 years of thought and regulation" (p. 284). The view of the stock market as a social threat did not catch on in the U.S., perhaps because of the absence of hereditary classes (p. 145). But the other three components took root and flourished. The later chapters generally document similarities rather than differences. While the analysis stops at 1860, in the conclusion Banner outlines how his argument could be extended to the present. The last 140 years evidently have not added much that is really new.

Banner's insightful contribution does not so much explain cultural continuity as document it. One wonders why, in the face of so much social, political, and economic change, securities regulation shifted so little over three centuries, fixed almost in one spot by unexplained forces of cultural and legal inertia. Banner offers no general answer, but it may lie in one of the most interesting aspects of his story. At various points, Banner underscores the limits of law, and the ability of traders to maintain a market outside of formal law. At times, the financial contracts traders exchanged were legally unenforceable (pp. 106, 175), but nevertheless traders abided by them. Within and around the interstices of formal law, traders developed a system of informal norms and sanctions. The flexibility of informal systems of control may have allowed legal culture to adapt, without itself seeming to change.

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GARY BRYAN MAGEE. *Productivity and Performance in the Paper Industry: Labour, Capital, and Technology in Britain and America, 1860–1914*. (Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History, number 4.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 293. \$59.95.

The paper industry has ranked among the top five largest manufacturing businesses in the United States in terms of size, investment, and productivity for

virtually all of the twentieth century. This status came after a phenomenal growth due to changes in technology and life styles.

The Civil War created an enormous demand for paper at precisely the time that the chief raw material, rags, was in short supply. By the end of the war, newsprint paper sold for more than twenty cents a pound. Demand also grew as the country moved west, for immigrants both from Europe and at home were more literate than before. Literacy and distance helped foster increased demand. In 1867, a workable process for producing the needed raw material, cellulose, from ground wood was patented. A decade later, this new product, wood pulp paper, dominated the newsprint industry. Within another fifteen years, other new methods of making wood pulp from resinous trees provided the industry with even greater growth potential. The 1880 and 1890 censuses both published special monographs on the paper industry, whose growth was so large that it seemed to presage a similar American growth elsewhere.

The price of newsprint paper fell from its wartime high to a quarter to a half cent a pound. The cost of starting up mills was fairly high, but with a raw material as inexpensive as this, coupled with the huge demand, paper manufacturers began to merge companies to meet costs. Large conglomerates—International Paper Company, Great Northern Paper Company and Crown Zellerbach are examples—were formed. Governmental investigation ruled that these mergers did not constitute a violation of the antitrust laws, so continued growth both in the size of the plants and at wider geographic locations became the norm in the paper business. The industry formed a trade association, and unions became strong. When a new papermaking process, called “Kraft” from the German word for strength, was invented, substitution of paper boxes for wooden ones was possible, and paper began to be made by utilizing trees in the South. The Interstate Commerce Commission ruled at the beginning of World War I that common carriers (trains and ships) had to accept goods packaged in kraft paper for transport, so-called “cardboard” boxes. The first half century after wood pulp paper was invented was a wonderful time for those with available money to invest.

This book by Gary Bryan Magee is welcome, although its subtitle is something of a misnomer. The book is mainly concerned with England; significant comparisons with the United States (not America) deal mainly with technological change, production, labor, and the growth of unions.

The opening chapters provide a good summary of technological change and how it was vectored in the industry, the types and amounts of technological change (mainly in machine types and size), and considerable material on the British use of esparto grass as a prime source of cellulose after 1860. Other important points deal with the employment of women in the work force, as well as the introduction of labor-saving

machinery. Labor problems were never very great, in part because the industry, functioning as a continuous flow manufacture, shifted early to three daily shifts of eight hours because economy of production created higher profits. This change was more significant in the U.S. than elsewhere.

Magee's comparisons are very good on the level of company to company and in the gross sort of industrial statistics which are available. Where they are less useful is in the limited discussion of the vast difference in population and literacy, the westward movement in the U.S., and the demand for paper created by those reading such items as dime novels and the many new magazines being founded. Ulysses S. Grant's *Memoirs* (1885–1886) were printed on special paper made from poplar trees, harvested by farmers close to the site of the mill in southern Maine. Such stories can be multiplied many times. These developments were much less successful in England.

Magee's book is a worthy successor to D. C. Coleman's *The British Paper Industry, 1495–1860* (1958). This book will be widely used by specialists and others interested in the still-open ground of manufacturing growth from 1860 to 1915.

DAVID C. SMITH
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GERALD FRIEDMAN, *State-Making and Labor Movements: France and the United States, 1876–1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 317. \$55.00.

Gerald Friedman's study of labor movements in France and the U.S. breathes new life into the old labor history. It joins the growing literature on American exceptionalism, distinguishing itself by the use of systematic cross-national comparisons to explore the roots of union growth and politics. The book's explanation for national differences discounts working-class culture and agency in favor of labor leadership, employer organization, and, above all, political institutions.

Friedman's account centers on the fate of republicanism in the U.S. and France. Class conflict appears here as a struggle between rival interpretations of republican traditions. On one side, union activists applied the political values of equality and participation to attack economic injustices; on the other, employers (or, more often, their allies in the press and pulpit) turned republican virtue into a celebration of individual opportunity and property rights. For Friedman, it was the outcome of this struggle that steered France and the U.S. in different directions. In France, a persistent threat from the right helped sustain a broad popular coalition in support of the republic, one that gave workers some protection against hostile state policies and employer actions. In the U.S., there was a much weaker challenge to democratic government after the Civil War and a much stronger offensive by employers in response to labor militancy during the 1870s and 1880s. With American labor and its version

of republicanism politically marginalized, government policies and laws turned against unions and offered little protection against employer attacks. Friedman's emphasis on the allies, opportunities, and legitimacy enjoyed by labor owes much to "the new institutionalism" in the social sciences, including his home discipline of economics. Labor historians will probably not share Friedman's view that these influences have hitherto been overlooked.

Having described the constraints imposed on labor movements by states and employers, Friedman turns to the residual role of union activism. He presents a formidable array of data on strikes and unionization. Strikes take center stage. They are the catalysts for unionization—the collective outbursts that sweep cautious rational actors into unions—and a key medium through which union activists, with their own political commitments, make a difference. Strikes are central to Friedman's account for another reason: they can be described with numbers and used for quantitative comparisons. For example, he marshals district-level data on voting and unionization to document the continuing importance of republican electoral coalitions for French labor relations, in contrast to the limited political clout of American unionists. He invokes industry-specific strike data to suggest the diminishing importance of working conditions, as against union politics, in shaping strikes and labor organization. Most importantly, Friedman uses numbers to bolster his claim that syndicalist union tactics *worked*. Militant strike action and inclusive organization were well adapted to French political and industrial opportunities, and they were more effective than business unionism at recruiting wage earners into unions and winning concessions from capital.

Historians may be disappointed that Friedman's study leaves so little room for meaning or contingency. For example, the book is not concerned with how workers from different backgrounds viewed the strategic choices made by union activists. That omission is consistent with Friedman's larger claim that workers' agency had no significant causal weight. Employers' agency, by contrast, carries a heavy explanatory burden in this book. Even these actors, however, rarely appear either divided or uncertain in interpreting and responding to labor's challenge. Friedman may also be faulted for overgeneralizing. He makes the intriguing argument, for example, that the contrast between American welfare capitalism and French paternalism reflects national differences in employers' response to republicanism. Yet welfare capitalism was neither typical of pre-World War I U.S. labor relations nor a better fit with liberal ideology than several other managerial strategies.

Many such complexities are bound to go unattended in a book comparing two countries over forty years and relying at key points on aggregated statistics. The book's considerable strengths lie elsewhere. It offers a sophisticated institutionalist account of labor politics. Its interpretation of French and American unionism

makes ambitious use of the literature on republicanism. Most impressively, it represents comparative history at its best. Labor historians will hardly be surprised by the general conclusion that political alignments and employer tactics were crucial to the fate of labor movements. But Friedman's careful matching of comparable developments in politics and industrial relations gives that conclusion uncommon clarity and powerful support.

JEFFREY HAYDU
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IAN TYRRELL. *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860–1930*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 313. \$48.00.

This ambitious, provocative, original book argues that late nineteenth and early twentieth-century reformers in Australia and California attempted to create or restore a rural landscape characterized by variety, beauty, harmony, justice, and productiveness. Neither Australia nor California turned desert into garden or democratized rural society, but the failure resulted more from each region's role in a global capitalist system than from national, cultural, or political differences.

The book builds on three theories: the relationship of core and periphery in international capitalism; the influence of export markets on the nature of agriculture; and how conceptions of the ideal physical environment help shape economic development and public policies. Ideas and institutions passed freely from one region to the other. The book begins with a summary of the perceived need for a balance between forested and cropped land in the works of George Perkins Marsh and Baron Ferdinand von Mueller. Both became interested in the transfer of plants and animals from one continent to another. The author of *Man and Nature* (1864), Marsh is well known as the founding father of human ecology in the United States. Mueller, however, is little known. A German transplanted to Australia, he became a major figure in the "acclimatization" of plants and animals: their adaptation to new environments. Succeeding chapters treat the export of such plants as eucalyptus and Monterey Pine trees, attempts to create family farms and dense agricultural settlements, the political economy of horticulture, the evolution of irrigation, and efforts to control insect pests through biological agents rather than pesticides.

The book is at the vanguard of a new generation of comparative environmental studies that look beyond national boundaries. At least for Australia and California, it argues that in frontier settlements the nature of the economy is more important than political ideology or the structure of government. Both regions experienced mining booms in the middle of the nineteenth century, and as late as the turn of the twentieth century, their arid and semi-arid climates, population,

and economies were similar. Both exported staples to distant markets, both suffered from labor shortages that led to racism and the formation of a distinct "underclass" in the countryside, and both relied heavily on their sheep and cattle industries. Both were, in short, "outposts of European imperial expansion and functioned economically and socially as frontier settlement environments" whose histories were "shaped, in a general way, by core-peripheral relations within the world capitalist system" (p. 6). After 1910, the main difference was that improvements in transportation within the United States integrated California into national markets, while Australia remained an isolated frontier outpost.

Despite the book's substantial contribution to environmental history, by painting so broadly, Ian Tyrrell exaggerates the similarities between California and Australia. Since it developed its own banking system and harbored a large population, California was never as starved for capital or markets as most frontier regions. Nor was it as dependent on government to construct dams and canals. In some ways, treating it as the periphery in a world capitalist system makes sense—as in the wheat trade with Liverpool—but in many others it was an empire unto itself, a region that was metropolis as well as hinterland. California was, in the famous words of historian Carey McWilliams, the "great exception." Colorado or Nevada were closer to the model of Australia than the Golden State. Then, too, while the image of California as a "garden" may have beguiled a handful of agricultural theorists, it did little to motivate most large landowners or to shape public policy. It was more of a tool to sell land and drive up its value than a widely shared vision of environmental reform; California was not so much a garden as a cornucopia of natural resources. Finally, Tyrrell claims that the myth of the garden lost popularity because of marketing problems and declining fruit prices in the twentieth century. But equally important were the dramatic increase in land values in the first two decades of the twentieth century along with the soaring cost of irrigating and farming that land. The very tool that was called upon to promote the garden, irrigation, became the chief ally of agribusiness. This was possible because land was always seen mainly in terms of the wealth it could produce rather than the Jeffersonian ideal of a rich and diverse environment. Such criticisms aside, this book is a model of comparative environmental history that raises profound questions about our perceptions of the physical environment, the nature of frontier economies, political ideology, and the intercontinental transfer of plants and animals.

DONALD J. PISANI
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TIM REES and ANDREW THORPE, editors. *International Communism and the Communist International 1919–1943*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 323. \$79.95.

The collapse of the Soviet Union early in the 1990s led to the partial opening of long-closed Russian archives, throwing new light on old controversies in communist history and raising new issues for debate. Articles and books have been appearing in a steady stream, most notably from Yale University Press, which has established an *Annals of Communism* series with more than a dozen projected volumes, several dealing with the Communist International (CI) and its constituent parties. The book under review is a collection of articles stemming from a symposium held at the University of Exeter with scholars from around the world asked to present papers on the Comintern in light of and using the new material now available for research.

There are three major sections. After three articles on the Comintern itself—one on the origins of the Third International, one on the structure and personnel of the Comintern, and an important essay by Kevin McDermott on what the new documentation tells us about the CI's history—the book includes ten presentations on the Comintern's European sections, covering countries ranging from Great Britain—the subject of two essays—to Greece. The only notable region lacking representation here is Scandinavia. The third part is less focused, with five articles on the Comintern's sections in Asia and the Americas. This coverage is far more spotty, with articles on Japan, China, India, the United States, and Cuba, omitting all of Latin America. Several other important Communist parties are not covered, including South Africa's.

The editors argue that the separate papers demonstrate that access to this rich new source of materials has not foreclosed research on international communism but, on the contrary, opened up a variety of issues about the nature of decision making within the Comintern, the role of Joseph Stalin, and the nature and extent of the Comintern's control over individual communist parties. A number of the authors do provide a more nuanced and richer portrait of the Comintern's role than was previously available, notably Guillaume Bourgeois on France, Aldo Agosti on Italy, and Geoffrey Swain on Yugoslavia. Peter Huber's careful reconstruction of the personnel and structure of the Comintern is invaluable. Other essays, including Carlos Cunha on Portugal and Aleksandr Vatlin on Germany, are interesting but do not rely on new material from the archives.

The least successful articles attempt to explain away some of the most significant new findings of recent years. The treasure trove of new archival material has made abundantly clear the important role played by Comintern money around the world and the oft-times micro-management of constituent parties by Moscow. No individual Communist Party was free from Moscow's interference; depending on its importance and the time period one examined, there were greater or lesser degrees of control. Hugh Wilford's essay on the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) summarizes research done by others and strains mightily but unsuccessfully to salvage the independence of the

CPUSA. Wilford acknowledges the extent of Comintern funding of the CPUSA but claims that perhaps the Americans "appropriated" Comintern money and used it for their own purposes. He also downplays the role of espionage within the CPUSA, arguing that there is no proof that large numbers of Communists assisted Soviet intelligence agencies. The recent release of the Venona documents, decrypted World War II Soviet cables, has, however, demonstrated the extensive use of foreign Communists as spies by the Soviet Union. While much work remains to be done on the exact role played by the Comintern in this espionage, there is no longer any doubt that it was a key participant in Soviet espionage operations.

McDermott calls for recognition of the fact that relations between the center in Moscow and the peripheral parties were far more nuanced than was once recognized. He notes that transcripts of secretariat and executive meetings indicate far more dissent and disagreement with Comintern demands than was previously assumed. But he undercuts his own argument by admitting that when showdowns occurred, the center imposed its will, that financial controls were important, and that, as time went on, the Comintern became increasingly centralized. He is more convincing when he argues that it is necessary to be cautious about differentiating between Comintern directives and how they were implemented. National parties were sometimes capable of maneuvering around orders from Moscow, sometimes lacked the ability to carry out directives, and sometimes misunderstood what was wanted, as essays by Barry Carr on Cuba and Tim Rees on Spain demonstrate.

But Andrew Thorpe's unconvincing effort to show that the British Communist Party (BCP) was "the master of its own fate" (p. 81) demonstrates the difficulties and dangers in mistaking such temporary situations for the normal ties. The Comintern may not have caused the failure of British communism, but it certainly played a large role in the path that it took. Thorpe constructs a series of straw men, such as the notion that the Comintern exercised total control over the BCP, or that it imposed party leaders on a recalcitrant organization, or that there was no dissent or scrambling for power among the top party leaders and then triumphantly demolishes them. One of his prize exhibits for "independence" is Harry Pollitt, who, he later concedes off-handedly, was forced to resign in 1939 when he opposed the Comintern's demand that World War II be labeled an imperialist war and British communists accept the notion that as between Nazi Germany and Great Britain, there was no discernible difference. That Pollitt was restored to leadership a few years later when the line was once again changed is far more revealing about Comintern power than Thorpe's weak aside that 1939 was one of the "last gasps" of Comintern control. After all, 1939 was a fairly crucial juncture in British history, and the ability of the Comintern to impose its views, which, if implemented, would have meant British acquiescence to

Hitler, is one of those defining moments in a party or movement's history.

The new material emerging from archives in Russia has deepened our understanding of the Communist movement, but as McDermott is forced to concede, it has also led to a "convergence" of views between Russian and Western scholars about the role and activities of the Communist International, and it is an overwhelmingly negative one despite the best efforts of several papers in this book.

HARVEY KLEHR
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ALAN HARRIS BATH. *Tracking the Axis Enemy: The Triumph of Anglo-American Naval Intelligence*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xii, 308. \$34.95.

THOMAS E. MAHL. *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-44*. McLean, Va.: Brassey's. 1998. Pp. xiv, 257. \$26.95.

JAY JAKUB. *Spies and Saboteurs: Anglo-American Collaboration and Rivalry in Human Intelligence Collection and Special Operations, 1940-45*. Foreword by DOUGLAS DODDS-PARKER. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xxix, 280. \$45.00.

Jay Jakub reminds us that intelligence history requires sifting "the real from the imaginary, the informative from the purposely misleading, the facts from the sensationalism" (p. xvii). These books extend our insight into the origins of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) by integrating intelligence and international history into analysis of Anglo-American intelligence agencies' coordination and competition. They thereby contribute to the ongoing reconsideration of the wartime "special relationship" initiated by David Reynolds. Here the similarities end.

Belligerent Britain did covertly try to coax neutral America into war. Yet Thomas E. Mahl's conspiratorial tone and sensationalist derivation of exaggerated or unwarranted conclusions are more redolent of popular espionage literature than of academic scholarship. Mahl describes efforts to discover, finance, and guide Americans who would attack Britain's isolationist enemies and propel America toward war. Claiming that William Stephenson's British Security Coordination (BSC) "had available willing and powerful agents, subagents, and collaborators at the very nerve centers of American politics, news, and entertainment" (p. 68) fails to clarify sufficiently a critical distinction: active BSC agents were not identical either with sympathizers who intentionally aided Britain, assuming that coincided with America's national interest, or with those who loyally promoted the U.S. national interest, benefiting Britain as an (un)intentional byproduct. Noting BSC tributes to "those who rendered service of particular value" (p. 51) and classifying Walter Lippman as a British agent (p. 54) without evidence sifts neither motives nor the extent of the intersection of British

and American interests in 1940–1941. Mahl does not ask whether bureaucratic turf battles inspired claims of influence and success. He does not challenge unreliable sources: one claimed “FDR was at war with Hitler long before Chamberlain was forced to declare it” (p. 7)!

To demonstrate BSC’s reach, Mahl claims mistresses assigned to seduce Senator Arthur Vandenberg influenced his conversion to internationalism in 1940, not the accepted date of 1945. Mahl cites one speech as proof, but he neither analyzes it nor examines Vandenberg’s 1940–1945 career for corroboration. Republican dark horse Wendell L. Willkie becomes BSC’s stalking-horse. Mahl links the premises that BSC planted articles in the *New York Herald Tribune* and that *Tribune* staffers aided Willkie’s campaign with the charge that Franklin D. Roosevelt’s domestic enemies joined forces with British intelligence to help him: “they backed his vulnerable interventionist policies and supplied a cooperative candidate to oppose him” (p. 163). Mahl ignores a simple alternative: Willkie was the only internationalist candidate available for delegates shocked by French defeat.

Mahl claims to discuss British covert operations through 1944, but only the campaign to unseat isolationist Congressman Hamilton Fish postdates Pearl Harbor. Key events like France’s defeat and Pearl Harbor are ignored. Poor editing abounds: omitted and misnumbered notes, inconsistent citation style, and many spelling and grammatical errors. Such flaws overshadow the book’s potential strengths, such as suggestive examples of planted books and articles and rigged public opinion polls, although Mahl never asks whether French defeat or other Nazi actions influenced the polls. British intelligence clearly tried to influence America toward open belligerency in 1940–1941; a more restrained tone (available in Nicholas John Cull’s recent assessment of British wartime propaganda) and marshalling of more than circumstantial evidence would have been welcome.

Retired naval intelligence officer Alan Harris Bath has revised his dissertation into a solid book that delivers more than the title suggests. While acknowledging that the “golden age” (p. 229) of Anglo-American naval intelligence cooperation was limited to a brief period in the Battle of the Atlantic, Bath avoids providing yet another overview of Allied cryptanalysis. Rather, deploying excellent transitions, introductions, and conclusions, he offers an insightful, balanced, global picture of cooperation and rivalry in the naval and associated intelligence spheres. Despite obstacles posed by anglophobia, British concerns about security leaks, intramural and interservice rivalries, and, eventually, the “leitmotif” of rival postwar ambitions (p. 53), cooperation developed gradually (and initially informally) in response to the broader political and strategic situation—accelerating after the French defeat amid British desperation and diminishing after victory in the Battle of the Atlantic. Bath concludes that occasional blemishes should not overshadow the fact that “the most meaningful and valu-

able cooperation took place in a field as traditionally unilateral and secret as intelligence” (p. 234).

Bath integrates various sources and types of relevant intelligence procurement and processing (e.g. photographic and topographic study, coastwatchers, and prisoner interrogation). He shows how naval intelligence agencies’ developing cooperation was overshadowed by the shift to “corporate” intelligence production centralized in the Combined Chiefs of Staff system. Service agencies provided information for assessment by interservice Joint Intelligence Committees for long-term planning. Interservice theater staffs also developed and distilled information for immediate tactical purposes. Bath acknowledges the key role of individuals in facilitating (British Director of Naval Intelligence Admiral John Godfrey) or hindering (U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Ernest J. King) such cooperation. His broad perspective facilitates shrewd assessments, like that of the role of cryptanalysis in the Battle of the Atlantic (p. 106). He also offers a tantalizing hint for the next generation of researchers into the special relationship/intelligence nexus with his personal observation that Cold War cooperation never matched that achieved during World War II (p. 226).

Bath integrates Canada’s, New Zealand’s, and Australia’s intelligence activities to excellent effect, especially in his suggestion that hitherto ignored Australian archives contradict Stephen Roskill’s assertion that Britain’s long-resented refusal to lend a carrier before Midway was understandably based in British ignorance of Japanese plans. Rather, although Pacific intelligence liaison was channeled through Washington, informal contacts through Australian intelligence would almost surely have promptly informed the British Eastern Fleet (p. 179). Britain’s absence from the Pacific led to a gradual but inexorable halt in the information flow that affected its Dominion surrogates and damaged political ties.

Jakub examines cooperation and competition between the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and its British partners in the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) and Special Operations Executive (SOE), using recently declassified OSS documents in a multiarchival effort including Serbian and British sources and extensive interviews with secret service veterans, building on earlier work by (especially) Bradley F. Smith. He analyzes four distinct, generally sequential, sometimes overlapping patterns: indirect and direct mutual dependence, restricted and unrestricted independence. Britain’s desperate need for American belligerency and special operations resources inspired a determined push for creation of a centralized intelligence apparatus, accompanied by offering information, the benefits of experience, and access to training facilities. Anglo-OSS cooperation was the result.

Britain’s “guiding hand . . . sought to facilitate and influence the creation of a competing US service . . . firmly committed to collaboration” (pp. 186–187, 45). Rather than Mahl’s successful covert operation, Jakub sees a “coincidence of interest” (p. 20) amid British

hesitation lest America's emergence from tutelage spiral out of control. Britain's control indeed steadily eroded. OSS's effort to gain U.S. military favor mandated a "complex and delicate" (p. 49) effort: simultaneous demonstrations of effectiveness (requiring Anglo-American cooperation) and independence that proved OSS was not subservient to British interests. A series of agreements delineated responsibilities.

Inexorably, cooperation coexisted with competition contextualized by an American quest for independence. Rivalry was influenced by geography (a factor also emphasized by Bath), perceptions of postwar intent, and attitudes toward imperialism. Mutual dependence lingered in occupied France, where subversion's role in Britain's peripheral grand strategy as well as eventual accession to American command of Operation Overlord influenced a reluctant, gradual shift to full partnership in the invasion sphere. Convergence in France overlapped with divergence in Yugoslavia and Burma. British agencies withheld communications and transport links from one another and from the Americans to control behavior and results. Notably, SOE Cairo refused to exfiltrate an OSS officer for consultations and suppressed his radio report favoring Draza Mihailovic's Chetniks over Josip Broz Tito's Partisans (pp. 121–133). Jakub also dissects internal British bickering over Yugoslavian policy, condemning the hypocrisy of abandoning Mihailovic because he refused to act prematurely while simultaneously warning the French not to do so (pp. 158, 165). Despite such conflict, Jakub extols "the determination of both sides to keep difficulties in one area from significantly damaging relations elsewhere" (p. 143).

Bath's admirable effort to integrate developments in other intelligence fields occasionally leads to breadth at the expense of depth. Also, he misspells the name of the British head of the submarine tracking room, overidentifies Godfrey's position at every opportunity, does not resolve an apparent contradiction in descriptions of North Atlantic merchant shipping losses (pp. 79, 107), and ignores recent scholarship on Operation Drumbeat. Jakub sidesteps a full discussion of any OSS/SOE complicity in Admiral Darlan's death. In noting that General Dwight D. Eisenhower persuaded General George Marshall to bolster resistance support, Jakub reproduces statistics that perhaps unavoidably fail to demonstrate the subsequent increase in American sorties. A rather sparse discussion of post-D-Day activities follows. Yet these are relatively trivial objections to two fine books grounded in multiarchival research and experience. Their research offers the benefits of professional experience in the intelligence realm and of the special relationship leavened by academic training, enabling the capable sifting needed to study intelligence history. Their scholarship also offers further evidence of the interdisciplinary methodological and archival depth increasingly present in today's international history.

KEVIN SMITH
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JYTTE KLAUSEN. *War and Welfare: Europe and the United States, 1945 to the Present*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. 341. \$59.95.

Jytte Klausen presents a "historical-institutional explanation" of welfare states in Europe and the United States since World War II (p. 280). Her thesis is that "significant continuities existed between the warfare and welfare states," mainly because "wartime state building had radically extended the state's reach and capacities" (pp. 1–2). Unlike most of the political scientists and sociologists, and a few of the historians, whose work she assesses, Klausen regards the state as the "central organizing principle of politics and policy" (p. 280).

Klausen makes two contributions to the historical study of welfare states in Great Britain, the United States, Sweden, Germany, Austria, and France, in that order, since World War II. First, she describes in detail similarities in the assumptions that leaders in these countries made about economic problems and how to solve them. Second, she documents the interrelationship of economic and social policy.

Considerable scholarship on the history of welfare states has emphasized similarities and differences among industrial countries with regard to how and when each initiated comprehensive health and social policy and how and why each country has structured benefits in cash and services. Klausen joins the relatively small number of scholars for whom it is more useful to compare how countries have made policy for economic growth, income distribution, employment, and retirement, and how these policies have influenced the priority accorded to spending for health and social services. She describes the particular political, constitutional, economic, and social situations that have energized or constrained policy makers in each country and alludes to the history of these situations. As a result, she avoids the bias of scholars who label one country (usually, but not exclusively, the United States) as an exception to inexorable and transnational patterns of welfare state development.

Similarly, Klausen emphasizes the linkage of economic and social policy in the work of senior public officials and in their effects on the lives of the inhabitants of each country. Many historians and other social scientists have compartmentalized foreign and national security affairs, domestic politics, monetary, fiscal and industrial policy, the regulation of capital and labor markets, pensions policy, and policy for organizing and subsidizing health care and social services. Klausen attempts to integrate these subjects, sometimes with success, but occasionally losing her theme in a clutter of detail.

Klausen has read widely rather than deeply about politics, economic affairs, and social conditions in industrial countries in the twentieth century. She does not report on documents in archives and does not explain the criteria she used to select printed primary sources for the history of each country. For example,

she refers to parliamentary debates in the United Kingdom but neglects equally important printed sources for hearings and floor debate in the Congress of the United States. Moreover, she relies on secondary sources that are out of date for some subjects that are important for her thesis, such as the history of the British National Health Service and of policy for health care and pensions in the United States.

Klausen's facts are often wrong. For example, she writes that the decision by the Labour Government in Britain in 1945–1946 to nationalize hospitals under the new National Health Service “evoked little contention” (p. 38). This decision was controversial within the Labour Party and was bitterly debated in Cabinet. Similarly, her discussion of the United States ignores appropriations for welfare state programs through tax policy that began during World War II, assumes that the Republican Party controlled Congress during that war, and describes presidential assistant Harry Hopkins, a social worker, as coming from Wall Street (pp. 211–12, 220–22). The book also has many misspelled and omitted words. These errors sometimes mask what Klausen means (twice on p. 46, for example).

DANIEL M. FOX
Milbank Memorial Fund

ODD ARNE WESTAD, editor. *Brothers in Arms: The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945–1963*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. 1998. Pp. xxii, 404. \$45.00.

About half a century ago, the Western world was shocked by the Soviet acquisition of atomic bomb and the Communist victory in China. To make the situation worse, Joseph Stalin's USSR and Mao Zedong's China formed a military alliance early in 1950. The threat of the overthrow of Western civilization by Communism, as depicted by President Harry S. Truman in 1947, seemed ever real. Before long, however, the seemingly monolithic world Communist movement cracked. The split between the two Communist giants started before the end of the 1950s, and the alliance was all but dead by the early 1960s. Within another decade, the world witnessed the Sino-Soviet military confrontation and the Sino-American detente: Richard Nixon, the most staunch anticommunist politician, went to China to form an unlikely anti-Soviet “united front” with Mao, the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

The rise and fall of the Sino-Soviet alliance was clearly one of the most dramatic developments on the stage of world politics in the twentieth century, and yet, studies of Sino-Soviet relations have yielded few satisfying results thus far. We have been told that the Chinese Communists were actually nationalists by nature, and that, facing intrusive Russian imperialism, Mao was never a comrade but an antagonist of Stalin; he even tried to form a workable relationship with the U.S. to counterbalance Russian pressure as early as in

the 1940s. Washington, however, unwisely pushed Mao away, and the Sino-Soviet alliance was never genuine; it was in part a result of a wrong-headed U.S. policy toward the CCP. Thus, when Stalin's successors became intrusive, threatening China's national interest, Mao naturally kicked. In short, the rise and fall of the Sino-Soviet alliance was part of a long history of Chinese nationalism vis-à-vis the Russian imperialism.

This interpretive paradigm of nationalism has dominated our understanding of the Sino-Soviet alliance since the 1960s, and it has not been systematically challenged until now. Armed with fresh historical documents from Russian and Chinese sources, a group of young scholars (born in the 1950s) from Russia, China, Norway, and the U.S. have put together a volume that is truly groundbreaking. Although there is no a single interpretive framework shared by all contributing scholars, each article, with its wealth of new historical data and uniqueness of theoretical emphasis, offers us an antithesis to the old paradigm of nationalism. We now know that the shared Marxist-Leninist ideology played an essential role in bonding the CCP and the USSR; it provided both sides with common perceptions, such as the inevitability of war and confrontation between the “revolutionary forces” and the “imperialist-counterrevolutionary forces” in the world. Due to the common identification of enemies and friends in postwar world politics, Mao and Stalin managed to overcome their tactical differences and to form a secret but intimate relationship before the CCP's victory in 1949, which owed a great deal to covert Soviet military support, particularly in Manchuria. Thus, the Sino-Soviet alliance of 1950 was really a natural extension of the CCP-Moscow collaboration in the previous decades.

We have been told that the Chinese and the Soviets were at best “uncertain partners” whose conflicting national interests made mutual suspicion and intriguing against each other inevitable, even when they were facing the war with the U.S. in Korea. We now know that Sino-Soviet collaboration during the Korean War was much more coherent than assumed by proponents of the paradigm of nationalism. Mao might not have been happy with every decision Stalin made, but he nonetheless requested and received Stalin's instructions prior to any significant move, and the Kremlin had the final say in decisions regarding military and diplomatic strategy (p. 91). Nikita Khrushchev considered the alliance even more important than his predecessor had, and under his leadership, Soviet military and economic aid to China increased drastically, so much so that some members of the Soviet policy elite were deeply worried that Soviet economic development would be hindered. Indeed, the Russians provided the Chinese with their newest technologies, some of which had not been applied in the USSR. The Russians not only agreed to supply the Chinese with nuclear technology and facilities to make the bomb, but they also proposed to build a joint fleet of nuclear submarines. Optimism reigned in both Beijing and

Moscow; "the socialist east wing will prevail over the imperialist west wing," Mao predicted in 1957.

Mao was wrong, however, and the undoing of the Sino-Soviet alliance was complete in the next five years. But why? This is where contributors to this volume differ in interpretive approach and emphasis. Although there is not a shared interpretive framework, the authors do share a general tendency: they stress the differences in domestic and foreign policies that led to the ultimate demise of the alliance. While the post-Stalin elite in Moscow started to move away from a stiff, ideologically defined anti-American approach by championing detente and "peaceful coexistence," the Beijing leadership, feeling threatened by aggressive American policies in the region, intensified its anti-American militancy. The second Taiwan Straits Crisis of 1958 marked the conflict of Sino-Soviet foreign policies, and the partners headed in opposite directions thereafter. Chen Jian and Yang Kuisong focus on Chinese domestic policy: driven by his radical vision of "continuous revolution," Mao saw the post-Stalin leadership as "revisionists" who betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the bureaucratized Soviet state as the antithesis to his mission of total social transformation. Thus, in order to bring the Chinese people around to the realization of his mission, Mao took the initiative, attacking Soviet "revisionism" while pursuing his domestic agenda of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

Although contributors rightly pay attention to the irrationality of ideology and personality in the Sino-Soviet split, particularly on the part of Mao, they try to understand the event within a rational social science framework. But what if Mao, who dominated the Chinese policy process and took the initiative to wreck the alliance, was indeed psychopathological, as Lucien Pye has argued? Is it time to examine policy choices, behavior, particularly Mao's, within a behavioral science framework in addition to a social science one?

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KATHRYN MEYER and TERRY PARSSINEN. *Webs of Smoke: Smugglers, Warlords, Spies, and the History of the International Drug Trade*. (State and Society in East Asia.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1998. Pp. xx, 313. \$29.95.

Throughout the twentieth century, politicians and bureaucrats involved in the struggle to stamp out drug trafficking have often portrayed their endeavors as a crusade against an international conspiracy. Chinese activists in the early part of the century couched anti-opium campaigns in nationalistic rhetoric, accusing the Western powers (and later Japan) of pursuing their imperial designs in China by deliberately fostering drug abuse in order to weaken the will of the Chinese people. During the height of the Cold War in the 1950s, Harry Anslinger, the ambitious bureaucrat who headed the American Federal Bureau of Narcot-

ics, advanced his organization's goals by accusing China of being the world's major supplier of illicit drugs, thus linking drugs with the international communist conspiracy. As recently as the middle of the present decade, prominent leaders of the African-American community became convinced that the Central Intelligence Agency had been involved in a plot to distribute crack cocaine in inner cities as a means to fund Contra operations in Nicaragua. Kathryn Meyer and Terry Parssinen argue that the international drug trade is in fact an infinitely more complex phenomenon that defies such simplistic explanations.

Meyer and Parssinen focus on the drug traffic in Asia, and their point of departure is 1907, one year after China and Great Britain concluded a treaty to end the Indian opium trade within ten years, concurrent with reductions in opium production in China. That agreement, followed by international conferences at Shanghai in 1909 and The Hague in 1912, signaled a shift in international attitudes regarding the drug trade in the direction of more stringent control over production, distribution, and consumption. Ironically, the stricter drug control laws initially blurred the line between the licit and illicit trade (as evidenced by the operation of the Shanghai Opium Combine) and finally drove the traffic underground.

Although past works, such as Arnold H. Taylor's *American Diplomacy and the Narcotics Traffic, 1909-1939* (1969), have tended to focus on control efforts, Meyer and Parssinen break new ground by analyzing changes in the structure of the international drug trade brought about by such measures. Using an impressive array of American, British, Chinese, and Japanese sources, the authors demonstrate that drug traffickers were highly adaptable businessmen, operating in, and often taking advantage of, the chaotic political, economic, and social conditions in China during the first half of the century.

In particular, Meyer and Parssinen contribute a great deal to our understanding of the nature of the relationship between drug traffickers and political leaders, which was often ambiguous and more flexible than may be imagined at first glance. For the drug traffickers, politically powerful allies were necessary to protect their illicit business enterprises. Such protection was most obviously acquired with cash, but as Meyer and Parssinen point out, in the case of China, drug traffickers rendered other services in exchange for official acquiescence. For example, Du Yuesheng, the head of Shanghai's Green Gang during the 1930s and a personal friend of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), strong-armed Shanghai businessmen into contributing to Guomindang coffers and most likely carried out assassinations for Jiang. Japanese narcotics smugglers in China secured the cooperation of Imperial Army officers by providing valuable intelligence, and, at the same time, the proceeds generated by drug sales at least partially funded clandestine intelligence organizations. Nevertheless, those connections could be tenuous. Politicians readily formed and just as

readily severed ties with drug traffickers based on expediency. Du Yuesheng, for example, had to weather periodic bursts of anti-drug activity by his patron Jiang, who was personally repelled by narcotics abuse despite directly and indirectly profiting from it. Meyer and Parssinen make a compelling argument that terms such as "corruption" and "conspiracy" are inadequate descriptions of such relationships.

This study is not only a major contribution to historical scholarship on the international drug traffic; it is also an absorbing story filled with fascinating characters. The prose style is concise and workmanlike. Although Meyer and Parssinen tend to rely on anecdotal evidence, they should not be faulted on that score, because drug traffickers tend not to be terribly forthcoming about their profession. Such minor quibbling aside, this is a first-rate study that merits a wide readership.

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STEVEN J. DICK. *Life on Other Worlds: The Twentieth-Century Extraterrestrial Life Debate*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 290. \$24.95.

Nearly half of all Americans, according to a recent Gallup poll, believe that UFOs in some form have visited the earth. Most scientists believe that life exists on other planets, and a substantial number are engaged in efforts to locate it.

The evidence supporting both points of view is wholly circumstantial. In spite of tantalizing discoveries, no direct evidence yet exists to support the proposition that life processes have begun on spheres other than our own. Nonetheless, the belief in extraterrestrial life has achieved a level of cultural acceptance accorded few unsubstantiated beliefs. It is to the twentieth century what belief in angels and demon visitations was to the thirteenth.

Steven J. Dick has established himself as the leading chronicler of what is known respectfully as the "plurality of worlds" thesis. An astronomer and historian, Dick distinguished himself with the publication of *Plurality of Worlds: The Origins of the Extraterrestrial Life Debate from Democritus to Kant* (1982). In 1996, he published the 578-page *Biological Universe: The Twentieth-Century Extraterrestrial Life Debate and the Limits of Science*. His current book is a shorter and updated version of the latter.

The book deals with the intensive search for incontrovertible evidence of alien life. This hardly constitutes a debate, as the subtitle suggests. Dick gives little attention to people who argue that our type of life—a rich variety of organisms dwelling at or near the surface of planets—may be an exceedingly rare occurrence in as much of the galaxy as we can ever observe. He acknowledges that evolutionary biologists familiar with the probabilities of organic combination remain profoundly pessimistic about the existence of extrater-

restrial life, but he does not dwell on this as a counterpoint to the prevailing view.

To the extent that debate appears in this book, or in the American culture as a whole, it is a debate over avenues of inquiry and thresholds of proof. Some people look to Mars, others to Jupiter's moons. Some search for planets around nearby stars, while others scan the skies for alien radio broadcasts. A substantial number of people, impatient with scientific standards, accept eyewitness accounts from people with unexplained visions. Dick treats them all with respect and enthusiasm. They reveal the presence of "many cultures of science" (p. 163). Even UFO believers, Dick suggests, may have stumbled upon some sort of "cosmic phenomenon trying to reveal itself in a sea of errors" (p. 168). From this perspective, each avenue of investigation becomes a manifestation of an overarching belief. The most fascinating question, given the paucity of direct evidence, is why should such a belief exist at all?

Dick traces much of his explanation to the findings of astronomers and evolutionary biologists. In *Biological Universe*, he presented an entire chapter on the unfortunate suppositions of turn-of-the-century anthropocentrists, whose logical arguments for the uniqueness of life turned out to be astronomically and biologically incorrect. Regrettably, much of this section disappeared when shortened to produce the current book.

With regard to astronomers and biologists, it can be argued with equal plausibility that they did as much to discourage thoughts of extraterrestrial life as to further them. Astronomers, for example, revealed that the moon has no atmosphere and that Mars has no canals, deflating two early suppositions that encouraged dreamers to imagine nearby civilizations.

As Dick correctly points out, interest in alien life forms is a recent occurrence in world history. Few ancient writers speculated about lunar civilizations or creatures on Mars. But then, they did not have to. They possessed rich descriptions of terrestrial voyages, both real and imaginary, and well-illustrated bestiaries that cataloged fantastic creatures closer to home. The whole history of terrestrial exploration led people to associate strange life forms with voyages of discovery. When earthly realms became familiar, interest in weird beasts shifted to outer space.

Belief in extraterrestrial life is one of the great myths of our time. It gives meaning to the place of humanity in the cosmos, a matter Dick touches upon in his discussion of aliens in science fiction. Unlike other beliefs, such as hope for resurrection, this myth lends itself to direct observation, giving it respectability in scientific circles. Perhaps the belief will be confirmed. As Dick agrees, a myth need not by definition be untrue. Dick has provided an excellent history of the twentieth-century effort to confirm this one. No one understands the full scope of the effort better than he. In examining the twentieth century, however, the

belief needs to be treated as much as a social phenomenon as a matter of scientific inquiry.

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ASIA

MARK EDWARD LEWIS. *Writing and Authority in Early China*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1999. Pp. vii. 544.

"This book is about the uses of writing to command assent and obedience in early China" (p. 1), here defined as roughly the last half-millennium B.C. Literature is, in fact, central to traditional Chinese civilization, to an extent that it is often difficult for us fully to appreciate. As Mark Edward Lewis notes, this was a society whose officials came to be systematically selected for their mastery of classic texts, whose fine arts were dominated by the ink and writing brush of the scholar, and whose urban landscape was liberally festooned with written signs and inscriptions. This book addresses a vitally important issue.

For Lewis, the importance of writing to the Chinese Empire was less a matter of its practical administrative utility than of the parallel, "virtual," empire-of-the-mind it encouraged in the imagination. Universal elite commitment to a shared body of texts cemented together an empire twice the size of Europe, for two thousand years, with only the weakest of coercive machinery. Such idealized texts as the *Zhou li* (Rituals of Zhou) legitimated the imperial order and provided a model for successive dynastic regenerations along perpetually identical lines.

Lewis's focus is on the formative era when these classic texts took shape. Even earlier, writing first appeared in China "at the nexus of religious practice and political authority," in the form of communications with deceased ancestors (p. 14). This essentially religious authority, based on the ancestral cult, was gradually transformed into bureaucratic regulatory systems. But, Lewis shows, "Far from being tools of rational administration or of brutal realpolitik, the [resulting] Warring States administrative codes remained embedded within the religious and ritual practices of the society from which they emerged" (p. 18).

Maybe so, but if Warring States legalism emerged from, and remained mired in, older theocratic presumptions, its ruthless efficiency nonetheless remains striking. As Lewis concedes, it was only sustained imperial unification at the end of the Warring States (after 221 B.C.), resulting in the "progressive dismantling of the society organized for war through universal military service," that enabled the Confucian literary ideal finally to emerge triumphant (pp. 338, 353). This all happened only toward the end of the period under consideration here, and it is consigned mostly to the last chapter. Lewis's focus, instead, is on the Warring States. Although this was the formative period of

classical literature, in some ways it was also the period in Chinese history when literature was least directly connected to political power. If I had a criticism to make, it would be that so much of the book is devoted to textual analysis that does not always seem obviously related to the theme of writing and authority.

It was, however, the very political alienation of Warring States scholars that inspired the image of Confucius as an uncrowned king, ruling over a textual All-Under-Heaven superior to that on earth. By compiling the *Chun qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), it was later explained, Confucius "criticized the Son of Heaven, demoted the feudal lords, and punished the high officials, all in order to complete the task of the King" (p. 140).

Although the title of this book may suggest some sort of postmodern critique, it is really more state-of-the-art than revolutionary. Perhaps traditional Chinese civilization cannot be "deconstructed" any more than it already has been by exposure to the corrosively alien standards of the modern West. It would have been interesting, however, if Lewis had explored the controversial question of how the Chinese script differs from an alphabet, and whether or not that difference somehow privileged writing more than in the allegedly "logocentric" West.

Lewis does examine the widespread Chinese belief that their script was "a direct depiction of the structure of reality detached from the spoken language," although he labels this a "myth" (p. 276). Myth or not, it did foster a conviction that writing itself held inherent significance, like the divinatory symbols with which it was commonly associated. Lewis also notes, in passing, the importance of a single universal non-phonetic writing system to a vast polylinguistic empire.

This book is truly a masterpiece. Lewis has studied seemingly every surviving classical Chinese text, as well as the latest archeological discoveries. He weaves this encyclopedic mass of detail into a seamless whole around a powerful theme. Everyone with an interest in early China should take note.

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HOWARD L. GOODMAN. *Ts'ao P'i Transcendent: The Political Culture of Dynasty-Founding in China at the End of the Han*. Seattle: Scripta Serica; distributed by Curzon, Richmond, Surrey. 1998. Pp. 249. £35.00.

In 189 A.D., four hundred years after the foundation of Han, the dynasty collapsed in ruins. Massacre at the capital was followed by warfare throughout the empire, and the disorders of conflict, famine, and refugee migration ground the political structures of China to destruction.

After ten years of chaos, in 200 the warlord Ts'ao Ts'ao defeated his chief rival in the north and gained a dominant position over the North China Plain. In 208, however, when he sought to expand his power across the Yangtze, he was defeated by Sun Ch'üan and Liu

Pei, lesser rivals who yet established independence in the south and southwest. Despite repeated attacks, the smaller states of Wu and Shu maintained themselves against Ts'ao Ts'ao and his successors of Wei for over half a century.

Ts'ao Ts'ao held Emperor Hsien of Han as his puppet but did not take the imperial title himself. After his death in 220, however, his son Ts'ao P'i moved swiftly to obtain the abdication of Han and establish supreme authority. To do so, he combined arguments from various schools of belief in a delicate, part orchestrated set of maneuvers to justify a momentous change.

In recent years, the general question of legitimation and transfer of loyalty has attracted increasing interest as scholars of Chinese history seek to examine the nature of the bonds that held the state together. From early discussion on the fall of Sui and the rise of T'ang there have developed analyses of the transfer from Ming to Ch'ing and, of course, the complexities of the twentieth century. Howard L. Goodman's work is a major contribution to this field, for the questions he raises involve not only the dynastic succession to Han but the whole nature of state formation and propaganda in the traditional empire.

There is a great deal of information available about the structure of the Han and Wei courts, the positions of the various protagonists, and the details of what they said and wrote. The late Carl Leban brought this material to scholarly attention in his essay, "Managing Heaven's Mandate: Coded Communication in the Accession of Ts'ao P'ei" (in David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, eds., *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization* [1978]), and Goodman has developed Leban's work most valuably, with full translations, detailed notes, and a study of the men involved in this great change of imperial government. They include religious followers of the Taoist Chang Lu, statesmen of the Confucian tradition, imperial kinsmen and members of other great families, and the generals who had served Ts'ao Ts'ao and now gave allegiance to his son.

Goodman discusses the roles of these men and the career of Ts'ao P'i himself, whose succession was not uncontested and who inherited a partial empire, stalemated in the south and west and vulnerable to the emotions of those who looked back to the glories of Han and were uneasy about the newcomer. In tracing the documents and formulae, Goodman argues that Ts'ao P'i "believed that imperial anointment was attained through emulation, oracles, astrology, omens and literary bravado. Becoming emperor was not a legislative or strictly a patrimonial process, nor was it only about military domination. It was the attainment of a solemn and mysterious status . . . by unclear means—by one's own luck and in fact daring" (p. 224). His book presents a fascinating account of this process and a valuable picture of the political mind of early third-century China.

While praising Goodman's work at this level, however, I observe two major weaknesses in the ideal

structure that Ts'ao Pi created. First, the new empire, as remarked, was incomplete, and the old structures of power had been destroyed by a generation of war. Little more than a ghost of ruined Han, the Wei dynasty of the Ts'ao family was ultimately a warlord state seeking trappings of legitimacy in a parody of the past. Second, Ts'ao Ts'ao, while one of the most brilliant men of his age, claimed adoptive descent through a eunuch of the Han court, and Ts'ao P'i's mother, the Lady Pien, though praised as a modest consort, had been a sing-song girl in her youth. No matter how it was dressed, this lineage compared poorly with the great clans of the empire. The Ts'ao had won a brutal war, but that was truly the source of their power and—like the present-day government of Beijing—their ultimate rationale was force, not elite or popular acceptance. The dynasty of Wei lasted fewer than fifty years.

RAFE DE CRESPIGNY

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JONATHAN N. LIPMAN. *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*. (Studies on Ethnic Groups in China.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1997. Pp. xxxvi, 266. \$22.50.

Jonathan N. Lipman has produced a fascinating history of the Muslims of northwest China. This is not a work for casual skimming. On the contrary, it requires a detailed perusal and, preferably, some prior knowledge of the subject. Indeed, the author sometimes appears to be more intent on a private voyage of discovery rather than on communication with the reader. The approach is thematic, the style discursive. The result is a lively discourse, brimming with intriguing comments and digressions. Yet these very qualities are also not infrequently a source of frustration and confusion. The narrative tends to be fragmented, congested with detail that is not always strictly relevant to the discussion in hand. This can distract from the thrust of the argument.

Another difficulty is that the terminology used in this work, especially as regards ethnonyms, is idiosyncratic. The reasons for using one set of terms in preference to another is explained and justified in the introduction. Nevertheless, the attempt to categorize the various groups by creed is arguably as misleading as the use of pseudohistorical ethnic designations. It creates an impression of a sense of "imagined community" among peoples of different origins, different local cultures. It is not at all clear that this was the case among the Muslims of China, who are distributed over a huge geographic area, encompass ten distinct ethnic groups, and speak languages belonging to more than four language groups. It is true that in the opening pages of the book the author warns the reader that the concept of "being a Muslim" embraces a wide range of convictions, perceptions, and levels of commitment. In the main body of the text, however, the term "Muslim" is used without comment, thereby seeming to ignore

the warning given in the final paragraph of this work (p. 227) concerning "facile generalisations" and "analytical oversimplifications."

The chapter entitled "Connections" is, for this reviewer at least, the most interesting. It deals with the Early Qing period (1644–1781). It traces the influence of various new movements on Chinese Muslims at this time. Particular attention is paid to the emergence of the Sufi orders. The internal organization of these orders, as well as their political and economic significance, is discussed in some detail. The different religious traditions and ritual practices are also described. The Sufi orders made a major impact on the spiritual life of Chinese Muslims. However, schisms and bitter rivalries soon developed between the various networks, resulting in outbursts of communal violence and long-running feuds. This eventually led to serious bloodshed and brutal repression by the state authorities. The author attempts to analyze the causes of the conflict, but not in sufficient depth. Also, as so often in this book, the arguments are dispersed over several sections, thereby considerably weakening the discussion.

Finally, it would have been helpful to have had some explanation regarding the choice of the final cutoff point for this history. It peters out in the early decades of the twentieth century. The biographies of four Chinese Muslim leaders (the last of whom died in 1934) are used to illustrate the process of accommodation with modern China. However, there is little attempt to assess their long-term influence on society, or to examine issues of change and continuity within the broader context of modernization and integration. The book ends by posing a number of theoretical as well as speculative questions. It returns, too, to the problem of the definition of names and terms. This leads the reader back to the comments in the introduction. This emphasizes the complexity of the subject, but it also draws attention to a certain lack of focus in this work. In his concern to avoid simplistic explanations, the author sometimes indulges in unnecessary obfuscation.

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EDWARD S. KREBS. *Shifu, Soul of Chinese Anarchism*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1998. Pp. xiv, 289. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Shifu was one of the most intriguing and romantic figures of the early Chinese revolutionary movement. Born Liu Shaobin, he adopted the name Shifu in 1912, when he began the anarchist writings that affected a whole generation of Chinese, including Mao Zedong. Shifu also popularized Marxist thought in China and developed many of the ideas later promoted by Chen Duxiu and his colleagues in the pages of *New Youth* magazine.

The scion of a wealthy family, Shifu first got involved with the anti-Qing revolutionary movement while

studying in Japan, shortly after the turn of the century. Like many other student revolutionaries, he naively believed that the self-sacrificing purity of an assassination attempt would spark sympathy and interest in the revolutionary cause among the masses. His first efforts did not go well. While planning an attack on a Qing official, Shifu blew himself up, losing a hand and exposing the failed plot. His family pulled strings to spare him the death penalty, but he spent three years in jail. He was released from prison only after the start of the 1911 Revolution. Instead of repenting his actions, however, he immediately resumed his assassination activities. In one of the most fascinating parts of the book, Edward S. Krebs argues that in the period immediately after the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution, when the fate of the movement remained in the balance, assassination efforts like Shifu's helped demoralize the Qing, attract interest in the republican cause, and bring success to the movement.

Still, Shifu came to regret his actions. Belatedly, he realized that although the revolution had prevailed, the cause had not succeeded. Shifu had hoped that the anti-Manchu revolution would restore China's past greatness and revive the country's spirit. While in prison, he had devoted his time to National Essence writings, researching the origins of Chinese culture and civilization. He became committed to the idea that it was Confucius and the Confucianists who had sullied and destroyed the real Chinese spirit. After Chen Duxiu started *New Youth* in 1915, this idea became a standard part of the New Culture movement.

Once the revolution was over and it was clear that its ideals had become a sham, Shifu had something of an epiphany. Like many other National Essence figures including Chen Duxiu, Shifu began to realize that narrow nationalist pride could be detrimental to China and that political action could only be effective if cultural change preceded it. Searching for a new path, Shifu turned to the writings of the Russian anarchist, Pyotr Kropotkin, as well as to traditional Buddhist ideals. He renounced assassination and began to advocate nonviolence. He also called for the complete internationalization of Chinese culture, including the replacement of the Chinese language with Esperanto. The New China, he argued, in a cry that was also to be familiar to New Culture movement adherents, needed to base itself on scientific ideas.

In an effort to codify his new ideals, Shifu enunciated ten principles that were to have a great influence on several generations of Chinese students. Included among these principles were the renunciation of family names (hence the title Shifu), abolition of the institution of marriage, forgoing consumption of meat and alcohol, refusing to serve in the military, and not relying on the labor of others. He also insisted on complete equality for women (something he apparently found difficult to adhere to in his own life).

Shifu opposed his anarchist-socialist ideas to what he considered the state socialism of Sun Yat-sen, whose ideas he likened to those of Karl Marx. Basing

himself on Kropotkin's opposition to Marx, Shifu criticized Marxist ideas in great detail, in the process making Marxist principles quite well known (albeit negatively) to Chinese readers. Though many have argued that Marxist ideas were not introduced into China until 1918, Krebs shows that well before this time, socialist and Marxist thought had become familiar to most Chinese intellectuals, in no small part because of the writings of Shifu.

Shifu did not live to see the groundswell of interest in the various ideas he pioneered in China. He died in early 1915, just as *New Youth* was set to begin publication. Dying early, Shifu never faced the choice of those colleagues who lived on, most of whom eventually had to choose sides between the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party. Because of his early death, his ideas and his reputation have come down to us relatively unsullied, although somewhat ignored. This book provides a valuable service in reacquainting many with Shifu's life and putting his ideas in perspective.

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FRANK DIKÖTTER. *Imperfect Conceptions: Medical Knowledge, Birth Defects and Eugenics in China*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 226. \$27.50.

In early 1995, the People's Republic of China proposed a "Eugenics Law" aimed at discouraging reproduction by the physically or mentally impaired. Chinese leaders, who considered these "inferior births" a substantial fiscal burden on the society and state, seemed unprepared for the resulting uproar in the West. A change in title to the "Maternal and Infant Health Law" did not prevent denunciations by newspaper and journal editorialists or boycotts by a number of national genetics societies and many individual scientists of the International Congress of Genetics held in Beijing in August 1998. Because the law included provisions permitting doctors to sterilize individuals with (undefined) serious hereditary disorders, it was said to contravene the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that all adults have the right to found a family, and to violate basic norms governing the provision of genetic services, according to which no reproductive decision is right or wrong, and clinicians should be scrupulously neutral in their dealing with clients.

From the intensity of the reaction, it might seem that the principle of procreative liberty is long established in the West. However, as Frank Dikötter notes in his short but extensively researched account of the history of eugenics in China, the view that the larger society and state would be better off if certain kinds of people did not reproduce was common in the United States and Europe not just during the interwar period but into the 1950s, when on many conventional accounts of the history of eugenics, the movement was

dead. Thus, sterilization rates in some Scandinavian countries reached their peak after World War II.

As the reference to the Scandinavian states implies, the idea of controlling reproduction appealed not just to Nazis but to many political progressives. Dikötter notes that eugenics was not a well-defined doctrine but rather a way of talking about social problems in modern, scientific terms. It everywhere appealed to those with a modernizing agenda. Although eugenics in China has roots stretching back to the late Imperial period, it blossomed during the Republican period, which was characterized by a deep faith in the power of science to counter tradition and to regenerate society.

A number of factors converged to make China fertile ground for eugenics; these include a patrilinear culture that stressed the need to regulate reproduction for the sake of protecting the lineage, a holistic approach to medicine, and the priority given to the needs of the collectivity. Of course, as in any culture, opinion is not monolithic. But it does seem that among important sections of the urban elite, support for eugenics is strong. Even euthanasia of impaired infants is seriously discussed. As with many earlier eugenics movements in the West, the meaning of "inferior births" is shaped by race and class bias. Thus, urban elites fear being swamped by ethnic minorities and peasants, who are considered intellectually poorly endowed. Such views are promoted in a wide variety of fora: eugenics symposia, health manuals, articles in learned journals, popular magazines, even the *People's Daily*. Since the late 1980s, they have also been expressed in provincial-level sterilization laws and local marriage regulations.

General histories of the movement (my own included) do not even mention China, although it is clear that eugenic currents in that country run both wide and deep. This book is thus a valuable contribution to the comparative history of eugenics, as well as essential reading for anyone interested in contemporary Chinese attitudes respecting eugenics and nature-nurture issues. I do wish it were more reflective about the history, meaning, and value of the principle of respect for individual autonomy, whose superiority over communitarian values is simply taken for granted. The book also repeats some conventional but dubious claims about eugenicists' scientific errors. For example, it is said that sterilization would not significantly reduce the incidence of mental illness, since most of those affected as the result of heredity will have normal parents. As illustration, the author cites Lionel Penrose's conclusion that eliminating the gene for the recessive condition PKU would require sterilizing one percent of the British population. But this is a misleading example of the futility of eugenics, both because eugenicists rarely if ever aimed to reduce the incidence of the target trait to zero and also because PKU is a very rare disorder, and the efficacy of selection against a recessive depends on its initial incidence. In any case, the attempt to show that eugenics has been discredited on technical grounds runs against the grain of the

book, which rightly stresses that science can not provide a basis for normative claims about the social order. But these are small reservations. Dikötter provides a generally nuanced and certainly much-needed historical perspective on contemporary Chinese eugenics. His book should do much to raise the level of discussion of policies that are decried more often than understood.

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GREGORY SMITS. *Visions of Ryukyu: Identity and Ideology in Early-Modern Thought and Politics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. 213. \$47.00.

The history of the Ryukyu as a quasi-independent state with a semicolonial status vis-à-vis shogunal Japan via the Satsuma domain, whose military presence was carefully kept out of view from China (with which Ryukyu had a tributary relationship), that Gregory Smits presents us in this excellent study is chronologically framed by 1609, when Satsuma invaded the kingdom and whisked its king off to Japan for two years, and 1879, when it was annexed to Japan but in fact became Japan's first colony. Well armed with Prasenjit Duara's insights in the narrative historical forms in which premodern "nations" can be cast (a refinement of Benedict Anderson's theories of "imagined communities"), Smith explores the various ways in which the tension resulting from the ambiguous political status of Ryukyu with China, fountainhead of culture and grantor of investiture to its kings, and with Satsuma, militarily dominant and economically indispensable, was translated into Ryukyu politics and visions of identity, always unstable, precarious, adjustable, and contestable. This balanced and well-documented study is a fine example of a new area of Japanese history that has recently opened up, where the themes of marginality, colonialism, the history of representations, and relevant new theories come together. Along the way, Smits presents us with an interesting variety of Confucianism in thought and action in a "borderland" situation hitherto unexplored in Western scholarship.

Smits distinguishes a number of early modern visions of Ryukyu as they draw upon Buddhism or Confucianism, introduce Sinitic modes of ceremonial organization or take Satsuma as their model, or try to carve out a more autonomous course centered on Ryukyu itself. In these constructions, culture, polity, policies, and politics were invariably intermixed: the most influential visionaries were also powerful political figures. Thus Shō Shōken, who became prime minister in 1666, was well aware of Satsuma's military power and of the trade benefits with Japan, and he introduced reforms modeled on the Satsuma domain, reorganizing villages and seeking to extricate the king from religious ceremonies where he functioned in a subordinate role to high priestess-shamanesses. Tei

Junsoku, on the other hand, scholar of Chinese studies, poet, diplomat to Edo and Beijing (who spent many years in China during the course of five visits), and royal advisor, Confucianized the administration around the turn of the eighteenth century.

Although the government, starting in 1392, had maintained a group of China specialists, originally immigrants, in Kumemura, a settlement near the capital, their knowledge of China was geared toward diplomatic and trade relationships and had no influence on the royal government, where ceremonies were controlled by Shingon monks from Japan until well into the seventeenth century. By that time, the Kumemura community had fallen into decline, but its fortunes were turned around by Tei Junsoku. Between 1650 and 1729, its population increased five-fold, attracting talent from throughout the kingdom. National Confucian rites were established, and Chinese studies were reoriented toward policy formulation. Sai On (1682–1761), instructor to the king and specialist in geomancy, pushed Confucianization further. According to Smits, "He deployed Confucian ideology, sometimes in unique ways, in an attempt to minimize the impact of Satsuma's political power on Ryukyu while simultaneously empowering Ryukyuan to become masters of their own destiny" (p. 71). He took the initiative in introducing forestation policies, making a new land survey, regulating village life and customs, banning prostitution (thereby angering the nobility), outlawing shamanism (which angered the peasants), and building a national university in the capital (which caused the Kumemura Confucians, marginalized and threatened in their livelihood, to riot). He even introduced a limited civil service examination for lower and mid-level specialists. Ryukyu's eighteenth century, although obviously not without its tensions and conflicts, was economically and culturally a golden age. By the time the Japanese imperial government replaced Satsuma and China, however, the Ryukyu economy and the "Confucian state" were in shambles.

Throughout his analysis, Smits pays also special attention to the ways Ryukyu's past was refashioned again and again by the protagonists of his narrative. In his introduction and epilogue, he traces this further by discussing the fluidity of the fragmented visions of the Ryukyu past that continues to mark the history of the islands to this day. This reduces considerably the importance of the premodern/modern divide that informs our understanding of the last couple of centuries and provides a welcome historical perspective on contemporary Okinawan politics.

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SELÇUK ESENBEL. *Even the Gods Rebel: The Peasants of Takaino and the 1871 Nakano Uprising in Japan*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, number 57.) Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies. 1998. Pp. 415. \$38.00.

The Nakano peasants who sought redress for their grievances against the new Meiji government in 1871 assumed that they would benefit from protest. For over a hundred years, they had been accustomed to negotiating compromises with their rulers that had gradually reduced their taxes to less than twenty percent of total agricultural production. Furthermore, peasants in nearby domains had just succeeded in lowering tax rates and gaining recompense for the government's closure of the regional investment/trading company. The Nakano peasants guessed wrong. Following their ouster of the local governor, the murder of two officials, and the burning of the prefectural office as well as much of the surrounding town, the central authorities dispatched troops to suppress the uprising and punish its participants in unprecedented numbers. All concessions were refused lest they erode the uniform national tax rate. The Nakano peasants inadvertently found themselves becoming an object lesson in the coercive power of the modern state.

Drawing on the diverse theoretical approaches to contention and social protest crafted by scholars in Japan and the West as well as presenting a cross-cultural perspective that encompasses Europe and China, Selçuk Esenbel uses her case study of one small region in the mountains of central Japan to present an arresting analysis of change in intravillage and inter-village relations. One of her chief aims is to argue that increasingly commercialized peasant enterprises in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not create either extremes of wealth and poverty in the villages or social disintegration. Class conflict led instead to a reordering and strengthening of the village community, in that older hierarchical bonds were replaced by more egalitarian connections mediated by an emerging middle class in a grass-roots democratization of village life. Such conclusions regarding economic development, community relations, and how they played out in the context of political struggle are possible only because they are based on a finely detailed analysis at the microlevel. I particularly like the way Esenbel uses James C. Scott's notion of "nibbling" to describe how the peasants in this region whittled away at their tax assessments and manipulated the authorities. In part, they were able to get away with this because they lived in an area that appears to have been laxly administered, so much so that Esenbel is able to refer to "the soft hand of feudal government" (p. 263).

This is the first book in English to focus specifically on peasant uprisings in the early years of the Meiji period (1868–1912), even though its first decade saw more contention than any ten years before or since. Taking the long and broad view, scholars such as Herbert P. Bix and James W. White have emphasized how much more oppressive and repressive was the modern Meiji state than its early modern predecessor. White in particular argues that the Meiji state succeeded in putting an end to the tradition of peasant uprisings precisely because it understood the impor-

tance of consistency in the use of force. Although Esenbel accepts White's overall conclusions, her own discussion of the transition period between 1868 and 1871 demonstrates that peasant protest continued to be remarkably successful up to the Nakano uprising. In central Japan, at any rate, the heavy hand of centralized authority did not fall until its aftermath. She further makes the intriguing argument that the incidence of protest by both peasants and disaffected samurai, plus overwhelming fiscal problems during these three years, forced the leaders of the new state to develop plans for abolishing the hereditary *daimyo* domains and establishing prefectures much earlier than they had intended.

This book will find its primary readership among specialists in Japanese history and scholars of collective protest. Perhaps because Esenbel has so immersed herself in Japanese historiography from twenty years ago and more, she overstates the novelty of her argument, assuming that even today historians call the early modern regime a "monolithic machinery of oppression" (p. 253), view peasants as victims, not agents, and ferret out examples of social polarization to bolster preconceived assumptions regarding the inevitability of class conflict. While she is careful to distance herself from the overly rosy view of early modern Japanese peasant life, she nonetheless tends to be uncritical of market forces and international trade.

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JOHN PRADOS. *The Blood Road: The Ho Chi Minh Trail and the Vietnam War*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1999. Pp. xvi, 432. \$35.00.

The "Ho Chi Minh Trail" was the land route by which men, munitions, and supplies went from North to South Vietnam during the Vietnam War. It was not a single route but a network of trails through the Truong Son or Annamite Cordillera, the mountain range along the border between Vietnam and Laos. It expanded continuously as the war went on. New routes were added, and footpaths were upgraded to dirt roads and, eventually in some places, to multi-lane paved highways. The size and armament of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) forces operating the trail and guarding it from ground and air attack grew in proportion. The main routes lay in the western part of the Truong Son, in Laos, detouring around the Demilitarized Zone that directly separated North from South Vietnam.

In the 1960s, the trail was a major supply line for the Communist forces in South Vietnam, but not the only one; important shipments also came by sea. In the 1970s, when the shift to a more conventional style of warfare greatly expanded the Communist forces' munitions needs, the trail became for a while the only important route by which those needs could be met.

The Communist victory of 1975 could not have been won without it.

The escalation of the Vietnam War in 1965 brought massive U.S. bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, supplemented by covert operations on the ground, both to attack the trail directly and to spot targets for air strikes. John Prados, the author of several previous books on the Vietnam War and related topics, traces both sides of the story: the experiences of the Vietnamese who travelled the trail or worked to maintain it, and the shifting pattern of attacks on the trail by the United States and its allies. His focus is on the struggle between those attacking and those defending the trail; he passes off in a few pages the last years of the war, when first a reduction and then a termination of serious attacks on the trail allowed the amount of traffic on it to expand far beyond previous levels.

The presence of PAVN forces in Laos violated the Geneva Agreement of 1962, which supposedly had neutralized Laos. There were repeated proposals that the United States respond by sending large ground forces into Laos to block the trail. Prados makes it clear that these proposals were rejected, not because the United States was trying to remain in compliance with the 1962 agreement even while the other side violated it—the air strikes and small covert raids that the United States did launch were no more in compliance with the 1962 agreement than a large ground operation would have been—but because key policy makers doubted that a large U.S. ground operation would produce desirable results at acceptable cost. Prados shares these doubts. He describes at length the failure of the effort, finally made in 1971, to block the trail with a large ground operation by South Vietnamese troops with U.S. air support.

Prados does not focus narrowly on the story of the trail but devotes considerable space to the context: the overall pattern of the Vietnam War and of U.S. policy. His book is aimed more at the general reader than at the specialist; the scholarly apparatus is skimpy. The endnotes give sources only for quotations, not for facts. There is no bibliography and no list of persons interviewed, but to judge by the citations for quotes, the book is based primarily on written sources—published works, declassified documents, and oral histories—in English. Prados appears to have made limited use of interviews and hardly any use of Vietnamese-language written materials. Vietnamese accounts available in English provided much information about the first years of the trail, less about later periods.

Factual errors—examples include mistaken dates, a map showing Lao Bao and Ban Houei Sane just far enough from their actual locations for the errors to be confusing, and exaggeration of the policy decisions embodied in National Security Action Memorandum 288 of March 1964—are mostly concentrated in the first quarter of the book. Far more frustrating are the statements that could be true but are improbable enough that this reviewer, at least, hesitates to accept

them from an author who does not cite his sources. Despite these weaknesses, Prados's book is the best work on this very important subject now available in English. Serious libraries should purchase it, and scholars in the field will want to read it. At the same time, it can be recommended for the student and the general reader.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

AUGUST IBRUM K. KITUAL. *My Gun, My Brother: The World of the Papua New Guinea Colonial Police, 1920–1960.* (Pacific Islands Monograph Series, number 15.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, in association with the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, Honolulu, 1998. Pp. xx, 414. \$48.00.

The extension of the authority of colonial government in Papua New Guinea depended, as it did in all such situations, on the coercive power of a body of men whose functions ranged from paramilitary to prison duties. Inevitably, the personnel had to be drawn from the native population, which could offer the advantages of availability, cheapness, local knowledge, and familiarity with local conditions. Nor was recruitment difficult: the prestige of being associated with the power of government, the exercise of both delegated and assumed power, the prospect of adventure, the knowledge and use of modern equipment (especially firearms), and a money income were all powerful attractions for men who wanted to experience life beyond the geographical, social and cultural limits of their home villages.

The native police force was the backbone of native administration in this Australian-governed territory for over eighty years, from around 1890 to independence in 1975. For most of that time, communication with the scattered indigenous population was established and maintained by foot patrols walking from village to village over a very extensive, mountainous, and heavily vegetated landscape, among a population that was, for the most part, suspicious of strangers and always prepared for hostilities. The pacification of Papua New Guinea and the acceptance of foreign legal norms were the work of these patrols, each consisting usually of one very young, Australian patrol officer, ten native policemen, and as many native carriers as were necessary for the equipment and food. Patrols seldom lasted less than a few weeks, and some—especially those of exploration or engaged in contacting new populations—lasted many months.

As an instrument, native police forces are double-sided: they are dangerous for the same reasons that they are useful, and a subalternist argument can always be made that these minions were the real power insofar as they had the inside knowledge and experience that few colonial officials could match. August

Ibrum K. Kituai makes all these points in his study of the colonial native police.

The book's title invokes the intimacy and importance of the one piece of equipment that, more than anything else, set the policeman apart from the general population. The gun gave the policeman both power and status, and the pacification and unification of Papua New Guinea would not have been possible without it. That is not to say that the gun was the means, but the gun was the symbol of the government having the means as well as the will to impose itself. The gun, however, is not the central hero of the story. Similarly, the subtitle of the book is somewhat misleading insofar as it implies a comprehensive social history, whereas in fact it is something less than that. It is the first academic history of the police force, but it is neither, strictly speaking, an institutional history nor a social history. Instead, Kituai is preoccupied mainly with the recruitment and training of the police and the nature of their work. Transcending these aspects is a concern with the extent to which the police engaged in excessive violence or cruelty toward the general population, including the question of sexual exploitation and abuse. Overlying the whole discussion is the question of the extent to which white officers were ignorant of or complicit in the putative excesses of their police.

The evidence as presented by Kituai for all these matters is ambiguous and the author's attitude itself is ambivalent. Incongruities detract from what is otherwise a capable work. These begin with the scope of the book, which is defined as the period 1920 to 1960. It is not clear why these dates were chosen, but evidence from the thirty years before 1920 is freely used, inevitably raising doubts about the cogency of the argument for the specified period.

The study is based on published sources and on a sample of the available, copious manuscript records of the colonial government. It is regrettable that greater use was not made of the latter. These sources are supplemented by the oral testimony of former policemen as recorded during the 1980s, when even the last survivors were of advanced age. In addition, Kituai compiled questionnaires for surviving colonial officials. Along with this evidence, he includes the transcript of one questionnaire response and four interviews in appendixes making up nearly one quarter of the book. I have misgivings about the author's use of evidence, his prejudices, and his interpretations, but if the book is neither definitive nor convincing, it is certainly useful and unsettling.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

GREG MARQUIS. *In Armageddon's Shadow: The Civil War and Canada's Maritime Provinces*. Montreal:

McGill-Queen's University Press, in association with the Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies, Saint Mary's University, Halifax. 1998. Pp. xx, 389. \$34.95.

Since it was published in 1960, *Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years* by Robin W. Winks has been the most comprehensive survey of relations between these two evolving North American nations in the 1860s. Greg Marquis takes a second look at one region of British North America: the Maritime colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. While most of Winks's conclusions seem to have stood the test of time, Marquis's Maritime focus offers a useful new angle of vision on the Civil War and provides a timely reminder that it was an event of North American significance that helped to create not one nation but two, both with regions more or less alienated from dominant industrializing centers.

Although officially neutral British possessions, the Maritime colonies had longstanding ties with the United States that brought the Civil War close to home. Economic opportunities thrown open by the conflict and geographical propinquity further served to draw the region into the conflict. During the war, the Maritime ports transhipped cargoes destined for both sides and became the destination for refugees, crimps, spies, and skedaddlers whose presence was a source of ongoing speculation, gossip, and diplomatic posturing. Halifax in particular, Marquis reveals, served as a base for refueling and repairing belligerent ships and, toward the end of the war, became a rendez-vous for blockade runners. For Maritimers engaged in shipbuilding, forestry, coal mining, farming, and fishing, the Civil War helped to make the early 1860s an economic golden age.

Marquis concludes that the Maritimes, unlike Canada West, were not a major terminus on the Underground Railroad, nor did the region's resident black population benefit in any significant way from the antislavery ideology that informed wartime debate. Like the citizens of the United States, white Maritimers had mixed views on black enslavement, and, especially in elite circles, there was open sympathy for the South. This was manifested most spectacularly during the *Chesapeake* incident—to which Marquis devotes two long chapters—when Halifax's finest helped to secure the escape of the men responsible for highjacking the vessel, which was captured in Nova Scotia waters.

Notwithstanding public support for the South, the majority of the estimated 10,000 Maritimers who participated in the war fought on the northern side. Like their American-born counterparts, Marquis concludes, they were drawn to the conflict out of ideological conviction, economic necessity, and a search for adventure. (Perhaps the most notorious Maritimer to take up the northern cause was Sarah Emma Edmonds, who as Frank Thompson joined the Second

Michigan Infantry and wrote about her adventures in *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* [1865]). Although many Maritime-born combatants were living in the United States when the conflict broke out, Marquis maintains that these expatriates nevertheless influenced Maritime opinions on the Civil War, most notably through their letters home. Despite their intense interest and often direct involvement in the Civil War, Marquis concludes that Maritimers quickly lost any historical memory of its impact. The destiny of the region lay not with the United States but with Canada where the rituals of remembrance included militia maneuvers during the Fenian raids of 1866, not participation in the Civil War.

Although this exercise in "recapturing memory" is rich in detail, the sources on which the author relies have both gaps and biases that are reflected in the analysis. Marquis is quick to point out that Maritime networks were primarily with the North, but it is the real and alleged southern breeches of neutrality that get the most copy. The sources also focus attention on major centers such as Halifax and Saint John, which have American consulates, newspapers, and the majority of the region's literate citizens, but a minority of the Maritime population. Finally, the decision to chronicle high-profile events such as the hijacking of the *Chesapeake* and the career of the notorious *Tallahassee* leave little space for a sustained analysis of the impact of the Civil War on overall trade patterns in the Maritimes, a topic that is long overdue for re-examination. That being said, scholars interested in the Civil War and Maritime history will find much to reward them in this well-researched and entertaining narrative.

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CRAIG HERON, editor. *The Workers' Revolt in Canada, 1917-1925*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1998. Pp. vi, 382. \$21.95.

In May 1919, Winnipeg, Manitoba was convulsed by a bitter struggle between workers and the combined forces of employers, an elite Citizens' Committee, and the state. A six-week standoff involved around 30,000 strikers determined to win better wages and conditions but also the right to collective bargaining. Whether this general strike and other sympathetic and general strikes across the country represented a threat to established government has been the subject of decades of debate within Canadian history. This collection of essays, edited by Craig Heron, contains seven essays that provide a synthesis of revisionist views on this key controversy in Canadian history. The collection centers on the crucial years when the war machine's needs created a boom that fed on scarce labor followed by postwar years of economic slowdown. The editor and authors argue that in Canada, as elsewhere in the industrialized world, World War I acted as a crucible for labor militancy and revolt.

In the Canadian case, the Winnipeg General Strike of May-June 1919 was initially described by Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden as an attempt to overthrow government. As Heron notes, this view was contested by historians in the early 1970s who viewed the Winnipeg strike as the logical extension of a campaign for workers' rights that characterized the western provinces of Canada. This "western exceptionalism" thesis was in turn challenged by scholars convinced that there was a national debate on the impossibility of reforming capitalism and the need for a radical transformation of Canada's economy and the polity. Furthermore, as new research discovered, these developments were confined neither to the west nor to skilled, Anglo-Celtic male workers.

The first essay, by Heron and Myer Siemiatycki, presents the national context for understanding the relationship among the war, the state, and working-class responses. Canada's ties to Great Britain and the empire fed both English Canadian nationalism and French Canadian opposition to conscription, also characteristic of debates in the labor and socialist movements. Despite early opposition to the idea of war in Europe, many labor and socialist supporters ended up enlisting, although some later opposed the idea of military conscription, arguing instead for the conscription of wealth. Equally, opposition from the left attacked press censorship, the use of sweeping state coercion to outlaw many ethnic and political groups, and the profiteering of war producers. The rising cost of living and the inadequate provisions made for soldiers' families also figured prominently in the labor revolt. The authors argue that tensions between fighting for democracy abroad and oppressive conditions at home gave strength to a broad-based anticapitalist workers' revolt (p. 27). The combined forces of capital and the state, however, developed "more powerful, centralized mechanisms for combating radicalism than had ever existed in pre-War Canada" (p. 36). How this was manifested across the country is the subject of the regionally based essays that follow.

Essays on the Maritimes, Quebec, and Ontario essentially raise new perspectives on the supposed conservatism of the workers' movements in central and eastern Canada. One of the most interesting and analytical pieces covers the "invisible" labor revolt of the Maritimes, a region customarily characterized as fundamentally "conservative." Ian McKay and Suzanne Morton argue persuasively that uneven development, paternalism, and gender inequality explain the particular patterns of the Maritime orientation to "labourism." The latter drew not only on labor politics but also contributed to a "movement culture" that promoted solidarity within communities and appealed to miners' wives, for example, as well as the miners themselves. Although there were notable incidents of working-class militancy in the Maritimes between 1917 and 1920, the regional economy based on agriculture and resource extraction as well as the experience of

rapid deindustrialization in the 1920s spelled ultimate defeat.

Quebec has similarly been portrayed as divided and weak, with French Canadian Catholic workers pitted against Anglo and Jewish workers, the latter in particular associated with a more militant union tradition. Geoffrey Ewen argues for a more nuanced approach that finds considerable rank-and-file militancy. The lack of a unified political voice, however, and the strength of craft unionism ultimately divided Quebec support for the Winnipeg General Strike. Similarly, James Naylor's article on Ontario points to a surge of unionism among the unskilled or less skilled that had not been experienced since the days of the Knights of Labor. The Ontario labor movement indeed was divided along ideological and skill lines, but, as Naylor argues, the war demonstrated the need for broader-based unions that reached out to immigrants, women, the less skilled, and the under-organized. That Ontario workers rejected more radical solutions such as the One Big Union and opted for the ballot box can be explained not by innate conservatism but rather by their political assessments and the attraction of parliamentary solutions as the logical extension of the workers' revolt.

Naylor and Tom Mitchell's piece on the Prairies deals head on with the question of the west's exceptionalism and places the Winnipeg General Strike in the larger context of other large, wartime strikes while questioning the accepted "test" of radicalism as support for the Winnipeg strike. Their revisionist view emphasizes the involvement of women and immigrant workers in the events of May-June 1919 and reminds us that the authorities unleashed unprecedented levels of state repression to quash the labor revolt. The state viewed the prosecution of the strike leaders as key to asserting its authority and to defining what citizenship entailed: acceptance of a particular type of economic system and a centralized state that tolerated only certain kinds of dissent.

Even in the supposedly "radical" province of British Columbia, Allen Seager and David Roth find that the workers' revolt looks much like the rest of the country, with clear divisions within unions over the general strike. Furthermore, they point out that the leaders of the call for a general sympathy strike in Vancouver were British-born trade unionists who argued for the defense of the right to organize and bargain collectively. In the aftermath of 1919-1920, the left lost its influence in the union movement.

Heron sums up the book's major themes in his conclusion. Despite regional differences and uneven development, the pattern of labor revolt was national in scope. Although structural impediments hampered and ultimately defeated the workers' revolt, Heron insists that at the ideological level, this period represented a moment of realization and vision for workers who unionized in unprecedented numbers, questioned the status quo, and mounted an opposition to attacks on their democratic rights.

Given this perspective, it is puzzling that this collection does not adequately explore the broader community (including gender and ethnic) contexts of the transformation. A primary focus on the workplace has been frequently criticized by feminist labor historians as limiting and excluding women who worked primarily in the home and as downplaying the attachment of single women to the labor force and hence their potential as union members and activists. Although some attention is paid to women as workers, working-class wives, and political activists, the references are scattered and largely empirical. When gender enters the analysis, it most often is mentioned as part of the "patriarchal mould of the working-class family" (p. 283) rather than as a central analytical characteristic. Only the essay on the Maritimes incorporates gender as a category central to the analysis. Similarly, there is little sustained discussion of the ethnic community contexts for the workers' revolt. Nevertheless, this is an important volume that showcases the gains made in Canadian labor historiography since the early 1970s.

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ANTONIA MAIONI. *Parting at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Health Insurance in the United States and Canada*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 205. \$37.50.

Why did two countries as similar as Canada and the United States—similar especially in terms of health care services—end up with such different health insurance schemes? In addressing this question, Antonia Maioni rejects the argument that the difference is a product of an American value system based on "the synthesis of individualism and universalism, preference for limited government, and the emphasis on self-reliance" (p. 28) contrasted to the Canadian emphasis on "collective values and the positive role of governments" or a deference to elites and public authority (p. 29). Indeed, her careful analysis of documents from the 1930s and 1940s suggests that there was at least as much popular and even political elite support for a public health insurance system in the United States as there was in Canada.

For an explanation, Maioni looks at how institutions shape the politics of health reform. In particular, she shows how the separation of powers in the United States, in contrast to the parliamentary system in Canada, makes it both more difficult to coordinate disparate reform agendas and easier for well-organized groups to influence legislators. Both countries have federal systems. Maioni argues, however, that the more decentralized power structure in Canada makes it easier for third parties to emerge in ways that influence national policies and for the federal government to become involved in provincial jurisdictions through its spending powers.

Institutional rules made it possible for a Social Democratic Party not only to emerge in Canada but also to gain power at the provincial level and to introduce a public health care insurance system that served as a model for the federal program. At the same time, institutional arrangements in the United States prevented the development of an independent Left voice. Instead, the Democratic Party became the main vehicle for health reform.

Within the context of these institutional constraints, Maioni pays particular attention to the influence of organized labor and organized medicine. The differences across the border could be found not in each group's position in the 1930s and 1940s but rather in their ability "to translate their demands through the political system" (p. 157). Her analysis of the 1950s and 1960s reveals how, in Canada, labor worked with and through the Social Democratic Party to maintain the demand for universal and comprehensive public insurance. At the federal level, labor was helped by the demonstrated success of public insurance in the province of Saskatchewan, where a Social Democratic government was in office. In relation to hospital insurance, physicians were less consistent and less powerful than organized labor in part because of the role played by the Social Democratic Party. The Canadian Medical Association was nevertheless successful in limiting public medical coverage to public payment for physicians' private practices.

The situation was reversed, Maioni argues, in the United States, where institutional arrangements meant that labor was less powerful, while the opposite was the case for the American Medical Association (AMA). The absence of Canadian-style party discipline, combined with the major role played by committee leadership at the federal level and the separation of powers, favored the AMA's opposition to national health insurance. Meanwhile, labor's political alliances forced a fundamental compromise that led to the abandonment of universal coverage. Maioni also examines politicians and bureaucrats in terms of these constraints, explaining how, on each side of the border they, too, were forced to compromise. We hear much less, however, about other organized groups such as nurses and corporations. Given the major roles these groups currently play in health reform, it would be interesting to know how she would extend her analyses to include them to the extent that she does doctors and traditional organized labor.

This case-based historical comparison offers much more than details on the nature of health care in Canada and the United States. It provides a way of understanding differences in the health care systems that takes into account both institutional arrangements and actors in a very broad political arena. It therefore provides insights and evidence that will be useful not only to those interested in health care but also to those

interested in how change is possible and why compromise is necessary.

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DENIS SMITH. *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*. Paperback edition. Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross. 1998. Pp. xiii, 702. \$24.96.

A recent ranking of Canadian prime ministers by a group of historians and political scientists placed John Diefenbaker thirteenth among twenty. Those below him held the office for less than two years and had no time to make a strong imprint on the country. Diefenbaker had the chance and left an imprint, but most think it badly smudged.

Denis Smith's biography describes the exciting promise Diefenbaker appeared to represent when, to their surprise, Canadians elected the Progressive Conservatives in 1957. He also argues convincingly that Diefenbaker's governments between 1957 and 1963 were often innovative and reflected in their policies voices that were only faintly heard in Canadian politics during the long period of Liberal dominance after World War I. Diefenbaker himself was a remarkable parliamentarian who dominated almost every debate in which he participated. He demonstrated considerable political skill in taking a party long dominated by eastern Canadian financial interests, giving it a populist voice, and broadening its appeal to western Canada. His success in western Canada endured for over a generation and created a political base for Conservative governments in the 1980s. Diefenbaker claimed that he dragged his party "kicking and screaming" into the twentieth century, and his sympathy for the outsider and the disadvantaged made his Conservative government more progressive than its Liberal predecessor. He was a leader who changed his times, even though most scholars mark him a failure.

Smith does not disagree with this evaluation, but this excellent biography is sympathetic to Diefenbaker and, to some degree, to his legacy. He points out, rightly, that Diefenbaker may have saved the Canadian Conservative Party by creating a solid base of western and rural English Canadian support. Smith also claims that Diefenbaker "established compassion, fairness and equal justice as principles of national policy" (p. 577). In his next sentence, however, Smith admits that Diefenbaker's political career "ended in failure." That failure was the product of "his insecurity, indecisiveness, lack of trust, erratic and uncontrolled temperament, disorganization, unreflectiveness, and unrestrained zeal for power" (p. 578). His faults do not lie gently, but one senses in Smith's biography some understanding of the puzzle of a leader who became very quickly out of tune with his times.

Diefenbaker, a teetotaling, small-town Baptist, became increasingly a voice of Canada's past as Canada in the 1960s grew enraptured with the glamor of

Camelot in Washington and frightened by the implications of nationalism in Quebec. Diefenbaker could not enter these new worlds; cosmopolitan style was alien to him, and the unilingual Diefenbaker found Quebec a foreign land. Faced with challenges he could not meet, he responded erratically, indecisively, and foolishly.

In another time, Diefenbaker might have done better, but he was too old and had too many enemies and too little experience to react to the rapid change in Canada in the 1960s. In this fine biography, Smith explains why Diefenbaker's vision of Canada's future enthralled Canadians. He also tells us why that vision failed and why the failure was so much the product of the limitations of Diefenbaker himself. He was not the man for the times, but this biography gives the reader a sense of who Diefenbaker was and how he changed Canada.

JOHN ENGLISH
University of Waterloo

JOHN T. NOONAN, JR., *The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. 436. \$35.00.

This book represents John T. Noonan, Jr.'s mature reflection on American church-state relations. Noonan is a longtime legal scholar and Reagan-appointed appeals court judge who has written widely on constitutional issues, most having to do with some aspect of religion, law, or politics. The style and approach Noonan takes in this book are varied, to say the least. Some chapters are historical interpretation and reflection, while others are pure literary invention. But even the latter are very well informed historically.

It is in the area of literary invention that Noonan shows real flair as a creative author. Chapter four, "The Foremost of Our Political Institutions," is billed as "Excerpts from the unpublished account of her observations in America in 1835 by Angelique de Toqueville, the keen-eyed younger sister of the famous Alexis" (p. 95). I must confess to being momentarily embarrassed by my ignorance of the existence of Toqueville's very talented sister. Of course, there was no such sister, or if there were, she never wrote this chapter. Rather, Noonan invented the whole essay to show that when Toqueville opined that religion in America "never mixes directly in the government of the society," he really was ignoring all sorts of ways in which religion did, in fact, so mix.

Another of Noonan's literary inventions can be found in chapter seven, "The Pilgrim's Process." In the genre of the famous John Bunyan classic, Samuel Simple is trying to get a handle on church-state jurisprudence before taking a seat on the federal bench. Determined to defend religious liberty, Simple exclaims naïvely to his law clerks, "All I need to do is keep government out of religion, and religion out of government" (p. 181). The clerks—who go by the

names Light, Heavy, Harvardman, and Boaltman—proceed to explain that church-state relations are not quite as simple as the late Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black would have had us believe.

Although these two chapters may well be the highlights of the book in terms of literary creativity, there is great value in all the rest as well. The book's thirteen chapters are divided into three parts. The analysis moves from the history of religious liberty in America, to problems attendant on any attempt to achieve real liberty and, finally, to ways in which America's effort has influenced other countries and even the Roman Catholic Church. The underlying theme is clear: the attempt to protect religious liberty, however imperfectly and incompletely accomplished, constitutes "the lustre of our country," to use the words of James Madison.

The most instructive element of the book, and a major part of its underlying thesis, is Noonan's studied view that the story of religious liberty has been and remains a very complex aspect of American society, perhaps its most difficult. Church-state relations are the major feature of America's contemporary religious-political squabbles, which are often referred to as our culture wars. To listen to either side of this public debate is to get the impression that the answers are easy. One side would have us believe that separation of church and state can and should be realized absolutely—Simple's view. The other believes that somehow the state can either accommodate or even favor a particular faith without putting the others at a disadvantage. Noonan knows that both approaches are fraught with great tension and danger.

Noonan is also acutely aware that one's views of church-state relations and religion and politics are related to one's own life experiences and background. Political theorist John Rawls may believe there is a veil behind which people can go when doing their politics that will result in religiously neutral activity, but Noonan does not. He therefore begins the book with an autobiographical prologue that covers his own upbringing in a very Catholic section of Boston, where church and state may have been technically separate, but religion and politics were so intertwined that one could hardly tell where one ended and the other began. Moreover, Noonan accepts that his own Catholic faith influences his views of religious liberty and separation of church and state.

Overall, this is a creative and valuable series of essay-like reflections on one of the most important topics in American history. Noonan seeks not so much to settle the issues as to remind us that the process of achieving religious liberty must be an ongoing effort, and that the effort is a worthy one.

BARRY HANKINS
Baylor University

EDWARD G. GRAY, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 185. \$35.00.

This book by Edward G. Gray joins the body of literature that examines how Euro-American writings on Indians reflected more about their authors' needs and cultures than those of the peoples under scrutiny. It explores developments in the study of language to help explain changes in non-Native perceptions of Native Americans from Christopher Columbus to Henry David Thoreau.

Gray begins by discussing how, starting with Columbus, Europeans were fascinated by the diversity of Native American languages and the perception that language in the New World did not mark the boundaries of distinct cultures. Some saw this as proof for the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. Others, attuned to the emerging Enlightenment, saw it as showing that the lack of central authority violated natural law. But all agreed that it helped to illustrate the universal corruption of human culture since its perfect origins.

In a fascinating chapter, Gray sheds new light on the often-discussed contest in the northeast to convert Indians. Jesuit missionaries complained that Native languages lacked the abstract terms necessary to communicate the truth and despaired of teaching Latin to the savages. They therefore tended to rely on performance and pictures, as approved by the church, to demonstrate the sacraments. Puritans were far more utilitarian in their approach, having long believed in the need for all to read the Bible. Thus John Eliot, who demanded that Indians live like civilized Englishmen before they could properly understand Christianity, spent much of his time and energy translating the Bible into the Massachusett language—something the Jesuits abhorred. With regard to language, the Puritans were, amazingly enough, *more* tolerant than their Catholic counterparts.

Gray next turns to how the Enlightenment changed the ways in which Euro-Americans viewed Native American languages and cultures. John Locke eliminated Babel as the source of human diversity; instead, different language grew naturally out of the different experiences of discrete groups. Refinement of human culture over time had distorted man's perfect past—including his primordial language. European and American Enlightenment thinkers came to view "primitive" Indian tongues as a way to understand the "fundamental and universal human nature . . . obscured over time by layers of social refinement and intellectual growth" (pp. 93–94). Thus Native vocabularies offered the best insight into the long-forgotten human (European) past. The perceived oratorical genius of Indians fit this model: "Instead of the opaque words of civil society, such people uttered transparent words derived not from calculation and politics but from sensation and emotion" (p. 106).

Finally, Gray discusses how, after 1800, ideas of human universality were replaced by Romantic notions of unchangeable national and racial differences. Thomas Jefferson attempted, through comparisons of words, to prove Enlightenment theories about human universality and establish the ancient roots of Indian

cultures. But stung by critics, Jefferson later confessed that he had problems believing America had been settled very long, and that he believed that the diversity of Native languages was due to their speakers' simple and savage nature. This had important policy implications, for it supported the idea that Indian mental deficiencies made "civilizing" doubtful. Thus "[v]isions of a new utopian epoch, founded above all on a faith in the unity and uniformity of human nature, gave way to cynicism and a despairing sense that fundamental differences in human nature made the world's cultures incompatible" (p. 139). Romantics such as Peter Du Ponceau, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Thoreau celebrated the Indians' distinctive proclivity for poetic speech. But others saw the need deliberately to eliminate Indian languages so that they could understand and embrace civilization and urged the inculcation of a single language (obviously English) to cement the nation's bonds.

This is a useful although somewhat flawed work. Gray's use of linguistics to analyze Euro-American perceptions sheds new light but also contains pitfalls. He keeps his discussions of symbolism and other "technical" issues fairly simple and contextual but often loses focus in extended discussions of various European schools of linguistic or human development, such as Lockean ideas about rhetoric and logic or the later passion for Orientalism and Sanskrit. More attention should have been devoted to how Indians saw their languages and resisted teaching them to Europeans in order to protect their cultures. But on the whole, this is a fascinating study that covers an unusually wide timespan.

DANIEL MANDELL
Truman State University

DAVID LA VERE. *The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700–1835*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 198. \$45.00.

Several excellent books on the Caddos have appeared in recent years, some by archaeologists, some by anthropologists, and some by historians. David La Vere takes an interdisciplinary, ethnological approach, and as a result his study contributes significantly to ongoing scholarly efforts to understand the Caddo's long—but to modern viewers often confusing—history.

The Caddos, who may at one time have numbered some 250,000 or more people, lived across a wide area that embraced eastern Texas, eastern Oklahoma, and western Arkansas. Their homeland was at the western edge of the southern forests, and they hunted both the woodlands and the prairie plains. They fished the lakes and rivers near their villages. They were also skilled traders whose numerous communities stood astride important trade routes connecting the Pueblo region of modern New Mexico on the west with residents of the Mississippi Valley on the east and the Gulf of Mexico on the south with Indian groups to their north.

But mainly they were horticulturists who raised corn, beans, squash, and other crops on the rich bottom lands of their well-watered territory. If La Vere is correct, the Caddos lived comfortably and profitably with an economy that employed hunting, fishing, farming, and trading to considerable advantage.

Caddo society dates to at least the eighth century C.E. It is part of the extensive Mississippian cultural tradition that reached a peak in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and was dominated by maize cultivation. Community leaders or chiefs, who controlled production from the fields, came to master the local economy and by extension village politics.

Thus, each Caddo village was a chiefdom: a community dominated by a leader and perhaps his kin who governed production and politics. Through diplomacy or force, some chiefs with their kin groups came to rule neighboring villages, and over time a chiefdom might become very large indeed. Chiefdoms rose and fell, however, depending upon the power and influence of the chiefs. Or, as La Vere indicates, perhaps an extended drought that ruined crops and brought famine might bring down a chiefdom; such an event broke apart the great Caddo chiefdom of Spiro on the Arkansas River in present-day eastern Oklahoma. The extended, but shifting, fortunes of the many chiefdom alliances—both large and small—account for much of the modern confusion about Caddo politics.

La Vere presents his study of Caddo politics and economics in seven thematic rather than chronological chapters. He covers, for example, the rise of the Caddo peoples, the Caddos in the horse and gun trade with whites, the changes in Caddo society that came as a result of white contact, the role of Osage and Choctaw raids in extending the power of the ancient Kadohadacho chiefdom, and the American appropriation of Caddo lands. But he also covers the growth of the Mississippian chiefdom political tradition, the importance of Caddo kinship, and the role of religion, exchange, and reciprocity in the development of Caddo society. His account of Caddos as producers and consumers in the hide and gun trade with whites is particularly good.

La Vere's sources are archaeological and anthropological as well as historical. He used the extensive Bexar Archives in San Antonio and other Spanish sources in Europe. The French sources, apparently, were few, but Americans wrote in detail about the Caddos. Still, the thematic approach allows La Vere to maintain balance in his coverage of Spanish, French, and American contact and in his coverage of the Caddo's pre-contact experience. The result is good ethnohistory.

In sum, the book is a short but excellent account of the Caddo's long existence in the region, and the author argues impressively that Caddo political and economic traditions allowed them to bend European needs to their own advantage. In such a sense, the book is revisionary. In that the Caddos, rather than whites, are the focal point of Indian-white contact, it

also represents a fine example of the New Indian History.

PAUL H. CARLSON
Texas Tech University

JEAN-PIERRE SAWAYA. *La fédération des sept feux de la Vallée du Saint-Laurent: XVII^e-XIX^e siècle*. Sillery, Quebec: Septentrion. 1998. Pp. 217. \$19.95.

With the conquest of New France by British forces in 1760, Native peoples living in villages along the St. Lawrence River were forced to negotiate a new alliance. The Seven Nations of Canada brought together Mohawks, Abenakis, Hurons, Algonquins, and Nipissings who lived in missions and appear in Indian Department documents with increasing frequency after the 1760s. This book by Jean-Pierre Sawaya attempts to trace the organization and importance of this league based on information found in government reports of its diplomatic activity.

The federation appears to have been organized along the same lines as other Native political groupings in the Northeast, but Catholicism rather than ethnicity was the unifying force. Local affairs were the concern of individual communities, but matters of common interest and relations with British authorities were discussed at councils held at the Mohawk village of Kahnawake. This explains why representatives from the League were sometimes referred to as Caughnawagas, when on diplomatic missions, regardless of their origins. Sawaya has mined official reports for information on the election of chiefs, the ceremonies at council sessions, and the significance of kinship terminology in speeches. As in other native councils, oratorical skills were highly valued and consensus was essential to reach decisions. All this is very familiar to ethnohistorians, and there is little new information presented. Diplomatic relations are the focus of the second half of the book. After a chapter on the ritual of diplomatic meetings that includes discussions of the importance of wampum, tobacco, and presents in diplomatic relations, Sawaya attempts to demonstrate that the League was a key diplomatic institution in European-Native relations from the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

The author defends two main theses: that the federation existed since the seventeenth century, and that it played a central diplomatic role in British-Native relations after 1776. The first is difficult to defend, as it is based on declarations made at the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century. During the French period, there is no reference in official documents to a federation of praying Indians. Authorities dealt with individual native villages separately and competition between missionaries in the Montreal region kept Sulpician and Jesuit communities separate. Most of the Natives had migrated to the St. Lawrence as refugees and were dependent on French support. This was hardly a context likely to foster the development of an independent political entity, and

there was no mention of such a league at the peace of Montreal in 1701, the most important Franco-Native diplomatic event in the history of New France. Only with British forces closing in on New France would there have been a motivation to band together for mutual protection. The strength and effectiveness of the League in its internal relations and in those with colonial authorities is uncertain, and the author admits that members never resolved territorial disputes (p. 47). The Seven Nations were undoubtedly active diplomats, but the claim that they played the central role in British relations with other Native peoples after the beginning of the Revolution (p. 168) is exaggerated.

Not all masters theses are worthy to be published, and, unfortunately, this is one of them. There is perhaps sufficient substance for a good article, but the author belabors the obvious and is repetitious. Sawaya has done considerable research into government documents, but the existing literature and the overall context in which the sources were generated are largely ignored. His view of Native-European relations is synchronic with no indication that relations might have evolved during the two centuries considered. Although Sawaya promises to unearth Native strategies, this promise is not fulfilled; a more complete study of the overall context of European-Native relations is necessary. It would have been useful to describe the history of the League and its changing relationship with authorities as the military and diplomatic contexts changed and the praying towns became more peripheral to colonial politics.

JOHN A. DICKINSON
University of Montreal

ARMSTRONG STARKEY. *European and Native American Warfare, 1675–1815*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 208. \$39.95.

In his preface to this monograph, Armstrong Starkey notes that “European and Native American warfare is well travelled ground in North American historiography” (p. vii). That being the case, the reader of this account of early frontier conflicts must immediately ask, what new insights are here? The value of Starkey’s work lies primarily in his lucid synthesis of a varied body of secondary literature. He also offers a fresh perspective on an old question. Through a careful assessment of recent scholarship undergirded by some primary source citations, Starkey contends that Native Americans by 1665 had undergone a military “revolution that for 140 years gave them a tactical advantage over their more numerous and wealthier opponents.” That statement may well surprise the reader familiar with the customary accounting of Native American vulnerabilities: susceptibility to infectious diseases of European origin, technological inferiority, inability to produce significant economic surpluses combined with dependency on European trade, and perennial inability to unite in common opposition to the invader. Starkey discounts none of those factors. He argues,

however, that success in frontier battle came to the invaders only through “striking the right balance between their military traditions and the Indian way of war” (p. viii).

Although the matchlock muskets Europeans brought into the American wilderness in the early 1600s were cumbersome and inefficient, the introduction of the flintlock by midcentury and of the rifle a century later revolutionized the “Indian way of war.” By combining traditional tactics, which emphasized stealth, surprise, and minimization of one’s own casualties, with use of modern weaponry, Native Americans not only learned from the invader but “became the most formidable marksmen in the seventeenth and eighteenth century world.” Indians not only learned to use and repair guns but also developed “battlefield . . . tactics more sophisticated than those of their European opponents,” who “remained for the most part an agrarian people with little skill in hunting or marksmanship” (p. 22). The commonplace assumption that colonials understood frontier war better than British officers is, in Starkey’s analysis, simply not valid, a few notable exceptions such as Benjamin Church and Robert Rogers notwithstanding. When colonial forces in the mid-eighteenth century did learn the lessons of “irregular war,” their mentors were often English officers. But despite the accomplishments of innovators such as Henry Bouquet, emulation of the Indian way of war in itself did not win the continent. More decisive in Indian defeat were Euro-American “material wealth, population density, and political decisiveness” (p. 39). Indians “were never able to present a united front to European enemies” (p. 168). Nor were they able to sustain long-term war, but remained in need of “a European ally who could provide economic and technical assistance, and sanctuary for families driven from their homes” (p. 168). In light of these considerations, Starkey’s earlier insistence on Indian tactical superiority as a serious obstacle to European occupation of the continent seems somewhat overstated, particularly given his own conclusion that there was “little change in weapons, technology, or tactics” (p. 167) during the century and a half between King Philip and Tecumseh.

Starkey’s analysis would have been strengthened by closer attention to the internal politics of the Indian tribes; to intertribal trade, war, and diplomacy; and to the nature of their economic dependency on Europeans, for therein lie keys to the disunity and indecision that was ultimately so subversive of Native American independence. Even so, there are many reasons to recommend this book. Starkey’s prose is felicitous, his judgments generally are sound, and his account offers a succinct introduction to a complex problem. All in all, he provides us with a most welcome addition to the growing literature on the collision of cultures in colonial America.

ALFRED A. CAVE
University of Toledo

EMERSON W. BAKER and JOHN G. REID. *The New England Knight: Sir William Phips, 1651–1695*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 359. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

William Phips is uncommonly challenging for biographical study by professional historians. The first half of his short life was spent in illiterate, unchurched, and undocumented obscurity on the Kennebec River frontier, where he had been born. This period becomes about four percent of Emerson W. Baker and John G. Reid's biography only with great diligence and the help of archaeology, genealogy, and Cotton Mather's unreliable, self-interested biography of Phips. His next decade, as a Boston shipwright married above his station to widow Mary Spencer Hull, was punctuated by narrow escapes from Abenaki raiders who disrupted his shipbuilding on the Maine frontier in 1676 and from litigious creditors who descended on him in the wake of that misfortune.

Another major scholarly difficulty comes in explaining the wonders of Phips as a treasure hunter of the 1680s. His first secretive ventures to the Bahamas in search of Spanish wrecks were documented only when he was sued for cheating crewmen of their shares. By September 1683, the boorish and rough-spoken Phips was a projector in London who had somehow charmed the Navy Board, the Lord High Admiral, and perhaps King Charles II into lending him a small naval frigate for what proved a moderately profitable voyage. A second voyage with prominent London backers made Phips famous when the remains of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* yielded over £200,000 worth of gold and silver. Baker and Reid, like most professional historians and social scientists, have trouble admitting the role of luck. We are told instead that Phips succeeded where others had failed by the "harnessing of his acquisitiveness and commercial ambitions to the demands of English patrons and to the needs of an empire" (p. 26).

The last seven years of the now-knighted Phips's life are much better documented and thoroughly reconstructed here. Although appointed provost marshal general of James II's Dominion of New England, he was in the Mathers' camp during the 1689 revolution, during Phips's expeditions to Acadia and Québec, and during the negotiation of the controversial new charter. The patronage behind his appointment as governor, and his dismissal, remains a mystery, because Phips was defending himself in London on both occasions and was even less likely than usual to write to his Tory patrons, or to Increase Mather's Whig ones.

The story of this least literate governor of the English empire between 1692 and 1695 is complicated enough to prompt Baker and Reid to switch from chronological to topical treatment, with chapters on the Salem witch trials, the Maine frontier, Massachusetts political factions, and imperial politics. The witch trials are given a frontier interpretation, and the best thing for which Phips might be remembered—the

ending of those witch trials—seems to have been prompted by genuine fear of accusations against his wife and himself by those who could find a demonic explanation for amazing luck. The extravagant building of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid was not only the work of a wartime governor pouring money into his native neighborhood and gratifying politically helpful contractors; Phips was also speculating privately in lands that the fort soon failed to protect. Phips proved awkward and arbitrary in Massachusetts political maneuverings. If he was moving toward colonial Whiggery, his imperial friends were few, and Tory. His Jacobite English cousin and personal agent, Sir Constantine Phipps, was appointed as one of Massachusetts' agents. In the aftermath of the English Revolution that destroyed most of his best English contacts, Phips came to rely upon Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham, the moderate Tory secretary of state who was purged in 1693. Although some general readers will be grateful for the topical treatment of Sir William's governorship, this approach loses the interconnections between these perspectives, and simplifies Phips's confrontation with various simultaneous challenges and opportunities.

This detailed and durable account of Phips's public life avoids even the most obvious judgments and makes only passing reference to academic theories of the frontier, garrison governors, gentlemanly capitalism, or the growing price of illiteracy in public office. From the evidence so cautiously presented, Phips emerges as a brutal, greedy, unscrupulous, self-important, and purposefully uncouth "self-fashioner" who would be able to teach something to the most brazen modern buccaneer capitalist.

IAN K. STEELE
University of Western Ontario

CHRISTOPHER GRASSO. *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, in association with the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1999. Pp. viii, 511. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Christopher Grasso has written an important book. Historians of public life throughout the early modern Atlantic world will want to explore his account of how the learned men of eighteenth-century Connecticut—the speaking aristocracy—reshaped their discursive practices in an age of revolution. They may come away wondering about how these practices were received by the less learned.

Grasso is most concerned with the "human struggle to articulate and persuade" (p. 11). He poses three goals at the outset: to define the relationship between written and spoken texts and their cultural and political contexts and to examine how "the social role of the learned man" (p. 12) was constituted in discursive practice and in a reciprocal dialectic with evolving conceptions of moral order. To these ends, Grasso

centers his book on a series of six cameo case studies of leading men of letters, each a gem of intellectual microhistory, bracketed by a carefully crafted introduction, conclusion, and opening and closing chapters. In three sections, the major Yale College presidents of the century—Thomas Clapp, Ezra Stiles, and Timothy Dwight—are coupled with Jonathan Edwards, Jared Eliot, and John Trumbull, each the focus of a single chapter. In the first section, Grasso uses Edwards, with the early Edwardseans, and Clapp, defending the religious prerogatives of his college, to explore Awakening and post-Awakening efforts to regulate Connecticut's moral order in light of a broad movement from covenant to conscience. In the second section, Eliot and Stiles are ground for Grasso's exploration of the implications of the empirical and sentimental styles of mid-eighteenth-century currents of Enlightenment learning. In the third section (with the conclusion taking up almost half the book), Trumbull's literary career in the rising Connecticut press and Dwight's redefinition of Connecticut orthodoxy are paired to set the stage for a nuanced and powerful exploration of discourse and political change in revolutionary Connecticut to 1800.

It is impossible to do justice to the deep research, careful thought, and skillful writing that have gone into this book. Few works in the new cultural history can boast the deft moves that Grasso makes from Edwardsean New Divinity to agricultural reform to neoplatonic sensibilities to the early press to revolutionary and postrevolutionary politics. In so doing, he has provided a map of the relations between the content and forms of public intellectual life among a learned gentry in an eighteenth-century province, as well as of the persuasive vehicles and public objectives that underlay gentility and its cultural authority. But his breadth, and the analytical choices that Grasso has made, create their own problems. Thus, his chapters on mid-century theological debates suffer because the discursive practices involved—those of sermon and pamphlet—are relatively static, and the defenses of orthodox institutions are reasonably well understood. He gives little space to the Separate New Light challenge. His essay on Eliot's plans for orderly empire and improved agriculture is a useful addition to the growing intellectual history of nature and landscape, but it needs better comparison with the projects of the Susquehanna Company, which was advancing a very different vision of the future.

Such considerations open up questions about some of Grasso's fundamental assumptions. The authority of these learned men has to be assumed, since Grasso's analysis leaves unexplored the problem of the reception of learned discourse; this is a study in the production of rhetoric, but not of its impact. Among the learned discourse was an exchange that comprised the practice itself. Between the learned and others, discourse was a one-way street, with the "aristocracy" speaking and the "democracy" presumably listening. If so, we do not know how they listened, and if they were

indeed silent, because such questions stand unattended in Grasso's analytical design. Thus Grasso's decision to confine his primary attention to men of learning, and particularly to the orthodox men of Yale, leaves most of the people of Connecticut in the shadows. Perhaps they only began to move into the light of public discourse with the Revolution and the onset of party politics, as Grasso argues in his absorbing final chapters. But without evidence of their reception of the discourse of the "speaking aristocracy," we have no way of knowing its true authority among the so-called "silent democracy."

JOHN L. BROOKE
Tufts University

MARGARET ELLEN NEWELL. *From Dependency to Independence: Economic Revolution in Colonial New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 329. \$39.95.

From the moment of initial European settlement, Americans spent a lot of time trying to make sense of the Old World. Although often proclaiming their own superior virtue, the colonists never severed ties with a complex, dynamic Atlantic system in which migrants and merchants, evangelists and soldiers constantly circulated, challenging at every turn the assumptions and beliefs of Britain's American provinces.

Margaret Ellen Newell situates her ambitious survey of economic thought in prerevolutionary New England within this broad interpretive field, arguing that for almost two centuries the people who lived and ultimately flourished in this unpromising region struggled to accommodate their own economic aspirations to the shifting demands of those in London who controlled commercial policy. Newell's New Englanders tried as best they could to transform structural dependency into expansive prosperity, a project so frustrating that ultimately it eroded the bonds of empire.

The long conversation between Great Britain and the New England colonies over economic development would have been a non-starter, of course, had the settlers turned their backs on commercial capitalism, trying to create in the American wilderness a genuinely self-sufficient society bent on discouraging market-oriented behavior. In recent years various historians have interpreted the character of the prerevolutionary New England economy in precisely these terms. Newell will have none of it. Seventeenth-century Puritan migrants participated enthusiastically in Atlantic commerce, trading local products for manufactured goods. To be sure, the founders of Massachusetts Bay attempted to restrain economic self-interest, but in no sense did they regard the transfer to the New World as a revolt against capitalism. Newell finds scant evidence to support arguments for a "local trade based on barter, neighborliness, and reciprocity" (p. 96). During the eighteenth century, the case for non-market behavior becomes even weaker. New Englanders found nothing threatening or objectionable about liberal

commercial values and impersonal modes of transatlantic trade. According to Newell, modern historians, not colonial Americans, have "romanticized" the putative survival of "cashless local exchange networks" (p. 119). She responds by observing that "contemporaries found nothing romantic about the difficulties inherent in a barter system—particularly matching the needs of would-be buyers and sellers" (p. 119).

By joining Carole Shammas and other economic historians in exposing the myth of self-sufficiency, Newell is free to focus her attention on what New Englanders actually had to say about strategies of economic development. As it turns out, they were far more experimental and innovative than most historians have realized. Newell offers a fresh perspective on the bitter currency debates that divided New Englanders for most of the eighteenth century. Chronic shortages of specie stifled commerce. In an effort to bring a measure of prosperity to more people, provincial authors such as the Reverend John Wise and John Colman advocated a fluid, accessible paper currency, a move that proponents of hard money insisted would encourage ordinary men and women to indulge themselves with consumer luxuries, spark ruinous inflation, and alienate powerful British merchants on whom the colony depended.

But Wise, Colman, and others of their persuasion advanced powerful counter-arguments against what were often little more than elite attempts to control the spending of the lower classes. The economic reformers understood that consumer desire was an essential element in stimulating local productivity. In other words, increasing the money supply would energize both consumption and production. Although New Englanders never joined Bernard Mandeville in celebrating private vices in the name of the general welfare, they did entertain startlingly new ideas. "The colonists," Newell declares, "explored the positive uses of luxury . . . the civilizing benefits of commerce; the benign effects of self-love; and the crucial contributions of the domestic sector to national wealth" (p. 161).

The overall presentation suffers occasionally from jarring comparisons between the colonists' own descriptions of the political economy and those put forward by more modern economists. One learns, for example, that although some New England writers "sounded like [John Maynard] Keynes, others embraced an almost Hamiltonian logic" (p. 174). Newell reminds readers that in the mid-eighteenth century "no Federal Reserve existed to adjust money supply" (p. 113). Such comments betray a teleological perspective informing the entire project. Had Newell been less concerned with theories of economic development, she might have examined in more detail—especially in the sections dealing with the eighteenth century—the relation between economic thought and competing discourses that gained public attention.

T. H. BREEN
Northwestern University

ELAINE FORMAN CRANE. *Ebb Tide in New England: Women, Seaports, and Social Change, 1630–1800*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 333. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

What, Elaine Forman Crane asks, was the impact of an increasingly female population in the cities of colonial New England? Her surprising verdict is that increased numbers led to decreased power. Starting in Europe and including African-American and Native American examples, Crane concludes the story was one of decline. She accordingly swings the historiographic pendulum back from female agency in a patriarchal world to female victimization by a patriarchal world. In fact, stressing female agency, Crane claims, "lets patriarchy off the hook" (p. 3) and even "distorts history" (p. 4).

Crane finds a great deal of evidence in her sources that stubbornly refuses to conform to her paradigm. Such things she labels "puzzling" (p. 155), "rather surprising" (p. 219), an "irony" (p. 170), or a "curious exception" (p. 123). I would like to propose that what appears paradoxical may in fact reflect a more complex truth. The first sentence of the prologue states that "this is a book about today" (p. 3) because female urban poverty is still with us. I think this statement reflects a common tendency to look at the colonial past through modern eyes. Historical lives can be poorly interpreted using our own sense of what we would prefer as women in the present. For example, we look at institutions of colonial America and find women absent. We then make the assumption that women would have wanted to be present. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that women felt excluded or even victimized. Are we really sure this kind of formulation is appropriate?

Let us settle into the complexity. What if, for example, family imperatives trumped gendered power? Looking at Crane's evidence from this perspective, one might argue that a woman listed by her husband's name was not simply one more example of patriarchy's power but also represented the need, both socially and individually, to be marked as a member of a particular family. Similarly, rather than seeing the number of women on the charity roles as a simple measure of the relative size of female poverty, why not think of the same statistic in terms of the likelihood of receiving alms. Women, particularly widowed women with children, were the remnants of a truncated family and, therefore, worthy objects of charity. Poor men, on the other hand, were failed providers, blameworthy even within a corporate family system, reluctant even to ask for help, and turned away when they did.

Crane's need for a crisp historical picture similarly clouds her perspective on the work of other historians. She takes on almost everyone who has worked on early American gender. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's idea of "deputy husband" is too rosy, Nancy F. Cott's interpretation of revolutionary divorce and female power is "somewhat patronizing—even demeaning" (p. 191), Linda K. Kerber has wrongly identified Republican

Motherhood as unique to the American revolutionary era, and Jan Lewis and Melvin Yazawa's arguments about affectionate families in the Revolution misdate this social phenomenon. For some time, European historians have been arguing that the affectionate family is not a product of the early modern period. Crane overstates the newness of her insights and the failings of her predecessors. Crane's straw women and men are missing some of their stuffing. She also at times makes broad, strongly worded statements with minimal documentation. For example, she claims that "according to sociologists, men are less able to control women from a distance" (p. 202), and then gives us no sense of who these sociologists are and the context in which such ideas were constructed. I am sympathetic to some of what she argues, but her dramatic style makes it hard to find her persuasive.

If the reader can get past all this, the last chapter on the American Revolution is the most effective, even if it is not well linked to the New England seaport focus of the book. I cannot, however, find much else to recommend here. Crane's arguments seem dated and lacking in subtlety. She wants the women she studies to be modern feminists and is disappointed when they fail to make the cut. This kind of approach does itself distort history. The story of early America is often unappealing to modern sensibilities, but we must try to keep our preferences from unduly influencing our interpretations. I suspect that behind Crane's paradoxical evidence is a messy and complex story waiting to be told.

LISA WILSON
Connecticut College

JAYNE E. TRIBER. *A True Republican: The Life of Paul Revere*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1998. Pp. x, 314. \$29.95.

With republicanism becoming a more protean concept with each passing year, Jayne E. Triber boldly proclaims Paul Revere to be a "true republican." Very much aware of the "slippery" and "contested" nature of republicanism today, she believes scholars must investigate even more closely the principles espoused by individual republicans of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in order to reach a better understanding of republicanism itself. With this in mind, she searches for the sources of Revere's republican vision: "a society based on social order and harmony, virtue and benevolence, and the opportunity for advancement based on achievement" (p. 3).

This search begins in Boston's North End, where the North Writing School, the New Brick Church, and an apprenticeship with his father—a master goldsmith—shaped Revere's boyhood. On his father's death in 1752, Revere inherited a fully stocked goldsmith's shop and over the years became a master at his trade. He also became a member of the artisan-dominated St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons, which expanded his cultural and intellectual horizons immensely. Young

Revere's political awakening came in 1765 with the Stamp Act crisis. Employing his skills as an engraver, he began to create masterful political cartoons supporting the American cause. Soon Revere joined the North End Caucus and became an active member of the Sons of Liberty. By the time of his famous midnight ride of April 19, 1775, he had already become the most trusted courier of the Boston Committee of Correspondence.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, Revere ardently desired an appointment in the Continental Army, but he had to be satisfied with the rank of major in a local militia unit. Following a decidedly lackluster military experience, Revere settled back into life in the North End, where he prospered as an incredibly talented silversmith. Over time, he expanded his interests to include a silver plating mill, a mercantile business, bell casting, the manufacture of brass ship fittings, and the formation of a copper sheeting mill in Canton, Massachusetts. By the time he launched his operation in Canton, Revere had purchased a three-story brick mansion in the North End, and shortly thereafter he built a summer home in Canton. By this time, too, he had become a zealous supporter of the Federalist party. Upon his death, May 10, 1818, at the age of eighty-three, Revere was a true gentleman of property and standing.

During each stage of Revere's life—whether master artisan or ambitious entrepreneur eagerly seeking governmental assistance—Triber links his thoughts and actions to the classical republican ideals of "liberty and equality based on individual merit" as well as to an "equally fervent belief in the necessity of virtue—the sacrifice of private interest to the public good" (p. 2). The paucity of Revere papers, however, makes this a difficult task. In an attempt to overcome the handicap, Triber asserts that Revere's "ideology must be deciphered as much through his actions as through his words" (p. 1). This, too, has severe limitations. All too often the reader encounters statements such as "Whether Paul Revere was one of the artisans and tradesmen who carried the effigies of Oliver and Bute in the procession of August 14 is not known, but his reputable standing in the community as a master goldsmith and Freemason and his many ties to the artisans, mariners, and laborers of the North End would have made him an appropriate choice" (p. 44).

Being forced repeatedly to extrapolate Revere's life from his times seriously weakens Triber's desire to reveal the beliefs of a true republican. While republicanism itself is not the creation of the historian's art, Revere's republicanism as explicated by Triber certainly is. Revere's ideological beliefs do not emerge from an intensive analysis of the sources; rather, Triber imposes them upon her subject. Consequently, they contribute precious little fresh insight into our current understanding of republicanism.

Irrespective of the quality of Revere's republicanism, however, Triber has written a fascinating study of the efforts of an ambitious young artisan who ulti-

mately achieved the status of the gentlemen he had long admired and so ardently desired to emulate. This is a significant achievement and enhances our understanding of America's formative years. Any future analysis of Revere will certainly have to begin with Triber's work.

ROBERT E. SHALHOPE
University of Oklahoma

LARRY E. TISE. *The American Counterrevolution: A Retreat from Liberty, 1783–1800*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1998. Pp. 1, 634. \$49.95.

Some readers will love this book; others, I suspect, will hate it. Either way, weighing in at almost seven hundred pages and over two hundred thousand words of text, it will be hard to ignore. Larry E. Tise argues that the American Revolution began as a liberating movement for universal freedom and equality. These principles, as stated in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, set in motion a general revolutionary ferment among oppressed peoples both in colonial society—notably women and blacks—and abroad, especially in England and France. The first third of the book focuses as much on the impact that the French Revolution had on the Atlantic world between 1789 and 1792 as on developments in the United States. Tise develops his case through numerous biographical sketches of figures not usually considered together: prominent French refugees who played a part in the early stages of the French Revolution before coming to the United States, English refugee radicals like Joseph Priestley and Thomas Cooper, proto-feminists (both European and American), and blacks (both West Indian and American). They constitute a chorus whose members demonstrated through their behavior as much as through their thought that they construed the preamble of the Declaration as a clarion call for the general liberation of humankind. Most of the traditional “Founding Fathers” yield precedence to this new constituency as authorities for defining what Tise takes to be the guiding principles of the American Revolution.

The remainder of the book is devoted to the retreat from these principles: in other words, to a “counter-revolution” that privileged order over liberty. Although the title refers to this development as specifically “American,” Tise again draws on figures from France, Britain, and Germany in Europe as well as Santo Domingo and the United States. 1793 emerges as the pivotal date in his story. That year saw the rising terror in France, the Washington administration's rebuff of Ambassador Edmond-Charles Genet, an intensifying repression of radicals in Britain, and a race war in Santo Domingo. After 1793, the counter-revolutionary tide became irresistible. Tise introduces the reader to a wide spectrum of counterrevolutionaries, including traditional figures like Edmund Burke and René Chateaubriand in Europe and Timothy Dwight and Noah Webster in America. This part of the

book is less biographical than the first third, with the exposition of ideas taking precedence over life histories. Readers may be surprised to find Thomas Jefferson among Tise's list of important counterrevolutionaries. Tise charges Jefferson with betraying the ideals of the preamble by arguing, in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), for a racial cleansing of the republic through the colonization of its blacks elsewhere. Similarly, William Godwin is placed among the counter-revolutionaries for “distorting” (p. 504) Mary Wollstonecraft's life in his *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1798). Even some women, like Revolutionary War veteran Deborah Sampson, and blacks, like Jupiter Hammon, make important contributions to Tise's retreat from liberty.

This book offers readers the life stories of many more actors from a much wider sample of humanity than is customary in studies of the postrevolutionary period. It is especially sensitive to the international influences affecting revolutionary thought and behavior in the period from 1783 though 1800 and gives prominence to figures not hitherto accorded key roles in the story of the national founding. But these considerable virtues are accompanied by difficulties that stem from Tise's insistence on privileging description over explanation. His method boils down to little more than a juxtaposition of what he identifies as counter-revolutionary with revolutionary doctrines. This has two unfortunate consequences. First, it leads him to decontextualize the ideas that exemplify both doctrines. In addition, it makes for an excessively judgmental book, despite Tise's disclaimer that the historian's task is to “tell the story of what happened and to propose why it happened rather than always to sit in judgment” (p. xxii). It does so because Tise insists that the revolutionaries meant by freedom and equality what modern feminists and civil rights advocates would wish them to mean. I found only a few hints in the text that his counterrevolutionaries might have been as interested in “liberty and freedom” (p. 312) as his revolutionaries. Tise's twentieth-century commitments end up giving this book both a profoundly ahistorical quality and the tone of a prolonged lament.

RICHARD BUEL, JR.
Wesleyan University

JAMES E. LEWIS, JR.. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 304. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Historians of United States foreign policy now assume an intimate linkage among ideas, interests, partisanship, external context, and personality in order to understand how diplomacy unfolds. Policy makers in the early republic, the period covered in this study by James E. Lewis, Jr., quickly felt the constraints within which they worked as ideas fought reality. Lewis focuses on presidents and secretaries of state for two

major themes: the War of 1812, and Spanish-American relations. He analyzes the latter more subtly than Frank L. Owsley and Gene A. Smith did in *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800–1821* (1997). And while he accepts expansionism as a driving force, Lewis believes that American leaders to the Jacksonian era had a primarily defensive cast of mind. The book's title misleads somewhat, however, because its author is at least as concerned with how early American nationalism interwove with republicanism, federalism, and union—as enshrined in the Constitution of 1787—as he is with the concept of neighborhood.

These themes and three basic lines of explanation weave through Lewis's interpretation of the period. First, he explores the shifting political, economic, and social assumptions behind the policy makers' vision of the national interest. Second, he narrates their reaction to unfolding events in light of those assumptions. Third, he considers how policy makers saw what the United States might accomplish beyond its borders. Then he sorts his policy makers into passive and active unionists. Thomas Jefferson exemplified the former; John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay typified the latter. They differed over how the power granted by the Constitution should be applied in the national interest. Neighborhoods arose because these men all feared that a multiple-state New World would de facto replicate the European balance of power system in the Americas. The specter of western secession was as problematic as the prospect of an independent Buenos Aires or Mexico. But the concept gets a bit muddled, because the U.S. had various kinds of neighbors.

Spain probably would not fight to retain Florida, as Britain would the North American provinces, but neither was Florida likely to become independent into the foreseeable future. And "neighbor" surely also meant peoples, such as Native Americans or blacks, as well as prospective nation-states. Ultimately, the fear of a future Hobbesian universe in the New World seems clear enough in the minds of Jefferson and others. Neighborhood, however, never seems a sufficient force unto itself to be a primal causative force in the minds of these policy makers. An element of their thinking? In some instances, yes. A decisive factor in policy determination? Perhaps not.

This caveat aside, Lewis offers a careful consideration of the domestic and ideological significance of the War of 1812 that echoes Roger Brown and Stephen Watts. The republic stared crisis in the face. The conflict nearly sundered the nation, Lewis believes, and this prospect persuaded James Madison, James Monroe, and Adams, as well as Clay and John C. Calhoun, to bolster central authority. But the American system of government and politics combined with the growth of regions and partisanship to confound their efforts to control American states and citizens. Lewis then examines the complex triangular fandango that Monroe, Adams, and others danced with Latin American rebels and Spanish officials after 1815.

Adams emerges here as a largely defensive expansionist as he maneuvered to acquire the Floridas and to draw boundaries to the Pacific in the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819. Lewis disputes William Earl Weeks's view that Adams penned the "Phocion" letters, preferring George Hay as the most likely author. And he demurs from Weeks's belief that Adams feigned impending recognition of Buenos Aires to pressure Spain in the negotiations. Lewis unravels who among the central policy makers expected what of Andrew Jackson when he came up against Spanish garrisons in the Seminole War. Throughout, Lewis uses content end notes to handle these historiographical conundrums, although one pines for true footnotes to save leafing back and forth.

In all, the author has explored an aspect of early American foreign policy not before raised. The research is broad and deep, rich in its coverage of secondary material, as one would expect of a book derived from a dissertation. The bibliography will assist specialists and students at all levels, and the book belongs in major libraries that focus on early American history and the history of American foreign affairs.

REGINALD C. STUART
Mount Saint Vincent University

JOHN R. FITZMIER. *New England's Moral Legislator: Timothy Dwight, 1752–1817*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 261. \$39.95.

Preacher, theologian, poet, college president, and grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Timothy Dwight was known as the "Pope of Federalism." Political and religious histories of early republican New England have duly recognized Dwight's far-flung activism in support of the status quo. Moreover, in recent years literary scholars have offered significant studies of Dwight's poetry and prose. Epic neoclassical poems such as *Greenfield Hill* (1794) and the monumental exploration of regional cultural geography in *Travels in New England and New York* (1823) represent New England as the republic's republic: a Federalist landscape of order and institutionalism that offered a model of morality, industry, and stability for the young nation. Yet if we have up-to-date studies of his literary contributions and persuasive assessments of his activities as a clerical impresario of New England Federalism, the same cannot be said for Dwight the religious thinker and reformer. John R. Fitzmier offers an intellectual biography of Dwight that surveys his thought and evaluates his place in New England religious history.

Fitzmier begins his study with a long biographical essay that comprises nearly a third of the book. Thoroughly researched and well written, the chapter stands as the best introduction to Dwight's life that we have. From an early age, Dwight's aspirations were shaped by his grandfather's legacy. Dwight was born in

Northampton, Massachusetts, to Mary Edwards Dwight, daughter of the famous revivalist and theologian. Mary never forgave the people of Northampton for driving her father from the town. Young Timothy was continually reminded that Edwards had been a victim of "congregational polity and democracy run amok" (p. 5). The boy was groomed to carry on the Edwards legacy, and his life quickly assumed a trajectory that resembled his grandfather's educational triumphs and march toward clerical prominence. Dwight enrolled at Yale at the age of thirteen, the youngest member of the class of 1769. He remained at Yale after graduation, earned a master's degree, and served as a tutor. Compelled by the family burden that he bore, Dwight nearly squandered his health through intensive study and an ascetic regimen. At Yale, he permanently damaged his eyes. For the rest of his life, poor eyesight and bouts of near blindness made it difficult for Dwight to read and write. After a pastorate in Greenfield, Connecticut, Dwight assumed the presidency of Yale in 1795. Although he followed a career track that closely paralleled his grandfather's, Dwight would never approach the intellectual achievements of Edwards. In fact, he was not even a match for Edwards's leading New Divinity clerical followers.

No wonder, then, that Dwight has been missing from the revisionist narrative of New England religious history that has recovered the abiding importance of Edwards's thought and writings in the nineteenth century. Fitzmier examines Dwight's theology in relationship to New Divinity "improvements" on Edwards and concludes that the grandson made no original contributions to New England theology. Dwight published scores of sermons but produced no systematic theology. He rejected many of the New Divinity modifications of Edwards but added nothing of his own to the powerful theological school founded by his grandfather. Dwight pursued a "middle-of-the-road mediocrity" (p. 129) between the New Divinity and Old Calvinism. Fitzmier's analysis of Dwight as a cautious, unoriginal religious thinker is convincing, but it diminishes the intellectual importance of his subject.

In other ways, too, Fitzmier's intellectual portrait seems to reduce Dwight's significance. Lyman Beecher, one of Dwight's most famous students, propagated the view that the Yale president almost single-handedly routed infidelity from the college, sparked a revival of religion, and launched the Second Great Awakening in New England. Fitzmier argues that as a preacher Dwight did not resemble his grandfather. A moderate evangelical, Dwight stressed the traditional means of grace, did not preach as an awakener, and failed to compile anything near Edwards's record of revival leadership.

Although Fitzmier adds to our knowledge of Dwight, this intellectual biography does not enhance his importance in New England and American religious history. What unified Dwight's varied activities and writing, Fitzmier argues, was a "Godly Federalism" (p. 162). Dwight was a pragmatic, conservative

moralist who advanced a vision of a Christian republic secured by personal piety, an established church, and social deference, a religio-political perspective well known to students of Federalist New England. Fitzmier's biographical sketch of Dwight and his analysis of the divine's relationship to the New Divinity movement constitute the strongest parts of this book, but other chapters tend toward summaries of familiar aspects of Dwight's thought.

JOSEPH CONFORTI

University of Southern Maine

CATHERINE A. BREKUS. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. x, 466. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

This volume recovers the lost history of female preaching from the first Great Awakening in 1740 through the revivals prior to the Civil War. In her examination of religious periodicals and popular religious books of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Catherine A. Brekus found reference to more than one hundred evangelical women preachers, nearly all of whom had been written out of later denominational histories and subsequently forgotten. In rediscovering this sizable cohort, Brekus corrects the view that American evangelicalism was completely dominated by male preachers. With regard to the wider history of American culture, she contributes to the growing realization that the boundaries between public and private were less fixed during this time period, and women were not as shut off from public life as historians had previously imagined.

In charting the history of female preaching into the nineteenth century, Brekus argues that considerable fluidity existed before the American Revolution with regard to expectations about who might be called to speak out on behalf of divine judgment and the need for conversion. Indeed, Brekus maintains, the egalitarian message of the gospel was especially clear during the Great Awakening, when women were caught up in experiences of God that seemed to them to transcend sex and gender. Increased cultural emphasis on the distinctive nature of female identity led later women to justify their public preaching in terms of their femaleness, and this worked against the egalitarian thrust of earlier evangelical preaching, as did increased investment in formal education for preachers. This is not a simple story of declension, however, for Brekus also emphasizes that the earlier women preachers were more conservative on the question of women's ordination, while later women were more likely to press for admission to that office as part of their inheritance from Christ. The history of women's preaching presented by Brekus is more one of discontinuity and forgotten effort than of either declension or progress.

In addition to the great service this volume provides in recovering the lost history of female preaching in America, it also has the effect of casting some of the

more familiar terrain of American religious history in new light. Most interesting in this regard is the light this volume sheds on millennialism. The overlap between the history of female preaching in America and the history of millennial enthusiasm is so great that the book serves almost as well as a survey of the latter as it does of the former. And the volume invites new interpretation of American millennialism by revealing, among other things, the depth of discontent among women disaffected by mainstream religious views of cultural progress and by the market revolution and emerging consumerist culture associated with those views.

Millennialist rhetoric offered women a framework in which to imagine the destruction of conventional boundaries, the rectification of long-standing injustices, and the lifting up of the saints above all others. On the one hand, millennialist rhetoric promised a utopian world in which the good and pure would live in glory. On the other hand, it incorporated an apocalyptic rhetoric that served the counter-cultural function of expressing the more vitriolic hope of revenge against all the worldly people who seemed to benefit undeservedly from earthly good fortune. As Catherine Keller argues in *Apocalypse Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World* (1996), this expectation of the end of the world is a recurrent habit of mind in American culture and one that women as well as men have been attracted to. As Keller's title suggests, imagining the destruction of the present world and the birth of a new one can have a creative and invigorating effect. But as a habit of mind, apocalypticism carries real limitations and dangers, not the least of which is its tendency to self-fulfillment, or at least its failure to contribute to world maintenance and improvement.

Many of the female preachers discovered by Brekus lived inside this imaginative framework of world destruction and recreation. The fact that these women have been mostly forgotten until now may not simply be the result of the churlishness or chauvinistic indifference of their denominational historians, or embarrassment about their low-class origins, as Brekus suggests. Perhaps they were forgotten because they did not leave much to build on.

AMANDA PORTERFIELD
University of Wyoming

ELLEN ESLINGER, *Citizens of Zion: The Social Origins of Camp Meeting Revivalism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 306. \$38.00.

Ellen Eslinger's social history of camp meetings in early nineteenth-century Kentucky challenges two interpretations of the celebrated revival at Cane Ridge. First, while recent works have questioned the revivals' frontier origins and character, she notes that textbooks continue to depict them as individualistic and democratic pioneer responses to inadequate social and religious structures. Second, Eslinger worries that revisionists who have attacked the frontier interpretation

have also stripped the camp meetings of their originality by presenting them as just one more expression of religious awakenings among British emigrants that predate the planting of American colonies. In this carefully researched monograph, Eslinger is successful in clarifying the revival's setting but is less convincing in her analysis of the originality and nature of the event.

Eslinger first explores the context that gave rise to the camp meetings, devoting seven of the book's nine chapters to a painstaking analysis of Kentucky's first quarter century. She carefully describes early social, economic, and political development in Kentucky from the initial settlement in 1775 to the Cane Ridge camp meeting near Lexington in the summer of 1801. She convincingly argues that by the latter date, Kentucky, at least the area where revival occurred, was no longer a frontier. It had evolved from a series of isolated, self-contained stations, or stockaded trading posts housing a few families, to a thriving agricultural community with stable political institutions that in 1792 became the fifteenth state. She concludes that by 1800, "Kentucky bore a greater resemblance to the rest of rural America than to its frontier beginnings" (p. xv).

The passing of the frontier, however, did not mean the absence of social problems. Indeed, with the threat of Indian attacks waning and survival somewhat assured, Kentuckians pursued individual ends at the expense of community well-being. Liberalism, with its emphasis on individual freedom and individual concerns, threatened social harmony, promoted fierce economic competition, and fueled political partisanship. It was this atomistic social context, not frontier stations, that gave rise to camp meeting revivalism. Eslinger contends that when Kentuckians sought moral answers to their social problems, one of their responses was a new evangelical ritual, the camp meeting.

In the last two chapters, Eslinger turns to analyzing the Cane Ridge revival itself. While acknowledging that the camp meeting was part of a long evangelical revival tradition with roots in the Scottish "Holy Fairs," she sees it as creating a "new form of evangelical worship" (p. xxi). Borrowing from anthropologist Victor Turner, Eslinger claims that the camp meeting produced "communitas," a brief but deep sense of human connectedness brought about by the structureless nature of the camp grounds. Ignoring individual and social distinctions, the "undifferentiated mass" of people that gathered for a week at Cane Ridge experienced a "profound sense of the shared human condition" (p. 225). This communitas, Eslinger argues, had importance beyond religion, serving to bring people together in a liberal society where individual pursuits were supreme.

The problem the historian faces is how to measure communitas or even recognize its presence. Eslinger anticipates this concern while insisting on the concept's validity: "Just because this meaning is virtually impossible for historians to measure or assess does not

mean that it did not exist" (p. xx). That may be true, but it does render the term problematic and calls into question claims of its presence and extent. For example, how can one be sure that *communitas* manifested itself to a greater degree at Cane Ridge than it had during Scottish Holy Fairs or Presbyterian "Sacramental Seasons" in the 1720s in New Jersey? Without a means of measuring and analyzing the notion, Eslinger resorts to assertion, contending that *communitas* was "experienced by virtually everyone present" (p. 226). When she discusses religious conversions, she is on more solid ground, quoting from individual testimonies or citing statistics of new church members. But when she refers to *communitas*, she provides little evidence. She points to children who got up and preached as an example of status reversal, one of the elements in Turner's definition. And she notes the participation of blacks in the revivals, although on the margins, as evidence of the events' inclusiveness, another hallmark of *communitas*. The problem is that child exhorters and blacks were present in similar fashion at earlier revivals, including the first Great Awakening of the 1740s, thus undercutting Eslinger's argument that the camp meetings created a new evangelical ritual. Indeed, these "Citizens of Zion" look very similar to their revivalist ancestors.

FRANK LAMBERT
Purdue University

WILLIAM R. SUTTON, *Journeyman for Jesus: Evangelical Artisans Confront Capitalism in Jacksonian Baltimore*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 351. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.50.

In this thought-provoking study, William R. Sutton challenges arguments that evangelicalism was a conservative force muting the potential radicalism and militance of artisans. Rather, he asserts, many artisans were attracted to evangelicalism, particularly after the Second Great Awakening, and evangelical leaders of a radical Protestant Methodist persuasion were active in the strikes and riots of the 1830s.

Sutton argues that the tradition of producerism was an outlook that emphasized pride in work, recognition of responsibility to fellow workers, employers, and the community, and "living and working without being dependent on the power and authority of others." It included the right to a just and livable wage, cooperative control of work, and opposition to monopoly. This classical republican position was in opposition to nineteenth-century liberalism that emphasized individualism and the laws of the market, dislocations being inevitable in capitalist development.

Sutton's approach is to combine religious and labor history in alternating sections, concluding with the direct involvement of evangelicals first in labor disputes and then in movements such as temperance and Sabbatarianism in the 1840s. The evangelicalism that took hold among Baltimore's workingmen was not reactionary but Jeffersonian in its attempts to con-

struct a new nation according to ideas of justice and morality. Deemphasizing predestination, yet still focusing on salvation, it offered hope to any that sought its consolation. In so doing, it revealed a strong strain of anticapitalism, particularly toward those who ground the poor in opposition to the Gospels. Sutton details the growth of this Wesleyan thought, particularly of an "evangelical populism" that was too radical for some church elders, creating schisms leading to the formation of a Methodist Protestantism that stressed the destructive effects of concentration of wealth and the paramount importance of community welfare.

Baltimore's evangelical history is followed by an analysis of the trade union movement. Baltimore in the 1830s was the site of significant labor protest and organization, including a city-wide organization, the Workingman's Trade Union. Sutton details strikes by printers, carpenters, and shipyard workers over both wages and hours. In announcing their intentions, artisans used producerist ideology to gain public support of their demands for just treatment. Sutton also describes the brief formation of a Workingman's Party that elected a number of officials, much to the chagrin of the Jacksonians, but as in New York, failed to survive. The riot following the failure of the Bank of Maryland is presented in terms of an eighteenth-century crowd action for popular moral justice.

Sutton brings his two strands together in a chapter in which he demonstrates that many unions welcomed Methodism and held services in their halls and that many evangelicals were leaders of the trade movements and collective action. He also notes that Methodist preachers were active in the factories emerging in the Baltimore area and, while preaching a paternal outlook, included the moral duties of the factory owners beyond the marketplace. After the Panic of 1837, trade unions declined and the evangelical spirit moved toward reformist activities including temperance and Sabbatarianism that, while combining aspects of producerism, emphasized individual responsibility more than collective or community concerns.

This is a significant book that ought to be carefully studied by both labor and religious historians. Many more artisans were drawn by evangelical preaching than by Painite universalism. Sutton is convincing in stating that these churches and their leaders offered far more than an attitude of quietism and resignation. There are, however, a number of unanswered questions. In the mid-Atlantic states, classical liberalism, even among journeymen, was waning in the early national era, as artisans freely entered the marketplace using any and all tools of organization, including the closed shop, as a countervailing force to retaliate against masters. The American Revolution unleashed a powerful liberalism among mechanics, many anxious to reach new entrepreneurial levels in a mercantilist free market. This is not to deny the compelling evidence to the effect that classical republicanism (producerism) was still a strong influence. But it may not have been as dominant as Sutton sees it, especially

considering the instances of class awareness that he also points out. Moreover, the artisan protests that Sutton describes began in America immediately after the Revolution, with similar rhetoric and organization, and, in a sense, the years before 1837 were the end of that era. There is little discussion of the emergence of sweated trades as in Sean Wilentz's discussion of the metropolitan industrialization that so altered New York crafts in this era. Was there a parallel in Baltimore? The number of artisans who were attracted to evangelicalism is not spelled out—probably cannot be—making the assessment of evangelical appeal difficult. The book raises more issues that it can answer, which is all to its credit. It is an important achievement.

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NANCY ISENBERG. *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 319. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

This book is a fascinating examination of antebellum feminists' "rights discourse" on family, state, and church. Nancy Isenberg presents these women as skillful political theorists and commentators who systematically critiqued masculinized constructions of authority and consent, publicity, and equal protection. Isenberg takes a seemingly disparate collection of their concerns, ranging from dress reform to the political implications of "manifest destiny," and organizes them thematically to produce a broad-ranging yet focused analysis of the language of the women's rights movement.

Isenberg's exploration of the notion of publicity and the limitations it imposed on women's activism effectively challenges the lingering private sphere/public sphere dichotomy. She does offer an alternative model of gendered divisibility that brings free-born women's protests against their inherited political and social identities into sharper focus. As Isenberg reminds us, middle-class female reformers did not have trouble slipping out of the physical confines of their households; but once in public, women had to contend with a political culture that defined their non-domestic activities and the sentiments behind them as essentially and necessarily nonpolitical.

According to Isenberg, "rather than restrict women to the home or family, the democratic variation of the bourgeois public sphere rationalized gender inequality by making sure women were seen first as social rather than political beings" (p. 66). Although expected to contribute to civil society in some critical and very visible ways, women could not assume that these contributions elevated them to the level of political agents. Those who claimed such agency invited public disfavor for openly defying the rule that their sex must remain politically unobtrusive.

Women's strikes against this social/political divide

were evident in a variety of reform initiatives, including the bloomer debacle, women's antislavery activities, and various efforts to make Protestant churches more receptive to the ideals of "co-equality." What makes Isenberg's treatment of these familiar subjects distinctive is her broader contextualization of their contribution. She suggests that scholars tend to study antebellum feminists' arraignments of the political culture and the religious establishment as valuable intellectual contributions to the women's rights movement but nothing more. Isenberg asserts, and her audience will probably agree, that the language of rights generated by the early women's movement also should be situated "within the much larger context of the meaning of citizenship, the public sphere, representation, and consent and dissent" (p. xv).

Isenberg joins a growing number of scholars willing to ease suffrage's grip on the history of American women's citizenship. As the author and her subjects richly demonstrate, antebellum women's involvement in a variety of other reform movements should not be viewed linearly as either warm-ups for, or by-products of, the suffrage campaign.

Isenberg also highlights antebellum activists' promotion of "self-protection," a core concept that, when applied to women, ran afoul of the political and legal systems that defined free women as dependent citizens and slave women as chattel. Certainly, "protection" was a problematic term for women's rights activists, who had to contend with the argument that coverture ensured women legal protection. But rights reformers dismissed such legal solicitude as humbug, rightly claiming that the law systematically denied women "self-protection"—the ability to defend one's personhood and bodily integrity.

Isenberg traces this particular theme through a series of protest narratives on domestic violence, women's property rights, prostitution, fugitive slave acts, and the war with Mexico. Once again the thematic correspondence between these narratives discloses a level of theoretical coherence and critical breadth not previously credited to more than a handful of feminists. Indeed, one wonders if the tighter organizational structure of the early twentieth-century women's rights movement stifled or obscured comparable demonstrations of brilliance as too many of its leaders became primarily organizational mouthpieces.

Some readers may find the author's treatment of certain reform topics too meager to warrant their inclusion; others may be frustrated periodically by an inability to gauge the collective authority or relative radicalism of the featured voices even within their reform movements. These are only minor complaints, however. Isenberg has produced a highly useful study of the ripening political consciousness of some antebellum feminists.

Historians of the women's movement in the U.S. should also heed the author's invitation to submit the records of that movement's early years to further scrutiny, particularly those of the women's rights con-

ventions that Isenberg liberates from the shadow of Seneca Falls. The book also merits the attention of scholars interested in expanding their awareness of antebellum discourses on the meaning of citizenship.

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KATHRYN TERESA LONG. *The Revival of 1857–58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 256. \$45.00.

The religious revival of 1857–1858 was set against a backdrop of financial crisis and impending disunion, and it has not received much scholarly attention until now. Thanks to Kathryn Teresa Long's exhaustive research and painstaking analysis, scholars can learn something more about it than its urban character and businessmen orientation. Relying on firsthand accounts, early histories, and newspaper stories, Long offers a deeply penetrating examination of an event that in its day was viewed as one of the momentous occurrences of the nineteenth century.

One of the most impressive findings of this superb study is its recognition of the constructedness of historical events. As Long notes, the lunch hour meetings, public prayers and exhortations, and individual conversions did not necessarily constitute a "revival" until someone gave it such a designation. In this case, two newspaper editors in New York, Horace Greeley and James Gordon Bennett, published stories about the extraordinary religious services and conversions and proclaimed them evidence of revival: the revival of 1857. Desiring as well to sell papers, these and other editors, packaged the event in "newsworthy" ways, which resulted in an emphasis on men's participation (even though more women converted) and on the conversion of well-known sporting figures. Christian accounts followed on the heels of the popular presses' naming of the revival.

Long discovered that the Christian histories, however, were not written by members of denominations that harvested the largest number of souls: Methodists and Baptists. On the contrary, Calvinists in the Old School Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed traditions penned them and, consequently, deemphasized the roles of emotionalism, Methodists, and women. In their accounts, important participants became invisible, and their particular view of history—one shaped by a cyclical view of revivals—provided the interpretive framework within which the revival was understood at the time and by later historians. Given this narrative, which encouraged Americans to view the revival as evidence of an ongoing relationship between God and the nation, the Civil War understandably clouded collective memories of the religious excitement and seeming religious unity of 1857 and 1858.

What emerges from this study is an episode in religious history embedded in a context of economic travail, of deepening sectionalism, and of budding

consumerism. Long shows how the economic downturn of 1857 was believed to account for the noontime meetings because businessmen had both the time and a reason to take part in daytime prayer meetings. Long contests an older view of the revival's connection to nascent social reform movements by showing the overarching emphasis on piety and conversion and by demonstrating the desire of key leaders to emphasize the unity of Christians throughout the nation and therefore to keep antislavery forces at bay. She argues that the commitment to social reform remained firmly grounded in such causes as temperance, antiprostitution, and children and betrayed a belief that social transformation would follow in the wake of a growing army of Christian converts. On the matter of consumerism, Long shows how revival stories became grist for the mill of newspapermen, who banked on their readers' quest for exciting and unusual news. Moreover, many revivalists capitalized on the entertainment value of their services and advertised coming meetings in the amusement section of newspapers. Thus, the emerging mass media and the revival of 1857–1858 depended heavily upon one another for shape, direction, and success.

Long's excellent monograph—a deserving winner of the Frank S. and Elizabeth D. Brewer Prize—provides insight into the sociocultural and political moment of the revival and locates the religious beliefs and practices of the participants within an evolving and multifaceted American Protestantism in the mid-nineteenth century. It can be read profitably alongside Frank Lambert's *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (1999), which likewise examines the construction of a meaningful interpretation of eighteenth-century religious activity. Most important, Long's study is highly recommended reading for all those interested in American life on the eve of the Civil War. Through the lens of a religious event, Long reveals the manner in which a generation invented a revival tradition, strove to maintain national unity, and prefigured the "incorporation" of America in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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EUGENE D. GENOVESE. *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South*. (Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, number 41.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 180. \$24.95.

Eugene D. Genovese provides an intriguing view of the ways in which leading southern churchmen and their followers sought to address the most pressing challenges to slavery: those posed, first, by abolition and, subsequently, by the Civil War. In the process, he gives historians of the pro- and antislavery causes much to think about.

Growing out of the Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, this book emphasizes the extent to which religious proslavery arguments encompassed

both firm premises and powerful ambiguities. As Genovese shows, all of slavery's most skillful theological defenders were convinced of the rightness of slavery, of its centrality to southern society and institutions, and of its superiority to the antagonistic, competitive world of free market capitalism. Claiming, moreover, strong ideals of stewardship, all stressed how God had given them slavery to bring a benighted African race to civilization and to faith. Finally, all shared in complex notions of white supremacy, rejecting the more radical notions of mid-nineteenth-century scientific racism on religious grounds, but based no less on what Genovese describes as a "persistent fear of racial equality" (p. 98) that influenced much of what they thought and did.

The ambiguities grew out of conflict between such premises and the realities of the slave system. Committed to imperatives of stewardship—and stung by at least some abolitionist charges of institutional cruelties—proslavery churchmen not only defended slavery but also launched a series of campaigns aimed at its reformation. They urged legislation to protect slave families. They campaigned, as well, against those laws that denied slaves access to a truly Biblical faith by prohibiting slave literacy.

The sense of a need to reform slavery appears to have been widely acknowledged. If, as Genovese suggests, few white southerners, including church people, felt guilty about slavery as such, many expressed concern over the behavior of their contemporaries. Since God had entrusted them with the institution, God could just as easily take it away, should they fail to fulfill their duties.

The crisis of the war brought all these issues to a head. As the likelihood of the slaveholders' defeat became clearer, Genovese shows, many saw the war's outcome as God's punishment, *not* for slavery itself, but for their failure to create a truly Christian slave society. Reformist impulses, for some, were actually strengthened. Only after all was, from their perspective, "lost" did they abandon such efforts, descending into open racism and a segregationist ideology that left older religious principles behind.

Originating in a series of lectures, this book cannot address every question its readers will have. One such question relates to a fuller definition of the role of abolition, as well as white southern convictions, in shaping a Christian proslavery thought. Genovese shows how the ministers liked to blame abolition for much of slavery's cruelty: for literacy laws intended to deny slaves access to antislavery literature, for example. Given the focus of so much reform on slave families and slave literacy, and given the role of those issues in so much of abolition, perhaps he has also shown how fully the abolitionist arguments hit home with clergymen who shared more with their northern brethren than they liked to admit.

In addition, much as one must follow Genovese's lead in recognizing that proslavery cannot be understood as merely a smoke screen for racism, the issue

still takes unacknowledged forms in the impressive body of evidence he presents here. Southern churchmen may have recognized a need to reform slavery, but their inability to see Africans as human beings—whatever they said about the more radical racism of their day—is astonishing. Did they really appreciate the suffering created by family separations, or were they chiefly concerned to undercut the force of abolition while building a society in which they could believe Christian ideals were being met? In some of what they wrote, moreover, they appear tacitly to have entered a debate with the noted fugitives whose narratives were capturing the imagination of northern—and even southern—audiences. At least some northern intellectuals understood the challenge those eloquent men and women posed to easy assumptions of racial superiority. The blindness of the South's intellectual elite to such possibilities says more about the strength of their racial views than their more overt rejection of a crude racialism ever could.

Still, the strength of Genovese's thoroughly researched and cogently argued work lies in the questions it raises. Anyone interested in the American debate over slavery will find it an important book.

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S. CHARLES BOLTON. *Arkansas, 1800–1860: Remote and Restless*. (Histories of Arkansas.) Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 207. \$28.00.

S. Charles Bolton has produced a breezy yet long overdue synopsis of Arkansas history from the dawn of the nineteenth century to the eve of the Civil War. This state has long been ignored by historians, and Bolton's book provides a much-needed overview of the antebellum era. There are no footnotes, yet there is a bibliography for each chapter at the end of the book. This work clearly targets the reading public and could also be quite useful in upper-level college courses in Arkansas and southern history.

In many ways, Bolton succeeds in his overall objective. Well written in an uncomplicated style, Bolton covers antebellum Arkansas in a topical manner, dealing with early politics, agriculture, finance, society, slavery, family life, and religion. Whereas earlier historians of this era have generally focused on politics or Arkansas's violent, backward society, Bolton paints with a broad brush to illustrate the complexity of this era. His chapters reflect his effort to bring out the contrasts within the state: "agricultural success and banking failure," or "human and chattel" regarding slavery. Throughout the texts, he interjects stories about famous and not-so-famous Arkansans. He includes, for example, the stories of Matilda Fulton, wife of the secretary for the Arkansas Territory in the mid-1830s, who was butchering hogs with her slave right up to the day she gave birth (p. 121). He also brings to light the long and tragic tale of Nelson

Hackett, a slave butler from Fayetteville who managed to escape to Canada in 1841, only to be returned to the state as a fugitive, yet not before a major legal battle involving the U.S., Canada, and Britain (pp. 142–144).

The two best chapters in the book are the ones dealing with African slavery and white relations with the Indian population. This latter chapter is probably the best, as it provides a short treatment of this tragic yet often ignored segment of Arkansas history. In my opinion, Bolton is also the first writer to tackle successfully the complicated story of the state's banking failures during early statehood.

Although this study has much to recommend it, there are some recent books that were overlooked. Bolton covers religion quite well, reporting the growth of Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians during the antebellum era, but his treatment of Catholicism stops at 1843, and he completely ignores the role of Arkansas Jewry. The author apparently did not consult my *Mission and Memory: History of the Catholic Church in Arkansas* (1993), or Carolyn Gray LeMaster, *A Corner of the Tapestry: A History of the Jewish Experience in Arkansas, 1820s–1990s* (1994). Bolton's point about the complexity of slavery could have been augmented by Ruth Polk Patterson's *The Seed of Sally Good'n: A Black Family of Arkansas, 1838–1953* (1985).

Bolton tones down the conventional view of Arkansas as wild and violent society, claiming that "early Arkansans were unique in some ways, but they were much less different from other Americans than they are often portrayed" (p. xvi). His point that Arkansans were probably no more violent than the rest of western America is asserted yet not proven, and the overall perception at that time and later was quite different. As the Van Buren Arkansas paper editorialized in 1849: "People at a distance easily come to the conclusion that Arkansas is only famous for private brawls and lynchings, and the bloodiest encounters in border warfare" (*Arkansas Intelligencer* [November 3, 1849], p. 2). I found nothing, either in the primary sources or in the material the author presented, to suggest that antebellum Arkansas did not deserve its violent reputation.

At the start of the book, the author states that concerning Arkansas, the "society that emerged under these conditions was western in its frontier qualities, but it gradually became more and more southern" (p. xvi). Arkansas during this time period was certainly a remote and restless region, and Bolton has provided us with the best overall treatment of this era to date.

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JULIE ROY JEFFREY, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 311. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Since the 1970s, historians have tended to look at the participation of women in the U.S. antislavery move-

ment as a way of understanding the roots of the women's suffrage movement, which emerged out of abolition during the late 1840s. Julie Roy Jeffrey builds on and extends the analysis provided by this earlier scholarship to offer a comprehensive study of women's participation in the abolitionist movement from the 1830s through the Civil War. More important, she presents a new way of framing female abolitionist activism. Instead of viewing their individual and organized activities as a prelude to feminism, she analyzes women abolitionists on their own terms. This is a critical departure from previous interpretations, for, as Jeffrey rightly points out, despite the fact that women's public activities on behalf of the cause implicitly and explicitly challenged conventional gender norms, most of these women did not go on to participate in the emerging women's movement. The fact [however] that they embraced the unpopular cause of abolition was a radical stance in itself, regardless of whether or not they later supported equality between the sexes. To analyze women's abolitionist activities apart from the suffrage movement allows historians to explore the meaning of women's activism as well as to recognize the diverse interests and motivations of women who signed petitions, organized and participated in female antislavery societies, wrote for the cause, gave speeches, lobbied legislators, and attended political events.

Jeffrey chooses to focus on "ordinary" women. Although a more explicit explanation of what constitutes the "ordinary" would have been helpful, her meaning becomes clear throughout the book that the term refers to non-elite, mostly white women from small towns who incorporated abolitionism into their busy daily lives. Where the written evidence allows, she also identifies numerous free black women who have not appeared before in previous studies of black women abolitionists. By redirecting the focus of her study away from urban elites, Jeffrey is able to capture the experiences and activism of most women abolitionists, a hitherto ignored and under-appreciated "great army of silent workers" (p. 1) who participated when and where they could and with varying degrees of intensity.

Jeffrey provides new insights into familiar themes, such as the organizational history of women's antislavery societies, racism and sexism within the movement, and a comparison of black and white women's modes of participation. Her study of the antislavery fairs, to which historians have devoted scant attention, provides important insight into the relationship between the public and private worlds of activist women. The fairs served as one of the primary ways abolitionists raised money and symbolized the politicization of the domestic sphere. These events, which were often held during the Christmas holidays, illustrated clearly women's participation in the production of a material culture that was in part shaped by social activism. Women made items to be sold at the fairs, determined prices, and grappled with the ethics of buying and

selling on behalf of what was defined as a moral cause. As consumers, producers of goods, and activists, they placed themselves squarely within the process of a burgeoning commercial world.

Jeffrey has conducted extensive research into a wide range of primary sources, including family papers, newspapers, and organizational records, as well as published collections of sources that have more recently been made available to historians, such as the *Black Abolitionist Papers* (1985–1992). Her study falls short of actually following the lives of these women after the Civil War, a task she leaves to other historians. Nonetheless, this is an important book for historians of abolitionism in particular and nineteenth-century social reform movements in general, for it demonstrates that women were not peripheral to abolitionist men, despite the patriarchal structure of national and state antislavery organizations. Jeffrey brings out of the shadows the scores of women who endured public hostility and dissension within antislavery organizations and who, at the same time, created networks of like-minded women whose devotion to what they considered a moral cause led them to negotiate and sometimes challenge conventional gender boundaries. But, as Jeffrey illustrates, this did not necessarily mean that they would later join the ranks of women's rights advocates.

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RANDALL M. MILLER, HARRY S. STOUT, and CHARLES REAGAN WILSON, editors. *Religion and the American Civil War*. Afterword by JAMES M. MCPHERSON. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 422. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Religion touched almost every facet of the American Civil War. The antebellum sectional controversy between North and South was largely a religious debate over the morality of slavery. Religion infused the war itself. Union and Confederate soldiers responded eagerly to evangelical revivals. Ministers North and South sanctified their respective causes with assurances of divine blessings. On northern and southern home fronts, women turned to prayer and devotion to cope with the fearful toll of death and the unraveling of familiar worlds. Yet the religious history of the Civil War remains relatively unstudied. The sixteen essays in this volume, the majority of which originated in a symposium on religion and the Civil War held in Louisville in October 1994, go a long way toward filling this historiographical void. Taken collectively, they also suggest promising directions for future studies of religion in the American Civil War.

The best of this new scholarship is illustrated in two particular essays. Mark Noll examines Civil War-era religion from the perspective of intellectual history. With an unusually supple command of theology too often lacking in historians of American religion, Noll offers an extremely learned and nuanced account of

Biblical hermeneutics and the slavery controversy. The reigning approach to reading the Bible, he explains, was the Reformed Protestant hermeneutic that stressed an individual's personal interpretation. The democratization of American life in the early nineteenth century reinforced the cultural authority of this hermeneutic. On the vexing question of slavery, however, such an approach could not "reconcile the divergent interpretations it had produced" (p. 49). With an appropriate bow to the religious diversity of nineteenth-century America, Noll further explains how alternative hermeneutical approaches offered by African Americans, Roman Catholics, German Lutherans, and conservative Presbyterians failed to replace this dominant paradigm so fateful to the slavery controversy. Moreover, the Protestant Reformed approach to the Bible foundered on the shoals of American racism, as cultural constructions of race were presented as sound Biblical exegesis.

Randall M. Miller's superb essay on Irish Catholics and the Civil War is an equally compelling inquiry into Civil War religion from the perspective of social history. Miller knowledgeably explains the ways in which the war helped Irish Catholics to define their ethnic identity. The Catholic chaplains who ministered to the soldiers of regiments like the famed Irish Brigade redefined working Catholicism by reinforcing the movement toward devotional piety among Irish soldiers. The Civil War also heightened Irish-American nationalism. Fenian activists sought to channel Irish military prowess on American battlefields into a struggle for Ireland's freedom from England. Although Irish contributions to the Union military effort did mollify some of the virulent anti-Catholicism that existed in the North, Irish support for the cause weakened after the Lincoln administration committed itself to emancipation. Miller effectively draws on wartime ethnic tensions to explain the role of Irish workers in the New York City draft riots of 1863. In identifying the ways Irish identity was shaped by the various experiences of the Civil War, Miller implicitly challenges the view of the war as a nationalizing process.

Familiar interpretations by eminent scholars further enhance this volume. Bertram Wyatt-Brown underscores the importance of honor in explaining the reticence of southern clergymen in embracing secession. Eugene D. Genovese once again argues that "the social relations of free labor and slavery" (p. 77) explain the increasing southern theological embrace of religious orthodoxy and the growing drift away from it in the industrializing North. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese also sees the tension between the values of the market and the spirit. She suggests that the paradigm of northern religion—individualism, separation of gender spheres, and feminization of religion—threatened to overtake the postwar South. Drew Gilpin Faust finds that even with the significant changes unleashed by the Civil War, southern white women clung to "the class

and racial privilege that defined their positions as ladies" (p. 251).

This collection of essays does reveal some of the problems seemingly inevitable in transforming individual conference papers into an integrated book. The editors' three divisions of "Ideas," "People," and "Places" seems artificial and often ambiguous. For example, Ronald C. White's rather curious reading of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address might well have gone under "People," along with Daniel W. Stowell's well-documented essay on the religious meanings attached to the life and death of Stonewall Jackson. Far too little of Samuel S. Hill's essay is devoted explicitly to the Wesleyan Methodist Connection in upstate New York and the North Carolina Quakers to qualify under "Places." Yet behind these categories a few common themes do emerge that better forecast the shape of a new religious history of the American Civil War. Attention to gender and gender construction informs many of these essays, especially the ones by Faust and Fox-Genovese. Several scholars observe the tension between masculine values and feminized religion in the Civil War South. Wyatt-Brown, for example, notes the conflict between the cult of masculinity inherent in the southern code of honor with the feminization of religion. Paul Harvey points to the same tension in his thoughtful study of white Baptist ministers in the South between 1850 and 1890. Kurt Berends similarly draws attention to the ways Confederate chaplains had to fight against "negative prewar associations of femininity and Christianity" (p. 141).

A second theme is the primacy of print culture in explaining the dynamics of religion in the Civil War. Harvey and especially Berends trace the importance of the vast amount of religious publications produced in the Confederacy. Newspapers, sermons, and religious tracts not only focused on individual salvation but sought to assure soldiers and civilians of Confederate righteousness, especially in the increasing moments of despair. Fox-Genovese explores how the female literary traditions in the North and South were transformed by the experiences of war. The most ambitious and successful study of print culture is Harry S. Stout's and Christopher Grasso's careful tracing of the history of the "Confederate jeremiad" in Civil War Richmond. The jeremiads in the early years of the war "built Confederate nationalism upon a foundation of corporate Christianity that was as new to the South as the Confederacy itself" (p. 319). In the later years of the war, however, the religious foundation of the Confederacy constructed by clergymen was challenged by secular newspapers and the class tensions that emerged with increasing frequency in the Confederate capital.

The final theme is the impact of the Civil War on American religion. Although much of the material presented in this volume documents the religious influence on society, politics, and culture of Civil War America, an equally compelling theme is how the Civil War acted as a turning point in the history of Ameri-

can religion. Several historians suggest a connection between Civil War religion in the North and the emergence of the Social Gospel movement in late-nineteenth-century industrial America. Phillip Shaw Paludan states that the significance of the Civil War for understanding the origins of the Social Gospel "cries out for study" (p. 35). George M. Fredrickson, in a thoughtful study of northern Protestant ministers, argues that the Social Gospel movement "was, to a greater extent than has been generally appreciated, a conscious revival of the political preaching and religious activism of the war period, as well as a new appreciation of the Christian statism of that era" (p. 125). For the South, the religious experience of the Civil War helped shape the structures and beliefs of postbellum religion. Harvey suggests that the Civil War and Reconstruction "revolutionized southern religious life and reshaped the relationship of the ministry to public life" (p. 171). Stout and Grasso locate the origin of the religion of the Lost Cause in "the particular historylessness of the Confederacy" forged in Civil War jeremiads. The Civil War was also an agent of change in religious symbolism. As Miller points out, the Irish Catholic soldier's veneration of the Holy Mother Mary found expression in the post-bellum Marian adoration movement among American Catholics. Paludan argues that wartime deaths helped transform the image of heaven from a strange and distant place to a home to which soldiers could return.

By illuminating these promising paths of inquiry, the editors and authors of this volume deserve our thanks for bringing religion back to the central place it had in the era of the American Civil War. Future studies of Civil War religion will hopefully elaborate on these and other themes, especially the intersections between religion and class.

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WAYNE FLYNT. *Alabama Baptists: Southern Baptists in the Heart of Dixie*. (Religion and American Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 731. \$29.95.

Wayne Flynt has produced a well-researched history of Baptists in the deep South. More precisely, it is the story of the Baptist groups that aligned with the Alabama Baptist State Convention. Since 1823, the convention has sent missionaries throughout the state, sustained denominational higher education, administered such benevolent undertakings as orphanages and hospitals, and supported the missionary operations of the Southern Baptist Convention. Black Baptists and Primitive Baptists are not in view in this book.

Flynt is industrious. The book's greatest strength is its extensive utilization of the published and manuscript sources by and about Alabama Baptists. The result is a thick description of Alabama Baptists. Flynt writes in a pleasing narrative style that at times runs folksy. He correctly looks beyond the centralized bu-

reaucocracy and examines such issues as the religious beliefs of the Baptists, the moral discipline exercised by their churches, their attitudes about race and gender, their political alignments, and their involvement in education and other social issues. The documentary evidence comes from clerical elites primarily, but Flynt notices the beliefs of many educated lay men and women as well as of some poorly educated clergy.

Flynt is at his best in his descriptions of Alabama Baptists' political views and activities from Reconstruction to the civil rights movement. His discussion of Baptist involvement in the Prohibition Party, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Populist Party is particularly informative. He shows that Baptists have often introduced politics into their churches and vice versa.

The weakest chapter is the last. The discussion of the "Fundamentalist Controversy" is more impressionistic and less well organized than other chapters. Flynt fails to define the significant differences between the "moderate" and "fundamentalist" parties in the state.

The book makes a number of important historiographical contributions. First, Flynt helpfully shows that Baptists in the South generally were Calvinists, although he is a bit uncertain about what strict Calvinism was. He concludes that, by 1850, "virtually all their preachers defended the same ground" between hyper-Calvinism and Arminianism and that, as late as 1890, "they retreated little from their own Calvinistic theology" (pp. 80, 161). Moreover, Flynt demonstrates that far more Baptists embraced theological liberalism than generally is recognized. For the period from 1890 to 1940 especially, Flynt shows that many of the Alabama Baptists' most prominent leaders promoted theological liberalism. Flynt also describes how Southern Baptists diverged in their theological views long before conservatives began their takeover of the denomination in 1979. Doctrinal differences had long threatened division, he concludes. "The miracle was that unity had been maintained into the 1970s" (p. 544). Finally, Flynt shows that Southern Baptist views of church-state relations were inconsistent and often self-serving. Baptist churches openly supported prohibition and Sabbath laws and opposed Roman Catholic and integrationist candidates. They claimed to oppose government aid to religious schools and hospitals on the principle of strict separation, but in large part they feared that the aid would strengthen Roman Catholic schools in the one case and require the integration of Baptist hospitals in the other. When integration and secularization prompted many Baptists to turn to private schools, they advocated government aid to religious schools.

This book has deficiencies. Its many redundancies ought to have been resolved. It has little interpretation or analysis and is not well related to the broader historiography. There are unresolved contradictions. For example, Flynt says that women could not vote or speak or even attend monthly business conferences in most churches, but he presents considerable evidence that they attended and voted (pp. 39–41, 173–74). He

says that Baptists distinguished creeds from confessions but shows elsewhere that they did not make this distinction (pp. 4, 77). He claims that "Baptists had always moved cautiously in politics," when many chapters describe considerable lack of caution (p. 588). He argues that Baptists engaged in revivalism and church discipline to exert social control but engaged in benevolent efforts out of concern for others, not for social control (pp. 36, 49, 29).

There are errors. Flynt incorrectly identifies Cluster as the editor of Jesse Mercer's popular hymnal, *The Cluster* (p. 12). He confuses "giving satisfaction" with exoneration, when it meant confession and repentance (pp. 37, 47). He mistakenly concludes that the churches monitored female sexual conduct more carefully because they excluded women but not men for bastardy (p. 98). In fact, Alabama Baptists prosecuted men and women for sexual offenses at almost exactly the same per member rate. He mistakenly identifies commitment to "close communion" and rejection of "alien immersions" as uniquely Landmark Baptist ideas, when most non-Landmark Baptists held the same views (pp. 83, 162). He misleadingly writes that seminary president Randall Lolley "was forced to resign" and that conservatives believed that women should be in "eternal subordination to men" (pp. 569, 583).

Flynt has produced one of the best Baptist denominational histories in years. Its strength is its industrious research. It avoids reading the history of Baptist agencies and bureaucracies as the center of Baptist history. In spite of its weaknesses, it is a welcome contribution to the field.

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VALEEN TIPPETTS AVERY. *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 357. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Mormonism is among the most complex, influential, and controversial religious movements native to American shores. Most students of American religion and culture have read at least one book on the subject, often by celebrated scholars such as Leonard J. Arrington, Richard L. Bushman, or Jan Shipps. Less casual students who wish to probe beyond this core might consider Valeen Tippetts Avery's biography of the youngest son of Mormonism's founding prophet, Joseph Smith. Through the prism of a distinctive and tragic American life, Avery illuminates what second-generation Mormonism was, was not, almost was, was indeed in alternate and dissenting form, or might well have become with only slight change in historical interaction.

Five months after Joseph Smith surrendered his life to an Illinois mob in June 1844, Emma Smith gave birth to David Hyrum Smith, who grew to be a charismatic and gifted man: a poet, painter, preacher,

philosopher, theologian, essayist, naturalist, church leader, and singer. He also inherited a rich and clouded religious legacy, partly obscured by a mother who, in her own pain and principles, denied him knowledge of his father's polygamous ways. High hopes for this heir of the Prophet resonated throughout Mormondom. The largest body of believers who followed Brigham Young west, the primary dissident group among those Utah saints, and smaller bands who had remained in the Midwest—some of whom “reorganized” into a separate church, estranged from Young and his polygamous New Israel—all hoped that this royal son would sanction and perhaps eventually lead their organization.

David Smith's fate aborted these hopes. By age twenty-eight, illness had invaded his brilliant mind, expressing itself in incoherence, paranoia, suicidal fears, and episodic violence. Four years after its onset, Smith was committed to the Northern Illinois Hospital and Asylum for the Insane. He died there in 1904, just short of his sixtieth birthday.

What had caused the derangement? Emma Smith blamed her son's experiences in Utah, the heart of his wide-ranging adult religious mission. Thrice Smith had gone there as an emissary of the Reorganized Church, partly to save the “Brighamites” from their marital barbarism. Yet in the course of these efforts, David came privately to the correct and devastating conclusion that, his upbringing notwithstanding, his father had indeed fathered the practice of Mormon polygamy. As he wrote from Utah to a Michigan friend in 1872: “If my father sinned I cannot help it . . . I hope you will burn up this letter and not let it shock your faith” (p. 164).

Some in the Reorganized Church, reflecting their animosity toward Utah, believed Smith's illness derived from his having been physically poisoned while on his mission there. In turn, Utah saints alleged, without warrant, that Smith's brother, Joseph Smith III (president of the Reorganized Church), had had him committed because David had come to espouse Utah's faith. Others among Smith's devil-conscious supporters thought him possessed. Beyond his yielding to religious doubt, his brother Joseph blamed Smith's dabbling in spiritualism, popular in pockets throughout the United States, including Salt Lake City, where Smith did in fact consult a medium in concert with dissenting Mormon reformers who were allies against Young. “I do not believe,” wrote Joseph, that “my brother had the power to resist the danger of thus submitting himself to the uncanny will and influence of unseen spirits which, according to the philosophy itself, lurk around in the twilight zone of human consciousness” (p. 247). To all these speculations about the source of Smith's difficulties, Avery adds the possibility of natural biological maladies and allows readers to draw their own conclusions about the effects on Smith's mind of other stresses. These include the relentless grind of poverty and the rationalistic adjustments Smith felt forced to make to his inherited faith:

only months before his initial mental breakdown, he penned to his brother Joseph a lengthy, confidential letter full of penetrating religious inquiry. The letter evidenced an emergent and articulate liberalism, relativism, and ecumenism that would have shocked its recipient.

Avery's biography successfully conveys a life. Among its contributions is the account of Smith's decades in the asylum at Elgin, Illinois, which offers a fine portrait of the evolving handling of its occupants and the response of a nineteenth-century family to mental illness. Although the book contains occasional ellipses, glimpses of the author's coolness toward Young and the Utah Mormons, and judgments on minor points with which not all will agree, the work as a whole is well knit, sympathetic, balanced, and recommended for those with an interest in the history of mental illness or simply in a good read. Above all, students of American religion and its most prominent native expressions should take notice. For an earlier generation, Smith and his elder brother Joseph embodied—literally—many of the hopes, tensions, possibilities for reconciliation, and disappointments of the major branches of Mormonism that arose with the death of Mormonism's founder. Despite this, few scholars and few contemporary Latter-Day Saints are aware of David Smith. Avery offers a remedy.

PHILIP L. BARLOW
Hanover College

DEE GARCEAU. *The Important Things of Life: Women, Work, and Family in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, 1880–1929*. (Women in the West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1997. Pp. x, 215. \$45.00.

This book centers on women's prominence in the settlement of southwestern Wyoming from 1880 to 1930. Dee Garceau argues that “survival required adjustments that expanded women's work roles and increased their domestic authority,” within a context of “group cooperation” (p. 1). A wide range of sources informs this study: oral histories (including native-born and foreign-born informants), personal writings, folklore and songs, newspapers, and the U.S. manuscript census. Garceau's findings contribute to our understanding of how migration and settlement reshaped the lives of both immigrant and native-born American women and their daughters in the West.

Like many places in the West, the mines, towns, and ranches of Sweetwater County owe much to the Union Pacific Railroad, not only for the rail line but also, in the early 1870s, for the discovery of rich coal deposits that attracted miners, mostly foreign born, and encouraged the development of towns. A decade later, cheap land and the availability of water drew cattle ranchers, mostly native born. Garceau utilizes these two separate orbs—one urban, mining-oriented, and foreign born, and the other rural, ranching-oriented, and native born—to provide comparisons.

Family issues, particularly those associated with kin,

courtship, and marriage, provide one focus for the study. For foreign-born town residents, kin networks were structured among adult siblings largely because of a youthful migration. In contrast, the native-born ranching population had moved in extended families, and the resulting kin network reflected that multigenerational migration. Courtship was also influenced by ethnicity and location. Single women and men in town were more likely to delay marriage for economic reasons, to marry within ethnic groups, and to court under the watchful eyes of their elders; courtship for ranching young people was largely unchaperoned, although young women bore the burden of the double standard. These differences were less finely drawn after marriage, however. Regardless of ethnicity or location, married couples frequently faced long periods of separation as men searched for paid work and women maintained the family at home. Garceau's findings corroborate how such separation led to increased independence for married women.

Women's work furnishes a second major focus. Again, location and ethnicity resulted in different work experiences, although Garceau concludes that regardless of location, work provided a "transforming experience" for women. Ranch women lived and worked in a world that "echoed the nineteenth-century ideology of separate spheres" (p. 89), yet, in practice, they stepped out of that sphere whenever men needed their labor. Girls even did the work of cowboys when family needs required it. Town women's work was paid labor, and ethnicity and social class determined the nature of the work.

Garceau expands our understanding of women and family in the West in two distinct arenas. One is the importance of "commercialized domesticity," which characterized women's work in the small urban settings of Rock Springs and Green River, as a crucial economic strategy for immigrant families. There, and in a manner reminiscent of Willa Cather's *My Antonia* (1918), immigrant women and their daughters evolved from the subsistence farming of the old country, to the commercialized domesticity of taking in boarders and lodgers, and finally to the white-collar jobs initially held by native-born women. Garceau's elegant explanation of women homesteaders extends tremendously our understanding of that enterprise. Some women took up land to add to their family's holdings; others did so as an investment, selling the land for profit once they "proved-up" the claim. Her research contrasts the reality of this venture with the romanticized version that dotted the pages of popular magazines in the 1910s and 1920s.

The assessment of ranch women's work is less persuasive, however. Ranch women may have justified their crossing over into men's sphere as a temporary "service to the family" (p. 110), but their rhetoric belies the fact that rural women have always stepped out of the house to contribute their labor to harvests, haying, and calving. Moreover, the significance of "girl cowboys" would be more clear if birth order and/or sex

ratios in particular families were examined. Rural families with all daughters or all sons make demands on those children for nontraditional work.

Garceau's study succeeds in providing a clearer picture of a gradual redefinition of gender in early twentieth-century Wyoming, and in identifying the influence of ethnicity, class, and region on the that redefinition. In a larger sense, her study also clarifies debates about individualism and cooperation in the settlement of the West. The women of Sweetwater County, immigrant and native born, knew full well that their expanded opportunities existed in tandem with the cooperative efforts necessary for success in the Rocky Mountain West.

KATHLEEN UNDERWOOD

Grand Valley State University

PAUL H. CARLSON. *The Plains Indians*. (Elma Dill Russell Spencer Series in the West and Southwest, number 19.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 254. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$15.95.

This book by Paul H. Carlson is a survey, organized topically and addressed to the general reader, of Plains Indian history and characteristics (economy, horse culture, social organization, belief system, trade, and war) from 1750 through the Dawes Act, with a codicil on the twentieth century. It is neither as vivid or as light as one might expect; however, should the general reader persevere beyond surface impressions and past the opening complexities of geography and language groups, the reward will be interpretive themes that, while familiar enough to the modern specialist, may surprise and enlighten those less versed in the historical and anthropological scholarship. The book also provides a clear summary for those who believe they understand at least certain areas.

Most striking overall may be the detailed documentation here of the common sense, but often neglected, notion that Plains Indians formed into human societies with all the internal diversity and adaptability to external challenge of other such societies living in time amid change. As Elliott West has emphasized recently, there was a perception among explorers and probably among some later students that Indians were somehow both a homogeneous and a static people, repeating traditional patterns forever and waiting for Europeans to bring flux and change to the prairie. Carlson strongly demonstrates that nothing could be further from the truth. "They were neither," he says, "passive recipients nor helpless victims of new cultural and social forms, and while core elements of their cultures endured, the deep edges evolved to keep pace with an ever changing present" (p. x).

Another organizing insight is that "classic" Plains Indian "flamboyant" culture was ephemeral, recent, and highly influenced by technology (such as horses and guns) acquired through cross-cultural contacts. It was in many ways an adaptation to the stress of invasion as well as a flowering supported by the

relative leisure that the new economic dispensation (nomadic bison hunting) brought. This adaptation to a uniform threat also created homogeneity to a degree not known before. It created, Carlson writes, "a dramatic and unique era," one that despite its short duration had a deep effect on all who saw it: so deep that it became the single image of Indians in the minds of many. But it did not survive long, even among Native Americans. This book illustrates its author's argument that there are substantial differences between the modern Native American lifestyle and outlook and those of the nineteenth century.

The dust jacket claims that the book relies heavily on Indian voices and stresses an Indian viewpoint. This is true insofar as there are Indian sources, but these are relatively few. Certainly, the viewpoint is Indian, but this is neither a single perspective nor a tolerant one. One of the reasons coexistence did not work, Carlson writes, is that the tribes were as ethnocentric as the whites.

This book is ambitious and therefore brief on many deep topics. It is not greatly original, but it is balanced and analytical. Legal cases as they influenced Indians are covered as much as war or religion. Carlson pays attention to things people might always have wondered about, such as how Indians dressed, fixed their hair, diapered their babies, regarded homosexuals, and got their names. The emphasis is on diversity: some even enjoyed reservation life. Stereotypes are laid to rest as they should be, and the approach is unsentimental and unemotional. The fort and pitched battle were uncommon. That may be one source of their fascination in western lore, but these disconnected and untypical incidents cannot continue to serve as most readers' introduction to the history of the Plains tribes. Carlson's book is a sound corrective, reflecting the best secondary modern scholarship, and filled with words and sense, not graphics and drama.

CRAIG MINER
Wichita State University

BENSON TONG. *Susan La Flesche Picotte, M.D.: Omaha Indian Leader and Reformer*. Foreword by DENNIS HASTINGS. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 285. \$29.95.

Susan La Flesche Picotte (1865–1915) was probably the most famous Native American woman in this country during the decades surrounding the turn of the century. Her life was so remarkable that many Euro-Americans knew and approved of her endeavors on behalf of the Indians. Born of mixed-blood heritage into the Omaha tribe, Picotte became an advocate of assimilation after attending Hampton Institute. She then went on to become a medical doctor, the first female Native American to do so. Along with other Indian doctors of the era—Charles Eastman (Santee Sioux) and Carlos Montezuma (Yavapai)—she reached unheard of heights as a physician, reformer, and leader of her people. Following a stint as an Indian

Service doctor assigned to the Omaha reservation, she lobbied forcefully against the injustices of the allotment program—which saw the Omahas lose most of their land—and against the evils of alcohol. As a monument to her life, cut short by disease, in her later years she led a drive to secure funding for a hospital to better serve the people of her hometown.

In this much-needed biography, Benson Tong has produced a first-class study. The author of *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (1994), Tong now turns his considerable talents to the issue of culture brokers. His main theme is that Picotte served as an intermediary between two cultures, that she "absorbed western knowledge that prepared her for the role of a culture broker, one who would selectively introduce more white ways to her people" (pp. 53–54). Throughout the book, Tong places exceptional emphasis on the idea that Picotte acted in accordance with the goals of Euro-American society without cutting her cultural ties to the Omaha. This stance often placed her in the middle of controversy, alienating some Native Americans by advocating "progressive" ideas and dismaying her reformer friends when she failed to endorse fully their goal of assimilation. Although Tong correctly portrays Susan Picotte as a culture broker, the reminders sometime seem a little overdone.

As important as the middle ground perspective is, the book is equally successful at placing Picotte in the context of her times. Through the story of her life, we see what was happening with women, Indians, the medical profession, and federal Indian policy. Most important is the relationship of an Indian female to the ideal of Victorian womanhood. Picotte largely worked with and was supported by white female reformers, and the comparisons and contrasts between them are starkly presented. There is also an excellent, if brief, account of the status of the medical profession at the turn of the century. As a female doctor serving both Indian and non-Indian patients, Picotte's experiences illustrate the difficulties of women in the medical field and show how little attention the Indian Service devoted to Indian health.

Those interested in women's history, Indian history, and medical history will find this volume of particular interest. It is well researched and written. There is perhaps too much of a tendency to glorify Picotte, and an unusual number of errors should have been caught in editing; overall, however, this is a significant contribution and well worth reading.

ROBERT A. TRENNERT
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KATHERINE M. B. OSBURN. *Southern Ute Women: Autonomy and Assimilation on the Reservation, 1887–1934*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 165. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

In her brief, informative work on Southern Ute women from 1887 to 1934, Katherine M. B. Osburn argues

that they selectively accommodated and resisted assimilation efforts undertaken by the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) and various benevolent organizations. Although the OIA succeeded in virtually every assimilation initiative, including the alteration of subsistence activities, political structures, residential patterns, educational responsibilities, marriage customs, and gender roles, Osburn nevertheless concludes that Southern Ute women maintained a high degree of status and power. She notes that after the formation of the reservation and the subsequent allotment of tribal land, women continued to be essential in the production of food, clothing, shelter, and children. Just as their productive and reproductive importance granted them equal status in the early part of the nineteenth century, the instability of the Ute economy continued to reinforce gender equity and thus undermined the OIA's effort to impose a gendered society.

In the assimilation period, according to Osburn, interactions between Utes and the OIA reshaped the culture of each. Rather than passively acquiescing to the dictates of assimilation policies, Ute women actively participated in change, and in the process, modified those around them. Osburn surveys Southern Ute women's experiences in public leadership, economics, homemaking, sex, and marriage, identifying examples of female autonomy and influence. By comparing women's and men's responses to assimilation policies and programs, she brings the customs and attitudes of women into greater focus.

Osburn's study begins chronologically with passage of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act and concludes with its reversal by Indian Commissioner John Collier. Her analysis concentrates on the eastern half of the Ute reservation where the Capote and Mouache bands agreed to take allotments, as opposed to the western portion where the Weminuche Band continued to live on communal lands. Among the Capote and Mouache bands, the assimilation efforts of the OIA, Presbyterian missionaries, the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union extended to "every detail of Ute lives" (p. 14). While revealing more about the arrogance of the undertaking than its successes, records of such cultural intervention provide Osburn with a window through which to see Ute life.

The view, however, is limited, a problem that Osburn acknowledges only in a footnote. No Native voices are heard in this text because Osburn had no access to Ute women, their records, memories, or stories. The tribal government declined to become involved with her project, and the director of tribal education would not sanction any white person to write Ute history (p. 120, n. 4). Even Ute material culture of the period was apparently unavailable for research (p. 116). To illuminate the lives of Ute women, then, Osburn relies on the records of assimilationists and a handful of early oral histories. Without the participation of the Ute people, her goal of "making previously invisible historical figures visi-

ble" (p. 3) remains regrettably elusive and even unrealistic. To her credit, Osburn mines government records for case studies of resistance to federal policy, and they offer compelling examples of women's options in the arenas of economics and education. The number of case studies is so limited, however, that they cannot adequately support Osburn's thesis.

In spite of the absence of Ute participation, the book makes a useful contribution to the growing body of scholarship on Native American women. Osburn's study is enhanced by succinct organization and analytical clarity. The first of five chapters provides general background and the last includes a general summary. Each intervening chapter begins with a set of questions and ends with a summary of findings. Her final summary is particularly strong and is written with conviction and authority that earlier chapters lack. The abundant endnotes include reservation and government policy studies, newspapers, government reports, state laws, manuscript collections, recent scholarship about women and Native Americans, and relevant theses and dissertations. Eleven pages of period photographs offer glimpses of the Ute people and suggest the potential of further research into housing and clothing. Two maps clarify Ute and Colorado geography. The accessible arguments, clear writing, sharp focus, and supporting materials make the book appealing for classroom use. Moreover, with Osburn's publication, the assimilation records of Southern Ute women can be compared with those of other reservation women in the same period. As the scholarship by and about Native American women grows, such comparisons can enrich all tribal histories, no matter who writes them.

SARAH H. HILL
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BRENDA J. CHILD. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Pres. 1998. Pp. xvi, 143. \$35.00.

Brenda J. Child examines how the American government subjected Ojibwe and other American Indian students of the upper Midwest to the assimilationist process in the Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota, Haskell Institute in Kansas, and other Indian boarding schools in the early years of this century. Although Child covers some of the same Indian school topics discussed by other historians, including assimilation, poor living conditions, and military regimentation, she also provides new views of the Indian boarding school experience.

First she taps into an overlooked source: "boarding school letters" written by Indian students, Indian parents, and school officials. The Indian letters give the reader much information about student motives and initiatives, including why some ran away. Their reasons included dissatisfaction with school food, being required to do campus labor, being poorly treated by teachers, and, of course, homesicknesses. Equally im-

portant, the letters show Indian parental reactions, including anger after learning that they were not informed about their children's sicknesses and other problems. By using Indian letters in particular, Child presents a Native American account that differs from the version found in other Indian educational histories, which relied heavily upon accounts written by administrators, teachers, and other school employees. The author also shows that Indian families and their children at the schools remained linked by letters even though they were separated by physical distance. Thus she accurately subtitles her book "American Indian Families." Child's use of Indian letters, which she labels the "moccasin telegraph," should encourage other historians to utilize this overlooked source.

Another new finding, partly the result of using Indian letters, is the author's argument that not all Indian students ended up in federally operated Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding schools because of force and coercion. On the contrary, especially after 1900, some Indian parents, although reluctant, voluntarily sent their children to Indian boarding schools for several reasons. These included the death of a spouse, poverty on the reservations, and the worsening of poverty in the 1930s due to the Great Depression. Sending their children to school became a survival mechanism for some Indian families. Additionally, some Indian children desired to attend particular Indian schools because older siblings were already there or because they did not want to confront racism in the non-Indian schools near Indian communities. By bringing in the element of voluntarism, the author adds a new perspective to the field of Indian educational history. However, this new view must not replace but must stand besides the older argument of forced schooling, which many Indian students experienced both before and after 1900.

Child also addresses the rise of intertribalism or pan-Indianism which surfaced in the Indian schools. Because the students came from a number of tribes and were confined to a particular campus, they had no choice but to interact with each other, regardless of tribal affiliation. They shared tribal vocabulary words and mannerisms, and some even married each other after leaving school. Many of the older Indian educational histories focus primarily upon the BIA's efforts to detribalize Indian students and have not adequately discussed the mechanisms that Indian students created to retain their identities, including intertribalism or pan-Indianism.

Although Child covers areas not previously looked at or only lightly examined by other historians, at the same time she reiterates some of the older established facts. She discusses the well-known Meriam Report of 1928, which did much to publicize the negative conditions within the Indian schools. She also looks at the school reforms the BIA enacted in the 1930s under the new administration of John Collier. One of these changes was the relaxing of the earlier ardent assimilationist policies carried out up to the early 1930s.

With its strengths, this book does have some minor limitations. It does not include maps that would help the reader to identify the locations of the Ojibwe reservations in Minnesota. Additionally, Child does not explain why she ends her study with the year 1940. Regardless of these minor weaknesses, this book is highly recommended for both the specialist and the generalist, including students in the university classroom. The author maintains that her study presents an "Ojibwe point of view," in part because she is an Ojibwe from the Red Lake Ojibwe tribal group in Minnesota; at the same time, however, her book provides broader insights into the resistance strategies and survival tactics that operated within the Indian schools.

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Davis

DONALD L. FIXICO. *The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century: American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1998. Pp. xix, 258. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$22.50.

Donald L. Fixico's examination of the influence of modern capitalism on American Indian reservations is an unabashed and unapologetic story about the exploitation of Native people and their land. The author tells with passion "how my ancestors and other Indian people have suffered at the hands of American capitalists in this age of greed, the twentieth century" (p. ix). But the consistently argued thesis in this book addresses even larger issues. Fixico contends that the acquisitive instincts of the American people, the all-consuming pursuit of wealth, and the accumulation of goods are contributing to a global environmental crisis.

The book is organized into two parts. The first section includes six case studies of disparate Indian societies and the manner in which federal policies have undermined tribal life. Individual chapters address the non-Indian quest for allotted land and oil and mineral leases, access to water and timber, the denial of Indian fishing rights, and the struggle over native cultural rights to the Black Hills. The second section is divided into five chapters that discuss the wide-ranging corporate assault on tribal land, mineral, and water rights and the various strategies that tribal governments are using to defend those resources.

Although I generally agree that corporate and other non-Indian influences have made aggressive moves against tribal resources in this century, I would also contend that the consequences of unrestrained corporate activity extend far beyond the nation's Indian reservations: to the inner cities of our major metropolitan areas, to exploited workers of all ethnicities, and to resource-dependent communities in the American outback that are outside the national success story. That is the problem with capitalism: it changes everything it touches, and it leaves nothing untouched. Readers of this book should be aware that the values

associated with capitalism are lived at great depth and that they work in complex ways to influence our social systems. As a mode of production, capitalism continually reshapes the cultural and physical worlds that it embraces.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing through the present, tribal leaders have made various accommodations with the federal government and with the corporate world. To make matters more difficult for the tribes, the government has often served as a willing tool for corporations interested in gaining access to Indian resources. Throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, half-bloods, many of them educated in Indian boarding schools, were the tribal leaders most willing to accommodate white power structures. Aggressive capitalists played upon the historic factionalism of the tribes and further exacerbated friction between full-blood traditionalists and mixed-blood progressives. Perhaps the most notorious case of fraud, thievery, and deceit involved Jackson Barnett, a full-blood Muscogee Creek, who became immensely wealthy when oil was discovered on his Oklahoma allotment in 1912. Barnett quickly became a target for a broad range of persistent opportunists, including both half-blood Indians and whites. For Barnett and other Oklahoma full-bloods, the author concludes, "greedy whites and selfish mixed-bloods pressured and cheated the full-bloods, lusting after their royalties and their oil and gas lands" (p. 3).

Fixico's book is not without flaws. Better copyediting would have avoided the misspelling of the Klamath (*Kalamath*) tribe as the running-heads for the pages in chapter four. There are also errors in geography where the author characterizes the Klamath region as "embraced by the Cascades sloping from the Rocky Mountains" (p. 79). Fixico errs when he argues that the loss of Klamath lands under the General Allotment of 1887 should be attributed to the greed for timber. Most of the allotted lands that passed into the private sector were not timberlands but Klamath Basin lands deemed valuable for agricultural purposes. Interest in timberlands did not attract outside money at the turn of the century; agriculture did! In the years following World War II, however, Klamath sovereignty ultimately was undermined by corporate greed for timberland.

Readers of this volume may quarrel with Fixico's insistence that the capitalist onslaught on tribal resources is contributing to the threat of global environmental catastrophe. It seems evident, however, that as the threat to tribal sovereignty and tribal resources has mounted in the last few years, the author's argument may well be in the mainstream of American thinking.

WILLIAM G. ROBBINS
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KATHERINE G. AIKEN. *Harnessing the Power of Motherhood: The National Florence Crittenton Mission, 1883-1925*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 266. \$38.00.

Charles Crittenton established the Florence Crittenton Mission in 1883 to rescue prostitutes in New York City. Under Crittenton's leadership and that of his successor, Kate Waller Barrett, it became a national organization with homes for "fallen women" in seventy-three cities across the United States. Although historians have examined the National Florence Crittenton Mission (NFCM) before, this new study by Katherine G. Aiken is a detailed analysis that argues that the NFCM was one of the most significant social welfare movements at the turn of the century. Aiken places the organization in the mainstream of Progressive social welfare reform, with its emphasis on efficiency and the role of experts. Alluding to some of the recent scholarship on women's involvement in Progressive-era reform, Aiken also argues that a maternalist vision shaped the NFCM's work, as women became increasingly prominent in the organization.

The early years of the NFCM were informed by a sense of evangelical mission in which rescue work was seen, both by Crittenton himself and the volunteers who ran the homes, as a practical application of Christianity. Their aim was to save prostitutes and convert them to Christianity, while providing them with an alternative place to live. This was accompanied by a campaign against the double standard of sexual morality that condemned female prostitutes but condoned the actions of their male clients. Aiken thus suggests that Crittenton's work was in the tradition of antebellum moral reform with its attacks on the institution of prostitution as a threat to the home but sympathy for the prostitute herself.

Aiken sees Barrett, Crittenton's successor, as a transitional figure between sentimental benevolence and professional social work. Under her leadership, the NFCM took on a distinctly female and maternalist outlook that resulted in substantial changes in its mission. Barrett saw the treatment of "fallen women" as a reflection of women's status in society, and she self-consciously sought to use motherhood as a way to increase the power of women. Thus, she emphasized the redemptive power of motherhood as a way of saving "fallen women." Barrett shared this belief with a growing number of women from similar backgrounds, who used motherhood as a means to challenge the boundaries between the public and private spheres. In the case of the NFCM, this meant placing emphasis on women's capabilities, particularly as trained experts, in running the Crittenton homes. Increasingly, the work of the NFCM focused on helping unmarried mothers by providing them with shelter, medical care, and training to support themselves and their babies. Unlike many child-saving agencies, the NFCM insisted that unmarried mothers should not give up their babies. The NFCM also became involved in wider issues that included the white slave trade, women's health care, and child-care facilities for working mothers, as well as lobbying for the rights of illegitimate children and, eventually, woman's suffrage.

This book began twenty years ago as a dissertation, which perhaps explains why, although it acknowledges some of the recent scholarship on women's reform in the Progressive era, it does not fully engage in the debates provoked by this literature, especially on issues relating to race and class. It would have been particularly helpful had the book's topic been related more explicitly to other social welfare initiatives by conservative women during this period. Aiken has written a very sympathetic account of the NFCM's work and does not adequately deal with the many criticisms that earlier historians have made of the organization. Her reliance on materials produced almost entirely by the NFCM itself results in a limited perspective that largely ignores the inmates of the homes themselves and skirts the issue of whether or not the NFCM was ultimately successful, either on its own terms or those of the "fallen women" it sought to help. Admittedly, it is difficult to get at this kind of material, but Aiken's assertion of a sense of fellow feeling between NFCM workers and the women they sought to help is romanticized and unproven. Although this is undoubtedly a useful study of the work of the Florence Crittenton Mission, it does not address many of the wider issues it raises.

ELIZABETH J. CLAPP
University of Leicester

ELIZABETH J. CLAPP. *Mothers of All Children: Women Reformers and the Rise of Juvenile Courts in Progressive-Era America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 214. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Elizabeth J. Clapp opens the first chapter of this book by describing the initial 1899 session of Chicago's pioneering Juvenile Court. Seated next to Judge Richard Tuthill are several women who are advising him. It is a wonderfully appropriate image, for it perfectly captures Clapp's intent and major argument. Inspired by a steadily increasing body of historical scholarship asserting that women were prime movers in the early twentieth-century creation of the welfare state, Clapp has set out to assign them an equally critical role in the contemporaneous creation of the U.S. juvenile justice system. In short, she has set out to give women a place at the table (there were no judges' benches in the specially designed juvenile courts) alongside those to whom historians have traditionally given the lion's share of credit for the juvenile court: male reformers like Hastings Hart and Homer Folks and male judges like Tuthill, Harvey Baker of Boston, George Stubbs of Indianapolis, and, especially, Ben Lindsey of Denver.

Clapp's argument is that first in Chicago and then in other cities, juvenile courts were founded in large part because of the popular advocacy and legislative lobbying of groups of organized women who had in common a publicly expressed commitment to maternalist ideology: that is, to a loosely connected set of ideas revolving around the principle that women's tradi-

tional role as caretakers and nurturers of the young both required and gave them the expertise to enter the public arena in order to guarantee the protection and welfare of the nation's children. In pursuing this argument, Clapp defines two distinct groups of maternalists: traditional maternalists, who were likely to be women's clubs members; mothers themselves, and committed to middle-class ideals of domesticity and motherhood; and professional maternalists, such as settlement house workers, whose personal identification with maternalist ideals was weak but who found the rhetoric of maternalism useful in promoting child welfare. Despite differences, both traditional and professional maternalists, according to Clapp, shared an orientation toward juvenile justice that emphasized nurture and guidance through a strong probation system and differed markedly from the concern with character building and reform shown by male reformers and judges such as Lindsey.

Clapp's comments on distinct gendered orientations to juvenile justice are interesting, and her reminder that women played a role in the establishment of the juvenile court is needed. Yet her attempt to make that role a major one is less than successful. Although she repeatedly asserts that women were instrumental in designing legislation and getting it passed, she provides few if any examples and little detailed information. Even in the one case she most closely examines—the legislative authorization for the establishment of Chicago's Juvenile Court—it is unclear precisely what role maternalists played in getting the authorization through the legislature. Similarly, Clapp too often backs up her other claims with evidence that is more suggestive than definitive. Indeed, Clapp provides what seems an inordinate amount of background material on the women and women's organizations and groups she claims were instrumental in establishing juvenile courts. The result is that the reader has a far clearer understanding of why Clapp's maternalists would be juvenile justice activists than he or she has of what that activism entailed.

Part of the problem faced by Clapp may be that the evidence she needs does not exist, or does not exist in the same way as it does for supporting claims of maternalist influence in getting the state to embrace responsibility for maternal and infant welfare and for supporting children in their families. Unlike those areas where women were not only active in lobbying for programs but also were dominant in staffing and heading the involved voluntary organizations, state agencies, and federal bureaus, the juvenile court was largely a male world, staffed by men who acted as court officers, probation officials, and judges. Women were involved, but to nowhere near the extent that they were in providing for the health care and material wants of dependent and endangered children.

Maternalism has proven to be an interesting and usable interpretive construct for analyzing and understanding the creation of the welfare state and particularly of that part of it that was aimed at women and

children. But as this book makes quite clear, it is not universally applicable.

RICHARD A. MECKEL
Brown University

GREGG ANDREWS. *City Of Dust: A Cement Company Town in the Land of Tom Sawyer*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 360. \$42.50.

For many years now, American labor historians have collectively recreated the diversity of American workers' experience. In this study of Ilasco, Missouri, Gregg Andrews carefully reconstructs life and work in a community that was hardly at the center of American industrialization. By closely analyzing this small place, Andrews hopes to provide new insights into larger issues in labor, race, and ethnic studies.

The context for the creation of Ilasco was the dramatic expansion of the U.S. economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With demand for cement soaring, the Atlas Portland Cement Company sought new sources of raw materials and found them in plentiful supply in and around the caves along the Mississippi River outside Hannibal, Missouri. Here as elsewhere in America, local boosters aggressively courted the Atlas corporation in hopes of moving the area away from heavy dependence on agriculture. As Andrews tells the story, the boosters achieved their goals, for the presence of Atlas soon began attracting natives of the area seeking alternatives to farming. European immigrants seeking freedom from poverty and various forms of political oppression soon joined the natives. In some of the best sections of the book, Andrews describes the experiences of these early Atlas employees through the use of personal stories.

For a while after Atlas began operations, the company expected employees to behave in certain ways at work but did not seek control over private lives. Soon, however, Atlas officials launched an effort to extend their control to the private lives of employees, believing that drinking and other "alien" behaviors, such as domestic violence, contributed to problems at the workplace. Eventually the company built Ilasco to maintain close supervision of workers during their time away from work. Workers did not meekly accept such intervention, contends Andrews; they engaged in work stoppages and other forms of resistance. Rarely did workers prevail, however. Andrews argues that employers created and manipulated racial and ethnic divisions that striking workers found difficult to transcend.

Throughout this book, the author draws on his own experience growing up near Ilasco and the personal accounts of people who lived there to create a sensitive and vivid portrait of working-class life in a small company town. But he too often plugs his material into the prevailing currents of American labor history. For example, Andrews sees company welfare policies solely in terms of social control and anti-unionism. One program he singles out to support his argument is

company schools. According to Andrews, the schools were supposed to teach obedience and discipline. They did not work according to company plan because teachers decided to educate students so they would have more choices than their parents did. Thus students left the schools to go to universities in the region to receive educations that allowed them to experience upward mobility. If the companies were so interested in control, they could have prescribed a curriculum. They did not, and working people undoubtedly appreciated a benefit that did offer young people opportunity. Certainly the company sought to stabilize the work force and undoubtedly wanted to increase control of the workplace. But given the evidence Andrews offers, one must question the argument that control was a primary objective. It seems more likely that worker protest, organized and unorganized, made company officials aware of worker needs and the company responded. This may have been a preemptive strike, but it was one forced on the companies by the workers.

When it comes to the problem of race, Andrews again resorts to formulaic explanations. He argues that racial and ethnic divisions in the work force were primarily due to company hiring policies and anti-unionism. Unions "would have directed many class resentments against Atlas." As it was, "racism became a vehicle for scapegoating and a diversion for class anger" (p. 252). No evidence is offered to prove the point. The author assumes workers will unite if left to their own devices. The evidence in the book suggests a quite different reality that Andrews apparently chose to ignore. "White workers" got something from racial and ethnic division and wanted to maintain "white" privileges, union or no union. The division Andrews ascribes to cynical company strategy clearly originated with the workers themselves.

Here as elsewhere, the author allows opportunities for original contributions to our understanding of working-class America to slip away. Assumptions derived from ideology dictate conclusions. Thus, at critical points Andrews essentially silences the voices he so carefully sought to recover for this book. What the reader gets, therefore, is a book of evocative stories of working-class life plugged into an interpretive framework that reduces working people to caricatures.

HENRY M. MCKIVEN, JR.
University of South Alabama

BRYANT SIMON. *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 345. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Every historical narrative reveals not just the past but its own present as well. In 1987, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, and Christopher B. Daly wrote *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* with "preoccupations" "rooted" in the 1960s and 1970s

(*Like a Family*, p. xvii). Hall and her fellow authors reported that cotton mill workers achieved class consciousness; their book ends on a note of triumph with a worker telling how she “grewed to fellowship” with her fellow workers (*Like a Family*, p. 363). Now Hall’s student, Bryant Simon, brings the preoccupations of our time to his account of South Carolina’s cotton mill world. Simon’s concern is with legal culture, the attitudes ordinary people have about what role government should play in their lives. By the 1940s and 1950s, South Carolina mill workers had seen government flounder. They marched into the civil rights era convinced that government reform was no good; after all, they saw the state fail to help them in the New Deal. Like Eugene O’Neill, Simon wants his audience to see “somebody on stage facing life . . . not conquering, but perhaps inevitably conquered” (p. 239). This story is tragedy.

Simon documents the views of ordinary folk by working at history from the top down. He begins with an examination of Cole Blease, elected governor in 1910 and 1912. Blease raved against the law, praising lynch mobs for their masculinity, and shouting “to hell with the Constitution!” at cheering crowds. In an industrial age, when strange new forces threatened old hierarchies, Blease invoked Reconstruction-era redeemers’ rhetoric to blast reformers and government “interference.” At the turn of the century, South Carolina’s cotton mill workers loved such oratory and turned out to vote Blease into office. For Simon, Blease’s thinking stands for that of his followers.

In the 1920s, the economy slumped, and mill owners tried to cut costs by increasing productivity. Textile workers began to call for precisely the kind of government help Blease despised. In place of Blease, the workers chose Franklin D. Roosevelt and Olin D. Johnston as their heroes. Johnston, a former mill worker himself, promised to bring the New Deal to South Carolina. As Simon points out, while Blease’s rhetoric repeated traditional shibboleths born in Reconstruction, southern whites’ embrace of government action in the Great Depression required a dramatic realignment in thinking. Roosevelt’s opponents tried to guard the old ramparts with warnings of a “second invasion of the carpetbaggers” (p. 81). In the Great Depression, such defenses often failed in the face of class rhetoric.

The mill workers likened FDR to Moses and called him a “God-sent man” (p. 88), but Simon claims that both Roosevelt and Johnston failed their followers. According to Simon, Roosevelt only wanted labor’s vote, not really seeing himself as their savior. Elected governor, Johnston made a stab at reform, but he dropped the effort when the political wind shifted. By 1938, the New Deal had really dried up in South Carolina. That year Ellison “Cotton Ed” Smith turned back Johnston’s bid for the Senate with the old, racist, anti-state bombast. Simon sees that election as marking the end of the mill workers’ faith in the New Deal and the federal government. Changes in the meaning

of liberalism made it easier for men like Smith to prevail. Instead of waging class war, 1940s liberals wanted to reform southern race relations, hardly a scheme to attract white mill hands. So South Carolina textile workers went from New Deal liberalism to service as “foot soldiers in the army of massive resistance” (p. 9).

Simon’s insight into the thinking of southern white workers on the eve of the civil rights revolution seems plausible. But there are holes in his story. Although Simon carefully documents Blease, he does surprisingly little to take his readers inside FDR’s thinking. Ultimately, Roosevelt matters more to this story than Blease. Perhaps the mill owners’ botched relations with their workers, along with economic collapse, explain why the laborers shifted to New Deal liberalism. But the mill hands’ move away from the New Deal is narrated more than it is explained.

Hall and her fellow authors based their book on oral history. Simon uses more traditional sources, newspapers and manuscript collections, eschewing interviews with surviving mill hands. Although Simon makes good use of the letters mill folk wrote to New Deal agencies, this book is as much, or more, a study of political leadership as it is of the thinking of ordinary voters. As such, it makes an interesting and valuable contribution to our understanding of twentieth-century white southern legal culture.

CHRISTOPHER WALDREP
Eastern Illinois University

KRISTIN L. HOGANSON. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 305. \$30.00.

To the complex and indeed often conflicting interpretations of the wars of late nineteenth-century U.S. imperialism, Kristin L. Hoganson offers one more explanation, one that may well trump all the others and that, in the process, makes a compelling case for the reconfiguration of historiographical categories around which the literature on 1898 has formed. In a thoughtful, well-researched, and convincingly argued study, Hoganson examines the gender formulations from which American political leaders—all men—derived their moral bearings and developed their political beliefs. Late nineteenth-century domestic politics fused with foreign policy to serve as the stage whereon male players acted out carefully scripted gender roles, central to which was the practice of manliness.

The manifestations assumed many forms, of course, for the proposition of manliness was dynamic and organic and constantly in flux. It suggested a measure of worth and a standard of conduct and, in the hands of clever manipulators, served as a powerful means of coercion. The imperial project, Hoganson suggests, which in this instance meant war first against the

Spanish in 1898 and later against the Filipinos in 1899, was driven principally by males concerned about their status as men. Manly character implied a specific set of behaviors and beliefs dealing with the nature of political power, which carried to its logical conclusion could not but influence the terms by which U.S. leaders took measure of the place of the United States in the emerging world order.

War for empire offered a splendid outlet for the stirrings of late nineteenth-century American manhood. The relationship between manliness and military was self-evident, and, indeed, for many of the men of the post-Civil War generation, the prospects of war against Spain promised to fill a void in their lives. But the gender dimensions of war in 1898, Hoganson argues, were more complicated. They had to do with the economic depression of the 1890s and the blow against the self-esteem of men unable to discharge the prescribed role as head of family/provider. It was related to the increasingly "soft" urban life, concerns associated with the vanishing frontier, and the diminishing opportunity to act out manly virtues. And to the metaphysics of manliness was added the proposition of empire: a great people—that is, a manly nation—was obliged to possess colonies, for territorial possessions served as a measure of status and stature.

Hoganson is especially effective in demonstrating the nuanced methods by which the ideological terms of manliness insinuated themselves into the national debate about war and empire. Notions of manhood had so thoroughly become national ideals that politicians opposed to war and/or opposed to empire were vulnerable to attacks impugning their manhood, and by implication challenging their moral authority to lead the nation. McKinley's apparent slow conversion to war, Hoganson suggests, subjected the president to virulent gender-based attacks. He was denounced as "physically soft," indecisive, and weak, all conditions far removed from ideals of manhood and implying that he was unfit to lead a manly people.

There was, of course, a supporting cast in this drama. First, there was Spain, portrayed as slightly degenerate, dominated by effeminate aristocrats, and ruled by a queen regent on behalf of a boy king. Then there were the Cuban insurgents, represented as heroic and brave warriors—real men—fighting for liberty against a decadent Old World monarchy and surely worthy of U.S. support. It should be noted, however, that although the exaltation of insurgent manliness may have served to summon American support for the Cuban cause prior to the intervention, after the intervention Cubans were discovered to be bereft of the attributes of manhood. This discovery served, in turn, to justify the prolonged military occupation and the ensuing thirty-five years of U.S. political control. So, too, with the Filipinos, who were said to lack the manly virtues necessary for self-government and were repeatedly characterized as women and/or children.

Hoganson has written a very important book, one that immediately claims the center of the larger debate

on late nineteenth-century war and imperialism. This is a touchstone work. It is a model of scholarship, driven by passionate argument and sustained by judicious formulation of evidence, carefully crafted and richly documented. Hoganson has expanded the historiography on the war with Spain and its aftermath with a highly original study and in so doing has raised issues that reach far beyond 1898.

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR.
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR. *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 171. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$16.95.

This volume investigates how the events of 1898 fit into American history and historiography. Louis A. Pérez, Jr. criticizes the narrow perspectives of both contemporary participants in and historical commentators on the Spanish-American War. Indeed, a recurring theme is the inappropriateness of that designation, which fails to acknowledge the Cuban people's struggle for independence that preceded United States action. Equally critically, many U.S. sources deemphasize or completely overlook the role Cuban rebels played in facilitating the successful American invasion and Spanish capitulation. Chapter four, "Constructing the Cuban Absence," is particularly well done, providing ample evidence of the importance of Cuban activities before and during the Santiago campaign.

Other sections are less convincing, in part because the author's own biases get in the way. For example, Pérez claims that President William McKinley sought a war declaration to prevent Cuban independence once he knew Spain could no longer control the island. In this formulation, fear of the rebellion's success, not its failure, triggered American intervention. Many Americans, including influential members of the McKinley administration favored transforming Cuba into an American colony before, during, and after the American invasion. But Pérez provides no convincing documentation that the president himself was a leader of or led by this group. McKinley is too complex a character to be dismissed as merely implementing the century-old "no-transfer" principle in 1898.

The text is rife with quotations from American commentators and histories designed to demonstrate the narrowness or inadequacies of the prevailing American interpretation of the events of 1898. Although many U.S. historians have failed to mine the Cuban resources Pérez has examined, most Americans who participated in the conflict had reasons of their own separate from or even irrelevant to the Cuban rebellion. Similarly, most American historians attempting to explain their countrymen's behavior naturally emphasize the internal, personal, and nationalistic factors that motivated what many consider an aberration in the nation's behavior. One might argue,

in fact, that ignorance of and disinterest in the Cuba Libre cause was as salient a factor in explaining American behavior as anything the rebels thought or did.

Focused on what he sees as a glaring understatement of the Cuban element, Pérez fails to accord sufficient attention to other external forces at work. The late nineteenth century was indisputably an imperial age, as powerful nations added dependencies and colonies to already expansive empires. U.S. spokesmen observed and frequently envied these great power "rivals," and many Americans genuinely feared that other nations would, given the chance, extend their imperialistic reach into the Caribbean and other nearby neighborhoods. Dislodging weak Spain from control in Cuba was only part of the U.S. goal; ensuring stability either internally generated or externally defined through a protectorate mechanism was equally important. The Platt Amendment (1901) emerged to serve that purpose. That it restricted Cuban independence may have been regrettable, but those cognizant of the global imperial power struggle wanted guarantees of American-ensured security.

Part of the problem is that Pérez deals in absolutes. Because Cuba was not absolutely independent after the war, he implies that it was absolutely dependent. In fact, the United States concocted a variety of relationships with the territories it became involved with in 1898, ranging from undiluted colonialism in Guam and Puerto Rico to a relatively less dominant protectorate status for Cuba. Pérez dismisses the Teller Amendment (1898) as essentially a public relations gimmick, yet it definitely tied the hands of those who desired more comprehensive colonial status for Cuba than the Platt Amendment stipulated. As Pérez notes, Fidel Castro made many references to full independence as a goal and consequence of the revolutionary struggle he led, and remembrance of the War of 1898 and its failure to liberate Cuba fully remains a strong historical influence in Cuba. For Americans, however, the War of 1898 truly was a "little war," but one whose consequences for the United States were far broader and more complicated than simply replacing Spanish control in Cuba.

Pérez's work focuses some laudable attention on often under-emphasized factors, but the book as a whole skips over, omits, or misinterprets many other elements essential to explaining the United States' behavior in 1898 and afterward.

JOHN DOBSON
Oklahoma State University

BEN PROCTER. *William Randolph Hearst: The Early Years, 1863–1910*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 345. \$30.00.

The modern American newspaper emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nurtured by urbanization, retailers' need to advertise, and seemingly insatiable demand by readers for news. Between

1880 and 1920, the number of daily newspapers nearly trebled (from about 900 to nearly 2500) and circulation growth far outpaced population growth. This was a golden age for American newspapers; profits were high and expansion seemed limitless.

Ben Procter's biography of William Randolph Hearst provides a detailed portrait of one of the entrepreneurs who defined the modern newspaper. By his forties, Hearst had established a journalistic empire that included eight newspapers and two magazines in five of the largest U.S. cities; readership was near three million. Hearst emphasized that news could be fun. In 1896, his *New York Journal* proclaimed that "The public is even more fond of entertainment than it is of information." "Sob sister" columnists fed public interest in sentimentality and exposés, and colorful comics delighted young and old alike. Some of Hearst's crusades influenced public policy and whetted his appetite for political power—even the presidency. But his political prospect had dimmed by World War I and his later years—when he was ensconced with his movie star mistress in a castle overlooking the Pacific—had a soap opera quality to them.

This is not the first major biography of Hearst, although the last one was W. A. Swanberg's highly regarded *Citizen Hearst* (1961). Procter argues that the release of new correspondence from the Hearst family means that "a new assessment of Hearst now might be in order." Procter also notes that "to a certain extent," other biographers have overlooked Hearst's advocacy for Progressive reform in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Procter's book ends in 1910, although Hearst lived until 1951. The author promises a second volume.

In the preface, Procter provides two examples of the new material that prompted this biography. First, documents now show that Hearst's parents were wed not in Stedville, Missouri, as previously assumed, but in Steelville. Second, he notes that Swanberg erred placing one of Hearst's estates across the bay from San Francisco rather than thirty miles to the south. Elsewhere, the author writes that even though virtually all Hearst biographers "categorically concur" that Hearst's parents lodged at one hotel as newlyweds, there is no evidence of their residence there. Unfortunately, these examples illustrate the nature of the book: the new facts seem quite minor. Hearst's life still makes for a fascinating story, but it has been told before.

It is a riveting story. Spoiled by his mother and financed by the millions his father made in mining, young Hearst turned to journalism in the 1880s after being kicked out of Harvard University. He shook up San Francisco journalism with his sensational and self-promoting style. In New York, he pioneered "yellow journalism" and promoted war with Spain. Hearst had a circus promoter's flair and seemingly unlimited funds. He turned journalism upside down in every city in which he had papers.

What is lacking here is a sense of the larger context of journalism in that era. For example, contests were

common in American newspapers and represent not just Hearst's personality but larger points about newspaper audiences. In the early 1800s, readers subscribed to newspapers because they agreed with them politically. With the decline of partisan journalism and the relative homogenization of newspapers by the 1880s, publishers used contests to forge some sort of customer loyalty. Newspaper crusades were common, too, born out of a growing sense that the press could best serve the public by exposing political corruption. There is little sense here of the larger context for contests, crusades, or other developments in journalism. Examination of the half dozen or more major newspaper industry trade publications (such as *Newspaper Maker* or *Fourth Estate*) could have provided some of that context.

Hearst's career was a colorful one, and Procter does a good job describing it. But there seems little new substance here, and little that places Hearst in the larger context of American journalism and culture.

GERALD J. BALDASTY
University of Washington

ALLEN RUFF. *"We Called Each Other Comrade": Charles H. Kerr & Company, Radical Publishers.* (The History of Communication.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 312. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Allen Ruff's study focuses on what he considers the American socialist movement's most important publishing venture during its peak years in the early twentieth century: Charles H. Kerr and Company, which the major scholarly studies of the Socialist Party have largely overlooked. At the turn of the century, Kerr and Company began publishing English translations of the classic works of European Marxism, often for the first time. It also published *International Socialist Review* (*ISR*) from 1900 to 1918. Initially a theoretical organ, the *ISR* after 1908 became the principal voice of the Socialist Party's (SP) left wing. To reach a wider, grass-roots readership, Kerr used a format resembling that of mass circulation magazines, shortening article length and emphasizing illustrations, photographs, and cartoons.

Kerr embraced Marxism in 1899, following a long-term involvement with radical Unitarianism that began after he entered the University of Wisconsin in 1877. Influenced by the teachings of abolitionist minister Theodore Parker, radical Unitarians rejected an otherworldly outlook, preferring to combat "the sins of Boston, not of Babylon" (p. 24). Ruff explores radical Unitarianism's impact on Kerr's becoming a socialist, emphasizing its adherents' involvement in campaigns for labor and women's rights, its stress on education for uplift, its faith in humanity's capacity for improvement, and its origins in a factional conflict with Unitarianism's conservative wing. In 1886, in Chicago, Kerr established the Midwest's major Unitarian publishing house. The depression of 1893-1897 drew Kerr

away from Unitarianism and into more direct political involvement; he published Populist magazines between 1893 and 1898.

As the world's leading English-language Marxist publisher during the first quarter of the twentieth century, Kerr and Company exposed American readers to the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and many of their followers and interpreters. Kerr also issued original Marxist presentations on the "Woman Question," written by women. Ruff, however, provides only a sketchy description of such works and little analysis of Kerr and his associates' views on gender relations, women's political priorities, and related issues like birth control, all of which deeply divided socialists. The study also gives scant attention to their perspectives on race. Despite the *ISR*'s extensive coverage of foreign affairs, Ruff does not account for the *ISR*'s apparent lack of interest in the anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia, which reached epidemic proportions between 1903 and 1906.

Dismissing Algie Simons as *ISR* editor in 1908, Kerr not only made the journal more accessible to the SP rank and file but transformed it into a national organ for the party's left wing. The *ISR* helped create support for the free speech fights staged by the Industrial Workers of the World in the West and defended Big Bill Haywood when right-wing SP leaders moved to oust him from the SP National Executive Committee. Kerr and his associates also strongly opposed the SP right-wingers' efforts to centralize control of the party press. Ruff should have given more attention to defining and analyzing the positions of the SP factions, since many who adopted militant stands on industrial unionism, decentralization, and the prospects for rapidly achieving socialism could not be classified as left-wing on gender and race issues, or even on U. S. intervention in World War I.

Ruff declares that the *ISR* had "few, if any, rivals" (p. 163), but he could have more clearly situated it within a vibrant American socialist press by systematically comparing it with *The Masses*, a periodical published from 1911 to 1917 that was also positioned on the left of the socialist movement. This would have been helpful in assessing how socialists reacted to the profound cultural changes of the 1910s. *The Masses* was far more sympathetic to the "new woman," sexual liberation, youth's radical potential, and modernist currents in the arts.

The study devotes significant attention to wartime government suppression of the *ISR*, which was targeted for its militant stand against U. S. intervention and its support of the Bolshevik Revolution. The *ISR* had, from 1915, provided a voice in the United States for an emerging European socialist antiwar opposition. In early 1918, postal authorities prohibited the *ISR*'s distribution through the mail or by private express, permanently terminating it. Kerr continued as a book publisher until his retirement in 1928, reprinting major works of Marxism and studies other presses avoided as too controversial.

This study should prove illuminating to scholars interested in the Socialist Party when it was most significant. It is particularly useful in providing insight into the spread of Marxism in the United States, the SP's contacts with the European movement, and the wartime suppression of the socialist press.

STEPHEN H. NORWOOD
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ERIC CAPLAN. *Mind Games: American Culture and the Birth of Psychotherapy*. (Medicine and Society, number 9.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 242. \$35.00.

In this book, Eric Caplan tries to illuminate the process by which Victorian-era physicians came to accept mental healing, or what is now called psychotherapy. Before Sigmund Freud arrived in the United States, Caplan argues, the American medical community began to understand that not all mental disorders had somatic causes. Such a concept was fundamentally at odds with prior medical orthodoxy and signaled a breakthrough in both medical thinking and practice. In tracing the roots of this new faith in psychotherapy, Caplan looks not to the importation of European ideas about the mind and body but rather to the particular experiences of American practitioners ranging from railway surgeons to neurologists.

In an opening chapter, Caplan describes the lawsuits brought against railway companies by individuals who suffered no discernable physical injury but serious mental derangement following train wrecks. These civil actions prompted new medical thinking. Initially, the mental distress that resulted from train accidents was deemed the result of "railway spine": a functional condition induced by the physical compression of the body. The resulting symptoms—among them disturbed sleep, hot head, and impotence—led to numerous lawsuits and expensive settlements. As the costs of railway spine mounted, some surgeons began to consider whether the injury was indeed physical or might instead be a manifestation of nervous shock that was best treated by rest cure and other mental therapies. Thus, Caplan demonstrates with a bit of irony, the first American medical specialists to embrace psychotherapy were not neurologists but railway surgeons.

In subsequent chapters, the author examines the treatment of neurasthenia, the rise of the mind cure movement, the growing critique of somaticism by elite practitioners, and the influence of the Emmanuel movement, a church-based effort to unite religion and mental healing. Readers are introduced to the various treatments provided to those who suffered from nervous fatigue: hydrotherapy in the form of cold and hot baths, special diets, electrotherapy, medication, seclusion, and rest. There is a substantial discussion of the threat to physicians posed by the "mental healing" of mesmerists, lay practitioners, and religious leaders such as Mary Baker Eddy. The response of medical professionals was, first, to attempt to enact laws out-

lawing such lay healing and second, to consider why patients found such healing so attractive and helpful.

Neurologists and other physicians resisted psychotherapy and maintained an allegiance to somatic medicine because they were reacting, in part, to the unscientific practices of lay mental healers. Yet some recognized the limits of their own treatments. Caplan charts the willingness of a few Boston-based psychiatrists, neurologists, and psychologists to reconsider the role that mental factors played in nervous diseases. These innovators recognized the limits of traditional therapies and considered the possibilities of mental healing because they were able to conceptualize a scientific psychotherapy built on the medical expertise of its practitioners.

What finally propelled psychotherapy into the mainstream of medicine, Caplan asserts, was the challenge posed by the Emmanuel movement. Begun by clergymen whose efforts to provide mental healing rested on the twin pillars of faith and science, the movement was initially supported by leading physicians. As it gained followers and fame, however, it lost the sympathy of doctors. They rejected a therapy that rested on the minister's spiritual authority, seeing it as a threat to their own therapeutic knowledge. Clerical as well as medical opposition ultimately led to the demise of the Emmanuel movement. Yet, according to Caplan, it left an important legacy: its broad appeal forced physicians finally to claim the domain of psychotherapy as their own.

Written to address what the author deems a surfeit of writings on Freud and psychoanalysis and an absence of any interpretation of the origins of psychotherapy in the United States, this book succeeds in opening up the latter subject to serious scrutiny. Caplan's study is well written but aimed at an audience of specialists: historians of psychotherapy and medicine. It offers less to non-specialists, who might wish to know more about the social and cultural influences on Victorian physicians and their patients as together they shaped the development of psychotherapy.

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LEON FINK. *Progressive Intellectuals and the Dilemmas of Democratic Commitment*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 374. \$39.95.

The term "democratic intellectual" is, if not an oxymoron, at least packed with tension. Intellectuals are people who, by virtue of their learning, leisure, and other acquired advantages, think they know better than others. As such, they have a tendency toward contempt for those less privileged than themselves, whom they are inclined to call the "masses." How is it, then, that intellectuals who claim to know better than most people—and who, across a limited range of matters, do indeed know better than most people—might effectively bind themselves to democratic poli-

tics, the authoritative rule of the very masses to whom they are inclined to condescend? This was a particularly fraught question for American intellectuals in the first third of this century, and Leon Fink has gathered a collection of portraits of figures, familiar and unfamiliar, who wrestled with it. A diverse lot of reformers, they shared what Fink calls a "paradoxical vocation," that of "a social critic committed at once to identification with the whole of the people and an elitist whose own mores and life situation would prove somewhat alienating from the very public he or she had chosen to serve" (p. 5).

Fink's subjects include members of the Wisconsin school of labor history and economics (John Commons, Selig Perlman, and Charles McCarthy); radical socialists William English Walling and his wife Anna Strunsky Walling; African-American labor leader A. Philip Randolph; economist W. Jett Lauck; and adult educator Wil Lou Gray. If this seems a motley crew, it is, and Fink makes little effort to corral them tightly. Moreover, his chapters often wander far from the theoretical questions about intellectuals and democracy that provide the ostensible connective tissue. The perambulation is most evident in Fink's account of the ups and downs of the Wallings' troubled marriage, which, while absorbing in its own right, sheds little light on his announced themes. Those in search of productive generalizations on these themes would be better served by books such as Jeffrey Goldfarb's *Civility and Subversion: The Intellectual in Democratic Society* (1998) and Michael Walzer's *Company of Critics: Social Criticism and Political Commitment in the Twentieth Century* (1988), which address them more systematically. The virtues of Fink's book lie elsewhere, in its vivid individual portrayals and not in the broader canvas on which they are placed. Drawing on considerable research in manuscript collections, he skillfully interweaves public and private experience into a set of rich mini-biographies. None of these is more moving than that of Strunsky Walling, who sacrificed a promising writing career to a stormy and ultimately wrecked marriage, and only a churlish reader will begrudge its limited yield of insights into the dilemmas of the democratic intellectual.

There is, nonetheless, a somewhat narrower story that effectively enfolds Fink's cast of characters. They were all, to varying degrees, involved with the labor movement, and several of them crossed paths in the important investigations of the Commission on Industrial Relations (1912–1915), about which Fink has much of interest to say. Together, Fink's portraits helpfully illuminate the difficulties encountered by intellectuals who sought to influence the course of labor politics in the first third of this century. The key question was how to exercise this influence, and Fink's subjects describe a range of more or less democratic possibilities. Commons, McCarthy, and Lauck sought to set themselves up as expert consultants to labor leaders or technocratic social engineers in service to the welfare state, while Randolph, a onetime journal-

ist, simply assumed (often autocratic) union leadership. Grey launched important initiatives in adult education in South Carolina that combined a paternalistic determination to instill bourgeois virtues in her students with an egalitarian commitment to widespread literacy that sometimes served democratic ends beyond her intentions. None of Fink's characters managed to resolve the tensions besetting intellectuals who tried to forge a connection to the working class, but they (and he) illustrate them in instructive fashion.

Most of Fink's subjects also shared a decided disinclination to content themselves with the sort of thing that intellectuals as intellectuals do best: make public arguments to whomever will listen about matters of widespread concern. They hankered after a more direct exercise of power, even when, in Walling's case, it took the form of advising the leaders of the American Federation of Labor of the dangers of the will to power of intellectuals. Fink seems to share this self-abnegating unease—I hesitate to term it "anti-intellectualism"—of his subjects. He laments those who "withdraw from democratic affirmations altogether in favor of a defense of the lonely voice of critical reason," who look "not to the community of the political act but to the solitary work of the intellectual to uphold human freedom" (p. 275). But a lonely defense of critical reason often implies the hope for its widespread cultivation and hence, however solitary the labor, can be a democratic affirmation of the first order.

ROBERT WESTBROOK
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KEVIN MATTSON. *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1998. Pp. 208. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

At the beginning of this book, Kevin Mattson confesses his lack of interest in academic history. By exploring activists and intellectuals of the past who fought to create a better democracy, he hopes to revitalize the political culture of today. He focuses on early twentieth-century efforts to create community-based forums and discussions wherein the political and social issues of the day might be debated. Such institutions and the conversations they generated he sees as central to a vital democracy and thus the creation of a "democratic public." The latter is a concept of Mattson's own creation, and by it he means something that "forms when citizens gather together to deliberate and make public judgments about local and national issues that affect their lives" (p. 4). This teaches citizens the skills necessary to participate effectively in a democracy. Mattson seeks to understand how activists sought to create such institutions during the Progressive era, their successes and failures, and the lessons they drew from their experiences.

Mattson begins his study by examining the city beautiful movement and university extension pro-

grams. Next he examines Frederick Howe, who worked closely with Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland and became a leader of the People's Institute, which conducted forums on the leading issues of the day. Mattson applauds the achievements of this institution, finding that it "produced an independent democratic public, made up of different immigrant groups, that willed its own processes and did not remain subservient to academic teachers" (p. 43). Yet he also notes the limitations of Howe's philosophy, which saw efficiency and administration by experts as an essential part of democracy.

The heart of Mattson's book focuses on the social center movement, in which public schools were used in the evening for public debate. The movement began in Rochester, New York, in 1907, but by 1912 it had stretched across the nation, offering citizens a place to deliberate over such issues as free textbooks for schoolchildren, the social virtues of the saloon, or the value of women's suffrage. After sketching the rise of this movement, Mattson devotes two chapters to considering the thinking of activists promoting it. He focuses in particular on Mary Parker Follett, a Boston intellectual and activist, who Mattson contends wrote the most important essays on social centers and democracy. She also exemplifies how the social centers could change someone politically, for she evolved from a traditional political scientist to become a radical democrat. Finally, Mattson describes the "waning of the democratic public," as he puts it, during the era of World War I. Social centers activists hitched their wagon to the war effort, and in the process they demonstrated most effectively the undemocratic potential of their centers, leading to the decline of their movement and a growing cynicism more generally about democracy across the U.S.

Unlike many scholars, Mattson takes early twentieth-century activists seriously when they talk of democracy. He dismisses the interpretations of other scholars—such as Jean Quandt and Edward Stevens—who have explored these movements and portrayed them either as inspired by nostalgic communitarianism or seeking social control. Yet readers may wish Mattson himself had engaged in more critical analysis and less celebration of his subjects. The movements could not help but entail some degree of social engineering, however benevolent, because they involved top-down efforts by elites to mobilize and educate the "public." On the back of his book, Mattson declares that democracy in the Progressive era was "more alive than it is today." That can be considered true only if we, like Mattson, fail to consider the disenfranchisement of African Americans, women of all races, Native Americans, and immigrants. Similarly, Mattson writes that in public forums "it did not matter what class or racial background a person came from, since a democratic public carved out a sphere in which citizens gathered as equals to listen to one another" (p. 74). Presumably this romantic notion is meant to reflect the thoughts of Mattson's activists rather than his own, though the text

is actually unclear on this point. In any case, these issues—the limits of democracy, the tensions it contained or covered up—deserved more attention. Despite such objections, scholars interested in Progressive-era politics and activists working on contemporary political issues will certainly benefit from a careful reading of Mattson's thought-provoking book.

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NATHAN GODFRIED. *WCFL: Chicago's Voice of Labor, 1926–78*. (The History of Communication.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 390. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In the period between the wars, the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) was unlike any other labor council in the country. Led by left-leaning activists, it advanced a militant, class-conscious style of unionism that made the city a stronghold of organized labor. In addition to overseeing mass organizing drives in steel and meat-packing, it launched a Labor Party, supported the effort to unionize female teachers and clerical workers, and played a leading role in the campaign to free Tom Mooney. This insurgency was made possible, in part, by a strong movement culture that sustained labor activism and helped weld together Chicago's ethnically diverse working class. A key element in the production of this culture was WCFL, the radio station launched by the Federation in 1926.

Nathan Godfried's book is a thorough, well-crafted study of WCFL from its founding until its demise in the late 1970s. It builds on and extends the earlier work of Robert W. McChesney on the labor radio phenomenon in Chicago and nationwide, and that of Susan Smulyan on the commercialization of broadcasting, but it also engages with recent debates about cultural hegemony and the capitalist marketplace. Both narrative strands center on the fledgling station's efforts to balance financial viability with alternative programming. It is in this area that Godfried excels, showing just how isolated the CFL was from mainstream centers of power within the labor movement and within the emerging world of broadcasting. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) shunned the radio experiment as a quixotic adventure mounted by an overly independent city council. Aside from occasional paid advertisements, it lent no support to WCFL or to any other labor-affiliated station. Similarly, the National Association of Broadcasters proved more an enemy than an ally, especially after it formalized a code of practice in 1939 that discouraged programming dealing with union-related issues.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle WCFL faced during its first thirty years of broadcasting was a system of government regulation that from the start favored larger commercial stations. Godfried pays special attention to the role of the state in shaping the fortunes of labor radio; he depicts the Federal Radio Commis-

sion and its successor, the Federal Communications Commission, as antagonists that regarded WCFL as a "special interest" rather than a legitimate free-market broadcasting venture. Both bodies, Godfried maintains, helped marginalize WCFL by restricting the station's operating hours, refusing its requests for a "clear channel" void of competing signals, and denying its repeated efforts to increase its broadcasting power.

Encumbered by these formidable handicaps, WCFL nonetheless managed to offer a remarkably healthy and impressive dose of progressive programming, at least in its early years. Some of the more enjoyable and eye-opening passages in the book detail the station's entertainment slots and editorial campaigns. These included, remarkably enough, African-American performers in a number of media, as well as a more expected blend of comedy, vaudeville, and sports interspersed with labor-specific programs.

Godfried believes that much of WCFL's early success was due to the tireless efforts of its founder, CFL secretary Edward Nockels, a visionary who saw small-scale radio as a means of democratizing the media, combating monopoly, and defending organized labor from anti-union propaganda. Nockels masterminded WCFL's efforts to secure redress of unfavorable regulation and legislation and worked ceaselessly to secure financial support for the station. His death in 1937 left the station bereft of any real ideological commitment, and it began to drift into the mainstream. While as late as 1947 WCFL campaigned against the Taft-Hartley Act, for most of the postwar period there was little that distinguished it from commercial radio.

In sum, this is an excellent book that deserves a wide readership. Scholars in labor and business history, those working in the burgeoning field of consumption, and those in media studies will find it a worthwhile and revealing study. One hopes it will stimulate further research on other "alternative" media outlets in radio and television.

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JOEL A. CARPENTER. *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 335. \$30.00.

Joel A. Carpenter's long-awaited book on the history of American fundamentalism from 1930 to 1950 is a superb addition to the historiography of American religious history. For a variety of reasons, ranging from intellectual snobbery to wishful thinking, American journalists and historians long pictured fundamentalism as an antimodern aberration of the 1920s that more or less disappeared during the 1930s. Carpenter's sweeping study should lay that myth to rest. Indeed, fundamentalism thrived during the 1930s, when much of the American religious landscape was as forlorn as the nation's depressed economy.

Not the least of the virtues in this book is Carpen-

ter's precise definition of the term fundamentalism. Like the word Puritan, the term fundamentalism has been used so loosely, even by scholars, that the well-defined group of evangelical Christians who considered themselves fundamentalists became indistinguishable from other conservative American Protestants. By the 1930s, Carpenter points out, "*fundamentalism* no longer signified a broad federation of conservative cobelligerents. The movement had been pared back to those whose roots, by and large, were in the older, interdenominational, premillennialist, and 'Bible school' network" (p. 8). Their contemporaries, both fellow-travellers and critics, understood who these fundamentalists were and had an inkling that they were important.

The first half of Carpenter's book describes the fate of fundamentalists during the 1930s, when they were a self-conscious group of religious outsiders. Their sense of separation provided justifications for rigid moral codes and a fervent commitment to missions. Fundamentalists were also separated from their more genteel Christian neighbors by a strict and literal view of the Scriptures and, perhaps most important, by a world view shaped by dispensational premillennialism. While all fundamentalists to some degree felt alienated from the religious and secular world around them, they were always of two minds about whether they were obligated to leave their denominations and form new religious groups. Some did, and some did not.

The loose fundamentalist movement was held together by an extensive network of interdenominational institutions. Fundamentalist leaders used Bible schools, religious papers, radio programs, and evangelistic conferences and crusades to connect people across denominational lines and establish a well-defined subculture. Carpenter's description of these developments is detailed and convincing, and he explains how and why the movement survived in the 1930s to become a powerful "surrogate denomination" for conservative Christians.

The second half of Carpenter's book describes fundamentalism's move to the center of the American religious stage by 1950. It was on this stage that Billy Graham stepped forward to become the nation's foremost religious icon in the last half of the twentieth century. That such a thing should happen in a movement schooled in outsider thinking was a "crashing contradiction" (p. 111). But change the movement did. A coterie of aspiring scholars dreamed of making Fuller Theological Seminary a respected educational institution; those long disdainful of the wickedness surrounding them became breast-beating Americans; cantankerous separatism gave way to an irenic effort to unite in the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE); and, despite their premillennial baggage, fundamentalists became obsessed with saving the nation and the world through a galaxy of mission organizations ranging from Youth for Christ to World Vision. The rise of an evangelical wing in the fundamentalist movement once again bore witness to "the assimilative

power of American popular culture" (p. 240). To be sure, all of this was not done without the appearance of internal tensions; future fundamentalist leaders would sever the movement into two wings: high-brow evangelicals associated with Fuller and the NAE and old-time fundamentalists who still preached rigid separation.

This book is primarily intellectual and institutional history; Carpenter makes little effort to link fundamentalism to social and cultural tensions. But it accomplishes well what the author sets out to do: to describe the survival, organization, and expansion of American fundamentalism after 1930. Most intellectuals will probably not go away from this book liking fundamentalism, but Carpenter convincingly argues that the movement provided millions of Americans with surety and peace in the midst of difficult times, and it offered a safety net of friendship and succor similar to that found in ethnic communities. Under any circumstances, it is a serious mistake to regard fundamentalism as an "anomaly" and a "sidebar" to American religious history. On the contrary, Carpenter argues, fundamentalism was "by far the most influential evangelical movement in the United States during the second quarter of the twentieth century" (p. 237). Fundamentalism's "ideas, outlook, and religious 'goods and services' penetrated virtually all of the other movements and traditions" (p. 9). Well-organized, beautifully written, and superlatively researched, Carpenter's book provides an authoritative and respectful study that finally gives the devil's fiercest enemies their due.

DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR.
Auburn University

RICHARD O. DAVIES. *Main Street Blues: The Decline of Small-Town America*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 234. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$20.00.

"Once the very marrow of a young and growing nation, now hollow shells of their former selves," Richard O. Davies concludes, "they [America's small towns] are condemned to live in the shadows of a new America. In his 'My Hometown,' pop singer Bruce Springsteen is not far off the mark: 'Main Street's closing down . . . No one wants to come down here any more'" (p. 195).

Around this theme, Davies composes his narrative of the community of Camden, Ohio. He opens his history of this small midwestern agricultural town, located forty miles north of Cincinnati, with its settlement in 1803, the year Ohio was admitted as a state into the union. He sketches the coming of the railroad (1850), the telephone, and electricity; the filling in of Main Street; the building of a school and library; and the development of a range of amenities that made Camden nearly a self-sufficient community on the eve of World War I. Davies then depicts "the halcyon days of the 1920s," when the town baseball team (the center of attention) won games, concrete sidewalks and paved

roads replaced the dirty and dusty streets, and the aroma of horse manure vanished as automobiles appeared in ever greater numbers. His narrative, having crossed into the 1930s, when the Republican town learned to cooperate and live with government programs, reaches its apogee in the 1940s (even more precisely, he suggests 1947) when the community could truly celebrate itself. Camden defeated the Depression at home and tyranny abroad. Goods and opportunities abounded. There was almost a car in every garage and a flickering television screen in every living room. It seemed at that moment that Camden belonged to the nation and the nation to Camden.

Here the great cycle of things turned downward, and Davies's narrative finds its bite. Ironically, what the nation gave Camden it started to take away, as industry and commerce, as opportunities, amenities, and prosperity shifted decisively from countryside to city and from local to regional, national, and even international axes. Davies adds an additional twist: Camden remained largely oblivious to the fact that its hour—and the hour of small towns throughout the nation—was passing rapidly. There was little that peripheral Camden could have done to change the course of things. It was destined to irrelevance.

Davies's narrative moves forward with increased passion as he traces Camden's accelerating slide to decline and decadence, which was not unlike that of the majority of 11,897 other small American towns, where only ten percent of the nation's population now resides. The tale Davies tells is familiar: youth goes elsewhere to become somebody, to fulfill their hearts' desire. Citizens travel out of town to shop and amuse themselves. Smaller and traditional rural industries are eclipsed, while retail trade along Main Street disappears in a rising sea of franchises. The railroad ends service to the town. Consolidations and closings overtake town and regional institutions. Even though its population actually grows, the town loses its self-sufficiency. With Main Street's passing go its leaders and a rallying vision of the future. Grass grows up between the sidewalks; roads are not repaired; and, in severe cases like those of Camden, there aren't even adequate funds to tear down the town hall that once was the town's pride and joy. The town's sole attraction is its cheap housing stock, and Camden's sole distinguishing monument becomes an eccentric individual's rusty shortwave tower that signals the town's distance from the progressing nation.

Davies successfully demonstrates the value of community histories to the professional historian. With his narrative of a single locale, he offers a veritable compass to the plight of small towns across the nation. Furthermore, as good case studies serve—perhaps even save—history, anthropology, and sociology from rampant generalization and data run amuck, Davies's microcosmic approach permits narrative and moral judgment to be anchored in the richness and vivid details of place. His book is a welcome contribution in a historiographical era when historians seem more

intent on arguing abstractions rather than documenting places.

Davies might have dedicated more time to the mentality and the diverse and changing cultures of Camden. Additionally, he could have devoted analysis to the diverse and changing interactions of this agricultural town with the surrounding countryside, as well as distinguished the function of ethnicity in the town. He surely could have been far more explicit in quantitatively and qualitatively describing the changing forces, conditions, and determinants that shaped the rise and fall of Camden in relation both to its own periphery and the controlling metropolis. All this would have permitted the reader to know Camden better and to extend his findings to other small towns throughout the region and nation. Nevertheless, we are indebted to Davies for this model study of a small town. Along with older classics like Lewis E. Atherton's *Main Street on the Middle Border* (1954) and John Radzilowski's recent *Prairie-Town, A History of Marshall, Minnesota, 1872-1997* (1997), Davies's book allows us to grasp the small towns in which the American nation was once nurtured.

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JAMES HOOPES. *Community Denied: The Wrong Turn of Pragmatic Liberalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. Pp. 192. \$32.50.

James Hoopes is worried about the current state of American liberalism. For him, its disarray in the face of attacks by conservative political and social thought is troubling enough, but even more troubling is the choice of contemporary liberals to seek the resources to mount a counterattack in John Dewey's pragmatism. As part of the search for an alternative philosophic basis for liberalism, for a "usable past," Hoopes wishes to draw on the work of the "strong" pragmatist Charles Sanders Peirce. Peirce was a metaphysical realist whose thought was built out of the logical, semiotic relationship between objects. For Peirce, this relationship was real. Thus, generals—horse, rather than a horse—were real, although their precise qualities could only be known by a pragmatic working in the world. Since generals were real and not simply the addition of numerous particulars, communities were real as well. Thus, a community could have real desires, needs, or understandings and was not just the aggregation of individual preferences.

Hoopes contrasts Peirce's pragmatism with the work of two "weak" pragmatists: William James and Dewey. James's focus on the stream of consciousness of the individual committed him to an empiricist, nominalist metaphysics of atomistic individuals. That commitment made it difficult to see how two people could share one thought, much less how a community could

form and do so. Though Dewey forswore nominalism, he shared James's inability to formulate a theory of communication that would support his belief in the reality of community. He was thus reduced to asserting, but not demonstrating, the ability of society to respond intelligently to social problems.

The weaknesses that liberals faced as a result of building their political theory on the basis of the thought of James and Dewey are explored by looking at the thought of Walter Lippman, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Mary Parker Follett, a thinker usually known for her writings on human relations in industry. For Lippman, the individual could not have a valid opinion on every political issue, and so representative democracy was essentially based on uninformed surmise. Thus, it was necessary for public statesmen to use experts to understand what the state needed and to help measure and mold public opinion. For Niebuhr, the existence both of the transcendent human soul and of evil in the world meant that the individual needed to be wary of participation in society so as to guard against infection by the imperfections in that society. For Follett, a group could think and act morally responsibly, but only a local group, for it was only in face-to-face groupings that humans could reach agreement on what was the appropriate thing to do. Hoopes's conclusion is that all three thinkers would have come to more liberal, communitarian conclusions had they known and followed not James and Dewey, but Peirce.

I must confess that I am always made wary when I read about the search for a usable past and neither Van Wyck Brooks, who apparently coined that phrase, nor Henry Steele Commager, who popularized it, is cited. In my experience, what usually follows from such a search is an example of intellectual history as a rooting through the midden heap of our civilization for some cast-off that, deprived of its context, neither works as it did in some time past nor works in the present.

Hoopes has produced an example of such a book, but with a twist. His book is cast as a tragic western. Peirce has the white hat; James, the black; Dewey is the villain's possibly redeemable helper; and Lippman, Niebuhr, and Follett play the fearful but well-meaning townfolk. The form is classic. But I doubt whether the assigned roles are the ones that each of these thinkers played back then. It may be that early twentieth-century liberals did not want a realist metaphysics; after all, there were other examples of such a philosophy available for the choosing.

There is an additional problem with Hoopes's effort, however one decides the question of the propriety of the assigned roles. In his western, the narrator constantly intrudes to remind the reader who is the good guy and who is the bad. Eventually one comes to hate the hero, to find his ideas intrusive and unhelpful, to find the cast-off dragged out from the midden only a

bewildering antique. That may not be the historical case either.

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J. LAWRENCE BROZ. *The International Origins of the Federal Reserve System*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 269. \$35.00.

A political economy model underpins J. Lawrence Broz's well-crafted study of the origins of the Federal Reserve System. The model is designed to explain how a convergence between private and social interests achieved institutional change. Banking reform, according to the model, became possible after the 1907 panic because it encompassed two inseparable products. One product was enhancement of the stability of the payments system, a domestic public good available to everyone, regardless of whether an individual had contributed to the effort. The other product was internationalization of the dollar, which generated excludable private benefits to the New York money center banks. For these benefits, the banks were willing to pay the bulk of the intellectual, financial, and organizational costs of developing a reform program and moving it through Congress.

Having concluded that the model gives a good account of the origins of the Federal Reserve, Broz then evaluates the explanatory approach of the joint-products model to the formation of the Bank of England and the First and Second Banks of the United States that were also producers of collective goods. He finds that, despite differences between the public and private goods involved in the founding of these institutions and those of the Federal Reserve, the processes followed the same logic.

A main argument of the study is that students of the Federal Reserve System have not paid enough attention to the role of international factors in explaining its creation. What Broz regards as international factors was, from the banks' viewpoint, simply taking advantage of profit opportunities. They wanted to provide banking services abroad to their domestic corporate customers and to conduct corporate foreign exchange business as well as their own. The aim was modest: to cement the bank's relations with corporate customers. Rather than a high-minded pursuit of the dollar as an international currency, the banks' emphasis was on business opportunities, were the pre-1913 restrictions on branching abroad and on trade acceptances to be removed.

Broz suggests in a summary that internationalization of the dollar was in fact achieved soon after the act was passed, when he should have noted that it was a temporary wartime phenomenon. "[D]uring the war and immediate postwar period, the position of the United States in international financial affairs progressed far along the lines envisioned by . . . currency internationalists. The dollar acceptance increased in

use as an instrument of trade finance. American banks formed a worldwide network of foreign branch banks, and the New York discount market attained worldwide status" (p. 260). In fact, bankers' acceptances, which the Federal Reserve hoped would replace the call loan as the most widely available liquid asset, never developed into a market for temporarily idle balances. The reason was that, for much of the 1920s, with discount rates below market rates, there was little incentive for commercial banks to invest in acceptances. In addition, the postwar London discount market recovered. The volume of acceptances there was more than double what was outstanding in New York. The pound stabilization in 1925 made sterling once again the principal currency of invoice for foreign trade, although America's own imports and exports were mainly invoiced in dollars.

The chapter on "Collective Action for Banking Reform" is especially rewarding in detailing all the compromises that were needed over a five-year period to bring the Federal Reserve Act to fruition. Schisms between note-issuing midwestern banks and the eastern banking community with minimal note issues had to be finessed, in part through the establishment of a bipartisan eighteen-member congressional National Monetary Commission. The reformers enlisted banker and grass-roots support, with the costs of lobbying allocated among clearinghouses that assessed their member banks. A final struggle between populists and bankers occurred over monetary control at the Federal Reserve.

On balance, the book presents an interesting set of ideas that illuminates how enactment of Federal Reserve legislation overcame many obstacles. Broz, however, goes out on a limb in insisting on the primacy of international factors and the subordination of the pursuit of domestic financial stability. He is equally vulnerable in claiming that the act authorized the Federal Reserve to intervene in the foreign exchange market (p. 48). The Federal Reserve Act authorized the reserve banks to purchase foreign exchange for the limited purpose of facilitating the collection of checks and other drafts, bills of exchange, and cable transfers. In 1961, when the Treasury requested the Federal Reserve to supplement its own intervention, the Federal Open Market Committee engaged in an extensive discussion of its legal authority to intervene. The Federal Reserve relied on the opinion to that effect of Howard Hackley, its general counsel, although Hackley acknowledged that there was no explicit statutory authority for intervention. If the matter had been settled by the Federal Reserve Act in 1913, as Broz believes, why is there no support in the record for his belief?

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PAUL A. C. KOISTINEN. *Planning War, Pursuing Peace: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1920–*

1939. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xix, 432. \$45.00.

This is the third volume to appear in Paul A. C. Koistinen's five-volume study of the political economy of American warfare. Using, as he does throughout the series, his four-factor (maturity of the economy; size and role of the federal government; character of the military and its relationship with civilian authority; state of military technology) and three-stage (pre-industrial, to 1815; transitional, 1816–1865; and industrial, post-Civil War) framework to explain methods and patterns of mobilization for war in America, Koistinen examines the interwar years, from the National Defense Act of 1920 to the War Resources Board of 1939. In fact, Koistinen finds the idea of the "interwar" period somewhat misleading, since the era reflected the profound impact of the World War I experience and anticipated and helped to shape the World War II mobilization. To that degree, he suggests, this volume cannot entirely stand alone, for understanding the interwar years requires understanding the economic mobilization of the two world wars, and vice versa.

But Koistinen maintains that knowledge of the interwar years is nonetheless crucial in its own right, all the more because the importance of the period has generally gone unrecognized. The key and related developments in his analysis were the increasing cooperation of the military with political and business leaders and the way that the War Industries Board of World War I came to shape planning for wartime mobilization. The book emphasizes, too, how planning for war reflected the nation's modern political economy, whether via the associative state of Herbert Hoover and the Republicans in the 1920s or the activist and regulatory state of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. A true "military-industrial complex" had not yet emerged by 1939, but Koistinen finds the identification by Senator Gerald Nye's 1934–1936 Senate Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry of an "unhealthy alliance" of the military, government, and business an apt description of interwar patterns.

Koistinen divides the book into two parts. Part one, which he rightly calls the more demanding, examines planning for war: in particular the role of the Office of the Assistant Secretary for War, the development of procurement and industrial mobilization planning, and the complicated stories of specific commodity committees. This section can be difficult going (in exploring the commodity committees, for example, Koistinen employs a six-category and six-factor framework) and often reads like an abridgement of a longer study. But well-placed overviews and summaries provide useful guides, and the main points and patterns emerge clearly enough. Koistinen takes issue with the usual emphasis on inadequate interwar planning, which he says misses the significance of the growing knowledge, interaction, and cooperative efforts of military and

business leaders. It was thus Koistinen's third overarching factor—civil-military relations—that provided the crucial dynamic in the war mobilization planning of the interwar years.

The second and more accessible part of the book, "pursuing peace," examines interwar investigations of the World War I mobilization and critiques of wartime planning and mobilization. Though casting new light on the 1919–1921 House Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department (Graham Committee) and the 1930–1932 War Policies Commission, Koistinen looks especially at the Nye Committee. He is much impressed by the committee's insights, in the face of growing opposition, into the dynamics of modern war and the imperative of avoiding war, defense mobilization, and the inevitable powerful and unhealthy alliance of the military, business, and government. Holding that "the importance of the Nye Committee in illuminating the political economy of modern warfare cannot be exaggerated" (p. 289), Koistinen concludes that "seldom has a conscientious and accomplished investigating body been treated as shabbily by history" (p. 255). Koistinen underlines in this part of his story the waning influence by the late 1930s of the peace movement and of the agrarian "neo-Jeffersonians," with their suspicion of big business and big government, and the growing ascendancy of the political, business, and military "elites." The "elite corporate war mobilizers" (p. 211) led and symbolized by Bernard Baruch would dominate the World War II mobilization and shape the "military-industrial complex" of the mid-twentieth century and beyond.

Assiduously researched, this book shows the importance of archival research in uncovering the complexity of history and in challenging old understandings and advancing new ones. Although Koistinen calls his an "interdisciplinary" study, he eschews, usually profitably, the theoretical superstructures of social scientists. Koistinen, of course, has his own interpretive framework, including his obvious sympathy for the findings and views of the Nye Committee and the "neo-Jeffersonians." Not everyone will share those sympathies or agree with various of his conclusions, and his four-factor, three-stage model invites scrutiny. But Koistinen's research is not only extensive but invaluable; his evidence and analysis illuminate significant developments and patterns of the interwar years; and his major themes deserve close attention. This is an important book in an important project.

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JAY L. BRIGHAM, *Empowering the West: Electrical Politics Before FDR*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xi, 211. \$35.00.

In this excellent study, Jay L. Brigham analyzes the battle to control electricity in the American West prior

to 1933, a battle that pitted advocates of public power and governmental regulation against private utility companies and their allies. Brigham devotes much of his book to developments between 1920 and 1932, including the influence wielded by a handful of holding companies that dominated the industry. Drawing upon careful research in manuscript collections and government documents, the author shows how utility companies endeavored to shape both public opinion and public policy by waging multimillion dollar advertising campaigns, underwriting research, contributing heavily to universities and research institutes, and helping to finance key senatorial campaigns.

Brigham fruitfully utilizes quantitative methods. Roll call analysis and multiple classification analysis of nine Senate and five House votes regarding Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, and federal investigation of the utility industry enable the author to measure the nature and extent of support in Congress for public power and to test the hypothesis that "[Senator George] Norris led a few western Republicans in the fight for public power and reform in the 1920s" (p. 62). Brigham's rejection of this hypothesis and his finding that "large blocs of senators and representatives vot[ed] for public power and related measures in the 1920s" (p. 65) is to be expected; after all, Congress voted for federal development of Muscle Shoals, approved construction of Hoover Dam, and voted to investigate the utility industry. Nevertheless, the author's statistical methods do extend our understanding of the dynamics involved: holders of thirty-five seats in the Senate and 158 in the House consistently voted for public power; those representing the West and the North Central states were more likely than others to support public power; and politicians who represented regions with relatively low levels of electrical modernization supported public power more consistently than did others.

In the second half of his work, Brigham turns from national politics to local debates regarding municipal power. He first focuses on eight small towns in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas. Brigham's analysis is richest for the three small communities with newspapers. The author's evidence supports his statement that small-town residents opted for "political control of electricity for economic reasons" (p. 86), a more precise and accurate statement than his later generalization that rural communities "developed public power for political reasons" (p. 95).

Shifting from the rural to the urban West, Brigham offers fascinating case studies of competition between private and public utilities operating, simultaneously, in Seattle and Los Angeles during the 1910s and 1920s. The two communities—one with an abundance of local hydroelectric power sites and a strong tradition of liberal politics, and one with a paucity of water and a tradition of conservatism—illustrate the continuities in arguments for and against public power along the West Coast. Based heavily on research in Washington newspaper collections and the records of the Seattle Light-

ing Department, the chapter on Seattle offers a particularly rich and distinctive contribution. By contrast, the author's treatment of Los Angeles leans quite heavily on other historians' work.

Overall, this book significantly extends our understanding of electrification. It complements studies by Thomas Hughes, Richard F. Hirsch, and David E. Nye that examine the social and technological dimensions of electrification, as well as Harold L. Platt's discussion of the relationship between electrification and urban development. Brigham expands the story, bringing the state back in, probing the roles played by politicians and pressure groups, and reminding us that debates regarding governmental roles were central to the process of electrification in the 1920s.

Brigham concludes his book by asserting that the "West played a unique role in the political battle for electricity" early in the twentieth century (p. 148). This assertion may be valid; the book shows that advocates of private and public power vigorously competed in Seattle and Los Angeles and that western Senators and Representatives voted more consistently than north-easterners for public power. The West, however, is an amorphous, variegated region, and Brigham's case studies are drawn entirely from big cities on the coast and from small towns in the region's relatively well-watered, eastern fringe. Brigham therefore offers, in this concluding comment, a hypothesis that awaits additional testing.

BRIAN Q. CANNON

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JERRY BRUCE THOMAS. *An Appalachian New Deal: West Virginia in the Great Depression*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. x, 316. \$36.95.

In *The New Deal and the States: Federalism in Transition* (1969), James T. Patterson concluded that state and local forces limited the impact of the New Deal. Jerry Bruce Thomas reaches a similar overall conclusion. In West Virginia, federal recovery policies failed to meet goals, fiscal conservatism in state government restricted state participation in recovery efforts, and agricultural policies did little to help poor mountain farmers. Thomas does note a few important exceptions. New Deal empowerment of labor contributed to political realignment in the state, with pro-New Deal Democrats coming to power in 1941 (too late to help with the New Deal), and the National Recovery Administration (NRA) helped revive West Virginia's dying coal industry.

Thomas covers important but familiar Depression and New Deal themes and gives state and national stories equal treatment. Central to the state's course in the 1930s was the Tax Limitation Amendment of 1932, which shifted the tax burden from property owners to consumers and thwarted fuller state and local participation in New Deal programs. In state politics, Democrats ended a long era of Republican control but proved conservative during the New Deal era. Pro-

business and fiscally conservative, they checked Franklin Delano Roosevelt's recovery and reform efforts.

This study contains the obligatory sections on the NRA, federal relief, and agriculture. Under the NRA, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) experienced a very successful organization drive, with section 7a guaranteeing collective bargaining rights. Negotiations for an NRA code for the coal industry lagged, and after pressure from the White House and the threat of a UMWA strike, industry representatives reached an agreement—something difficult with coal production taking place in thirty-three states. The UMWA claimed victory with provisions favorable to labor. Rising employment figures, coal production, and wages were short-term successes, although the NRA never dealt with the industry's basic problem, which was overcapacity.

Relief efforts in the state lagged due to Governor Herman Guy Kump's unwillingness and the state's financial inability to participate in programs for the needy. West Virginia politicians also resented outsiders controlling relief with a nonpartisan approach. Despite hurdles, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Civil Works Administration provided primarily work relief to large numbers of unemployed. Other work relief agencies, primarily the Works Progress Administration (WPA), helped the unemployed, improved the state's infrastructure, promoted cultural activities, and led to the organization of state and county welfare bureaucracies.

Agricultural policies helped struggling farmers, aided in soil conservation and attempted land-use planning, all with little long-term success for small farmers. Like the rest of the nation, the West Virginia farm population declined with the coming of World War II.

Thomas carefully notes the exceptional features of the state's Depression and New Deal experience. In the end, the villain was not so much staunch conservatism as it was the "unforgiving topography" (p. 239) that limited economic growth, led to "overdependence on extractive industries" (p. 239), and thwarted development of commercial farming and large industry. West Virginia's intractable poverty proved too much for the New Deal and even the postwar era, when economies boomed elsewhere. Farmers—mostly landowners, not tenants as in much of the South—grew few of the crops targeted by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for production controls. Also, in West Virginia the federal government exercised more control over the FERA, and politics played a greater role in the WPA, both patterns atypical of other states.

Thomas humanizes the administrative and political history with excellent material on the New Deal and families. The unemployed, largely adult male heads of households, were small businessmen, teachers, blue-collar workers, or farmers, and they agonized over their inability to provide. Women as housewives or unemployed suffered along with their husbands. Young people, especially those nearing adulthood,

faced bleak prospects. This study reminds the reader that the relief agencies helped families through rough times.

This work underscores the role played by private charities in helping West Virginia in the 1930s. Before and during the New Deal, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) fed miners' children and encouraged miners to supplement incomes with handicrafts. The AFSC pushed the idea of subsistence homesteads for miners before the New Deal, and their pressure contributed to the eventual New Deal resettlement program, which included West Virginia's well-known Arthurdale project. Private charities like AFSC provided trained relief workers for New Deal bureaucracies.

African Americans, although only six percent of the state's population, suffered acutely, since sixty percent of the black male workforce labored in mines. Even though the UMWA welcomed African Americans, it supported mechanization that cost blacks a disproportionate share of jobs. Republicans in the state had treated blacks better than Democrats had, but a majority voted Democratic by 1936. As elsewhere, New Deal programs had lured blacks away from the party of Lincoln.

This monograph is a solid New Deal state study. The writing is clear and the research impressive; the book is well organized and superbly edited. Thomas makes a persuasive case that West Virginia, with its chronic poverty, is an important laboratory for examining state and national efforts to end the Great Depression.

DOUGLAS CARL ABRAMS
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MARK G. MALVASI. *The Unregenerate South: The Agrarian Thought of John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, and Donald Davidson*. (Southern Literary Studies.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 261. \$35.00.

Mark G. Malvasi has performed a useful service for those of us familiar with the Nashville Agrarians primarily for their brief flirtation with politics. In this book, Malvasi efficiently summarizes the early and late social thought of his three central subjects. Presented in sharp juxtaposition, these three intellectual journeys chronicle the frustrations of conservative southern humanism in the mid-twentieth century. Malvasi's protestations to the contrary, however, the whole remains a good deal less than the sum of the parts.

In principle, the Agrarians were rooted deep in the rural folk culture of the South. In practice, their short-lived movement grew out of the seminar halls of urbane academia. The antimaterialist ethic of the poets John Crowe Ransom and Allen Tate owed more to the refined aesthetic of the Vanderbilt English department than to any organically acquired ethos of self-sufficient community. We should not be surprised (or for that matter too critical) that such men, despite their extravagant critique of unbridled individualism,

would set out on their own journeys of intellectual self-discovery.

Ransom's course left the regeneration of the South to others and turned to the building of a "republic of letters." Suspicious of the ability or inclination of his home region to support aesthetic sentiments, he deserted folk culture, accepted the gifts of mass production, and advocated an elitist individualism. As Malvasi puts it, Ransom had transformed the alienation of the man of letters into "a kind of privileged citizenship," separated not only from industrial society but also from the "society of myth and tradition, which the Agrarians had long identified as existing in the South" (p. 87).

Tate moved in a very different direction. In the 1940s, Tate became convinced that the Agrarian project had attempted to build up around history and tradition a sense of completeness that rivaled in its arrogance the goals of science and rationalism. Converting to Catholicism, Tate asserted that culture must be based on an appreciation of the divine, an attitude of awe, and an acceptance of death and suffering. Bringing these themes to the fore, he criticized the Agrarians for having divinized the South.

Of the three early friends, Donald Davidson must remain the most interesting to historians of southern thought. Where Ransom and Tate sought out new balms for their modernist scars, Davidson found solace in a deep retreat into the bleakest themes of southern identity. The most original aspect of the present volume centers on Malvasi's effort to offer an apology for Davidson. Unfortunately, the result leaves much to be desired.

Malvasi finds "Davidson's vision of the South . . . predicated less on white supremacy and black inferiority than on racial homogeneity" (p. 210). Malvasi fails to consider in any serious way the nature of this very border-South attitude toward race relations. He certainly throws little light on Davidson's own obsessive racism or his active and eager resistance to the civil rights struggles of the 1950s. Although Malvasi acknowledges Davidson's insufficient attention to the role of slavery in the old South, he draws no broader implications for Davidson's thought. Instead he attempts to redeem Davidson's reputation as an "insightful critic of modernism." The attempt remains unpersuasive. Davidson's conservative provincialism throughout his later life leaves only a sour taste. This was a poet who early on had shown promise and creative openness. Malvasi provides no psychological insight into why Davidson turned so sharply and finally toward a repetitive mantra both in his artistic efforts and his public writings. Instead, Malvasi draws out Davidson's harangue against science and industrialism without demonstrating any serious expansion on the themes of the Agrarians' first efforts. Rather than deserving Malvasi's high praise, Davidson in his later career seems more appropriately described, in Daniel Joseph Singal's words, as "a local curiosity at Vanderbilt, an angry old man keeping the Agrarian flame

burning long after the movement had died" (see Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919-1945* [1982], p. 231).

The book's last chapter shies away from a serious reflection on the three southerners and the meaning of their life paths. Instead it plunges into a consideration of the political thought of Richard M. Weaver and M. E. Bradford. Presumably Malvasi means this effort to demonstrate the continuity of southern conservative thought. But the treatment is quick, and points are given without serious evaluation of highly contentious arguments.

JOSEPH PERSKY

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EDWARD BARON TURK. *Hollywood Diva: A Biography of Jeanette MacDonald*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 467. \$35.00.

Movie star biographies are generally one of two types: the uncritical adoration or the destroy-the-image screed (with the latter including most of the books by siblings and children). Despite the occasional exception, such as Patricia Bosworth's *Montgomery Clift* (1978) or Richard Schickel's *Clint Eastwood* (1996), such books seldom analyze the star's work in depth, much less put it in cultural or historical perspective. Edward Baron Turk's biography of Jeanette MacDonald is a delightful exception. Turk is a serious film historian who also has a broad-based knowledge of other arts. Furthermore, he has an insider's track on MacDonald's story: he not only had access to her private papers, including her unpublished memoirs, but also conducted extensive interviews with those who knew and worked with her.

MacDonald is a bold choice for a scholarly biography. Audiences of her own era loved her and her movies, making her a top-ten ranked box office draw in 1936 and turning her pairings with Nelson Eddy into top grossers from 1935 to 1939. Today, however (despite her still loyal fans), she is the victim of an oversimplified image that suggests she was a bossy diva chained to a weak baritone in a series of sentimental and unwatchable operettas. In truth, MacDonald was also a sexy chanteuse once known as "the Lingerie Queen of the Talkies," famous for scenes such as the one in which she rushes into a train compartment and sheds her chinchilla to reveal nothing but creamy skin and silk undies. This interesting early career in saucy pre-code musicals (directed by such greats as Ernst Lubitsch and Rouben Mamoulian) is largely forgotten, and her movies with Eddy should be given credit for the verve and energy they possess. They are lavishly produced entertainments with superb music, strong supporting casts, and inventive plots. MacDonald and Eddy spar charmingly with one another, setting off sparks with their playful sexual banter, but MacDonald herself is especially good. She is a skilled actress and a capable singer. She exuded a delicate femininity paired with a sophisticated comedy style, and she was genu-

inely beautiful, with flaming red hair and blue eyes. On film, she is a tart, rather modern presence, always conveying a radiant sense of self-confidence and good humor.

Off-screen, MacDonald was cruelly labeled "the iron butterfly," but this is one of the most interesting things about her. She was openly ambitious, always wanting more than just stardom. She fought to choose her films and her co-stars and to do work she felt would be significant enough to last. In an era in which female movie stars seldom challenged the system, she exerted herself to reach self-defined goals, often appearing to others as imperious in her demands. (Another woman who fought the system, Bette Davis, is given credit for a similar courage.)

Turk deals straightforwardly with MacDonald's reputation, redefining "imperiousness" as strength. He presents her as a woman of intelligence, determination, unflagging energy, and rigorous discipline. In his hands, what has been carelessly called shrewish behavior is revealed as true professionalism and a desire to grow and improve. MacDonald emerges as a woman bravely surviving in a tough business run by men.

Turk's grasp of the film medium is excellent, and his in-depth knowledge of MacDonald's films and recordings convincingly frees her from the limited portraits that have been assigned her. He delineates how she has portrayed women "in pursuit of deep emotional fulfillment despite first failed marriages" (p. 341) and how her characters often defy marital customs with self-assured disregard for popular opinion. As Turk points out, "this swerve from orthodoxy makes her work especially fascinating today" (p. 341). One of his triumphs is his open-minded defense of the operetta form. He restores emotional truth to the MacDonald/Eddy films, setting aside the cynical idea that because she sings to him—and he sings back—their love must be silly and unappealing. Turk asks us to accept that MacDonald's MGM musicals confer "urgency and complexity upon mature, all-consuming emotion" (p. 341).

Turk's biography constitutes a major reevaluation of an important film star. The book has everything a fan—or even a gossip—might want to know about MacDonald, but it also calls for a reconsideration of her operettas as an important part of America's heritage, a bridge between high and low culture. Turk brings depth and relevance to both MacDonald's personal story and her movie career. The fact that this exceptionally perceptive biography is also fun to read makes it an important work that I highly recommend.

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KATHERINE A. S. SIEGEL. *Loans and Legitimacy: The Evolution of Soviet-American Relations, 1919–1933*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. Pp. x, 211. \$39.95.

Katherine A. S. Siegel has written an interesting monograph on the early, pre-recognition phase of Soviet-American relations that provides a thorough review of the existing secondary literature on Soviet-American relations during the 1920s. Siegel's principal thesis is that these relations were actually more complex and dynamic, particularly in commercial and economic activities, than several generations of historians have perceived them to be. She argues that American policy toward Soviet Russia was more flexible and less rigid before 1933 than has usually been construed. The Soviet-American commercial and economic relationship of the 1920s played an influential role in helping to legitimize the Soviet government. Soviet purchases of American manufactured products encouraged American government officials to consider and eventually to authorize long-term private credits. This innovation occurred in 1927 and is arguably the key to understanding Soviet-American economic relations during the pre-recognition era.

Even though American foreign policy toward Soviet Russia during the 1920s increasingly focused on perceived economic opportunities, the results were mixed at best. Since the Soviet government so rigidly defined conditions for concession agreements, American firms often reported failures during the New Economic Policy (NEP). Yet Siegel indicates that, despite these business setbacks, the Soviet state achieved significant technological advances from foreign investment. Although this hypothesis is worthy of consideration, it remains largely undocumented and certainly deserves further discussion. The author is on firmer ground when she emphasizes Western technical assistance to the Soviet Union as a result of the first Five-Year Plan. American companies accrued profits largely by selling industrial processes in the short term, while the Soviets were thus able to produce their own capital machinery.

Paradoxically, in contrast to the perceived commercial hopes of the 1920s, official American recognition of the Soviet government in 1933 did not lead to large economic benefits for American firms. American exports to the Soviet Union declined precipitously after 1933, a phenomenon that Siegel mentions but that she ought to have explained in more detail. The events immediately leading to recognition are outside the purview of this study.

The author is to be congratulated for producing a book that is well researched, well written, and virtually devoid of technical errors. This study is written almost exclusively from the perspective of American foreign policy and American business interests in Soviet Russia. A capable young scholar, Siegel ought to be encouraged to continue her research on Soviet-American relations. I hope that in future studies she will rely less on the views of other scholars, whom she frequently quotes and paraphrases in this slim monograph, and much more on her own considerations and evaluations. In contrast to many publications that began as dissertations, this one suffers primarily from its brevity, in that Siegel could easily have added

another one hundred pages of her own analysis of the varied motivations and rationales behind American foreign policy toward Soviet Russia during the 1920s. Although she challenges conventional historiography on the subject, she does so much too timidly and does not elaborate on the considerable pressure that competing commercial and economic interests placed on official American policy toward the Soviet Union before 1933.

Still, these criticisms notwithstanding, Siegel has written an informative, scholarly study that is a delight to read. The book is of particular value to graduate students and scholars who want a good overview of Soviet-American relations in the twenties. This review of international affairs from the American perspective needs to be supplemented by monographs that focus on the Soviet viewpoint. Yet Siegel's slim volume provides a reliable starting point in any event.

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MICHAEL J. HOGAN. *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945–1954*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 525. \$34.95.

Michael J. Hogan is well known as the editor of *Diplomatic History* and author of *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947–1952* (1987) and *Informal Entente: The Private Structure of Cooperation in Anglo-American Economic Diplomacy* (1977). He is also the chief proponent of the corporatist interpretation within the history of U.S. foreign relations. His new book is clearly related to this interpretation and to his previous works, but it moves far beyond them. In the process, it provides an exceptionally informative and important analysis of the origins of the national security state from 1945–1954.

Hogan's analytic framework is the ideological conflict between the new doctrine of "national security" that emerged during and after World War II and an older ideology that feared the creation of a "garrison state" capable of destroying traditional American freedoms in the name of protecting them against external enemies. Using concepts pioneered by Clifford Geertz and Raymond Williams, he posits an ongoing debate between proponents of these two ideologies, with the former consisting primarily of liberal internationalists and the latter of conservative nationalists. As Hogan carefully notes and emphasizes, however, many liberal internationalists also feared the creation of a garrison state and made use of traditional ideas and rhetoric in their efforts to avoid it. Indeed, fear of such a state became a central metaphor for both groups in their efforts to mobilize popular support for their conflicting visions of national purpose.

That fear was also evident in their opposition to the emerging defense establishment, a third group led by James Forrestal and the Joint Chiefs of Staff that was

much more willing to jettison traditional values in the name of national security. This three-way struggle fused with other beliefs of each group, interservice bickering, and international events to shape the debates around such critical issues as the postwar defense establishment, the military budget, manpower mobilization, and Cold War strategy. These debates continued into the Eisenhower administration and reveal continuity with its predecessor. Indeed, it was Dwight D. Eisenhower rather than Harry S. Truman who provided the title for this volume by labeling defense spending a "Cross of Iron."

In analyzing these debates, Hogan reveals a surprising strength and triumph before 1950 for traditional values within the liberal as well as the conservative camp, especially in terms of limiting military expenditures so as to maintain a balanced budget. Indeed, the Truman administration from 1945–1949 appeared to have forged a series of effective compromises that blocked the armed forces on this and other national security issues. But many of these compromises provided the worst rather than the best of both worlds and, in the end, ironically benefited the national security group more than its conservative or liberal opponents. Equally if not more important, perceived Cold War "failures" in 1949, and the start of the Korean War in 1950, gave added support to this third group. These events also combined with partisan politics, and with the cultural tendency of all parties to frame the debate in absolutist terms, to poison the political atmosphere and doom any liberal-conservative coalition capable of checking the defense establishment. The result may not have been a full-fledged garrison state, but it nevertheless was much closer to such a menace than either side had desired.

Hogan has made use of a wide array of unpublished and published primary sources to explore important and previously neglected topics, such as the debate over universal military training, and he has combined these with existing secondary studies of better-known controversies to produce a truly outstanding piece of original research, synthesis, and interpretation. Indeed, I find the result even more impressive than his award-winning study of the Marshall Plan. It does, however, leave the reader with numerous unanswered questions. Were the traditional ideas and the absolutist rhetoric truly believed, for example, or merely used by conservative and liberal politicians to bash each other in partisan warfare? Was this rhetoric, with its objectification of "us" vs. the un-American "other," unique to this issue, or simply part of the Manicheism evident in all of U.S. history and perhaps all of Western history? How meaningful were these ideological divisions when, as Hogan shows, some individuals changed sides when they changed positions within the administration?

Such questions in no way detract from the exceptional quality and importance of this work. It is a major contribution to the field and a "must" read for all U.S.

historians, not just those specializing in foreign relations, who deal with the post-World War II years.

MARK A. STOLER
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GARY B. OSTROWER. *The United Nations and the United States*. (Twayne's International History Series.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1998. Pp. xvi, 317. \$29.95.

This book quickly belies its modest and unprepossessing appearance. Precisely because he shuns overweening theoretical assertions, Gary B. Ostrower has given us a remarkably fair, nuanced, and comprehensive account of the relations between the United Nations (UN) and the United States since the inception of the former in 1945. It is because he pulls no punches that this is such an insightful and useful book. Though Ostrower's study is informed by a life-long scrutiny of international organization and by a commitment to its necessity, he writes neither to defend nor to condemn but rather only to explain what has been a complicated, problematic, and ever-changing relationship.

At the outset, there was a love affair between the American people and the UN, born of the frustrations of the Great Wars and of a hope for finding a means of ensuring world peace. It was a passionate affair, but it was neither natural nor spontaneous. Rather, it was the product of Franklin D. Roosevelt's perception of what made for electoral advantage in the campaign of 1944 and of "perhaps the most ambitious American [both governmental and pressure group] effort at public education concerning a foreign-policy issue during the twentieth century" (p. 27). As Ostrower so aptly explains, in this, as in many love affairs, the passion and the hoopla tended to camouflage the pitfalls and the inconsistencies of the UN Charter, "and the emotional highs would eventually give way to as much disillusionment as satisfaction" (p. 1).

Initially, however, American policy makers believed that United States and UN purposes were identical. The Americans "staked out positions that confidently anticipated the use of a UN force and a UN-majority sympathetic to American objectives," all the while castigating the Soviets for their obstructionism and fear that the UN would be used against them. Years later, when the Americans found themselves in the minority rather than in the majority, they quickly moved to a critical position resembling the original Soviet posture (p. 44).

The UN worked another revealing transformation in American foreign policy as early as the Iranian crisis of 1946. The U.S. now had to take a stand even on events in remote countries. "The UN, in other words, allowed Washington to universalize its policy and therefore disregard isolationist warnings about the risk of foreign entanglement." In fact, "the Charter helped to convert entanglement into a moral imperative" (p. 48).

Since the UN was constitutionally incapable of living up to its billing and suffered a series of consequent peacekeeping setbacks, Americans began taking a

much harder look at the organization. "Realists like Kennan, Marshall and Acheson" gradually gained the upper hand and "never thought for a minute that the UN should be anything but another instrument for asserting U.S. interests abroad" (p. 65). The examples Ostrower cites are legion, ranging from familiar cases such as Korea and Guatemala to "the subversion of the ideal of an impartial civil service even to the point of establishing an FBI office at UN headquarters" (p. 59). The message was clarion: "American policymakers sought UN compliance not autonomy" (p. 77). And if the UN could not be induced to act in America's interest, it still afforded a wonderful arena for the staging of international morality plays, a tactic at which Americans, from John F. Kennedy through Daniel P. Moynihan to Ronald Reagan and Jeane Kirkpatrick, were particularly adept.

In more recent administrations, the complexity of the relationship between the U.S. and the UN and the inconsistency of American policy toward that organization have been even more manifest. The Bush administration had a definite policy, but although it savored its UN cover during the Gulf War, when it no longer needed that cover, it proceeded to act on its own (p. 201). The first Clinton administration, having no policy, "increasingly used the UN to cover its timidity and uncertainty" in the international arena (p. 217).

Ostrower's conclusions are simple yet profound. Not only was U.S. policy toward the UN markedly inconsistent, but that inconsistency mattered. Its consequences have been far-reaching precisely because the UN has been "overly dependent on the Americans from the day of its birth," and that circumstance "proved healthy for neither the UN nor the United States" (pp. 231-32).

If Ostrower's account has any shortcoming, it is only that his narrative ends in 1995. The events of the last several years have been so fraught with anomaly that the American public can no longer discern the UN's friends from its enemies. What with the Madeline Albright-led palace coup against Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Clinton's unilateral decision to bomb Iraq (i.e. without Security Council approval) on the eve of his impeachment, and the Clinton administration's claims to be following the dictates of international organization (conveniently substituting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the UN) in attacking Yugoslavia, a sequel is certainly very much in order.

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JAMES F. GOODE. *The United States and Iran: In the Shadow of Musaddiq*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xiii, 235. \$39.95.

James F. Goode's book examines the evolution of U.S. foreign policies toward both Britain and Iran in the

post-World War II period. The author argues two points: that "the saga of the United States versus Mussadiq did not end with the coup of 19 August 1953 . . . We study him today because what happened in his time dramatically affected American policy for years thereafter" (pp. viii-ix) and that the lingering memory of Mohammed Mussadiq had in effect created the idea that "there could be no alternative to the Shah" (p. 154). Indeed, despite the shah's own political and personal deficiencies, and decades of increasing popular Iranian opposition to the shah, to the Pahlavis, and to the U.S.-British presence, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, according to the U.S. State Department and the White House, was the only accepted leader of Iran. Goode notes in his final paragraph that "even now [1997] . . . thinking in the State Department and the White House apparently has changed little. The rest of the industrialized world has made its peace with the Islamic Republic, while the United States remains aloof" (p. 190).

The book can be divided into three parts: the prelude to the Oil Crisis of 1950-1951; the emergence of Musaddiq, the National Front, and the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC); and the "miraculous second chance," according to John Foster Dulles, following the CIA-assisted coup of August 19, 1953. The last portion of the book continues up to the 1980s. Relying heavily on a wide range of unpublished and published primary diplomatic sources in U.S., British, and Australian private and public archives, Goode provides an enormous amount of detail on the lives and thoughts of the leading U.S. and British diplomats of the time but little information on their Iranian counterparts, including Mussadiq. Although oral testimonial histories of prominent Iranian military and civilian leaders from the Pahlavi period exist in increasing numbers, Goode uses few such sources. Equally disappointing, the author does not use any of the available oral and written histories by American missionaries, memoirs of U.S. private citizens, reports of U.S. Point-Four (U.S. AID) officials, writings of American Peace Corps volunteers, or U.S. military personnel accounts, albeit all are non-diplomatic materials.

Overall, Goode does offer a well-researched traditional diplomatic history of U.S. foreign policy toward Iran in the post-World War II period, when it was centered on the need to gain and maintain access to critical oil reserves in the Persian Gulf region. His research into diplomatic correspondence, archival diaries, and personal records traces the sometimes combative and sometimes cooperative U.S.-Iranian negotiations over the control of Iran's oil production, oilfields, and refineries. It is particularly instructive for both specialists and general readers to learn that Musaddiq was acquainted with U.S. history. When pressed by Walter Levy in one particularly difficult phase of the oil negotiations, he responded with an analogy, comparing Iran's relations with Britain to those of the American colonists at the time of the

Boston Tea Party. "What would American independence leaders have responded [sic] if some Persian mediators had come aboard the ships anchored in Boston and asked the colonists not to throw the tea overboard?" (p. 102), he asked.

While dates are absent in parts of the narrative and certain exaggerated generalizations appear in the text (pp. ix, 35, 181) along with undocumented comments (pp. 3, 25, 49, 101), the overall importance of the monograph is its account of U.S.-British policies, the role of U.S. advisors during and after the Mussadiq era, and the role of U.S. oil executives in the intense oil agreement negotiations of 1954. The U.S. conclusion that Iranian nationalists were not to be trusted was indeed "a legacy of the Mussadiq years" (p. 188). Non-Iranian readers will no doubt immediately think of other nationalists in the 1950s, such as Cuba's Fidel Castro, Algeria's Ahmed Ben Bella, and Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem, who were certainly not trusted by U.S. policy makers. Indeed, although Goode asserts that Mussadiq's shadow affected not only American policy but also much of the so-called Third World, he does not develop that interesting claim in his present work.

General readers will find in Goode's comments on the interaction between British and U.S. diplomats before, during, and after the 1953 coup useful summaries of previous texts, while specialists will appreciate the detailed research into U.S. policy makers' thinking during and after the Mussadiq era. Further research into U.S.-Iran relations from the 1960s to the present will undoubtedly corroborate Goode's claims about the long shadow of the Mussadiq era for U.S. diplomacy in and beyond Iran.

THOMAS M. RICKS
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CHRISTOPHER OWEN LYNCH. *Selling Catholicism: Bishop Sheen and the Power of Television*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. xii, 200. \$24.95.

Although the word "televangelist" is a recent invention, the use of the airways to preach the Gospel is an old strategy. In the 1930s, Americans by the millions were glued to their radios on Sunday afternoons to hear the velvet-voiced broadcasts of Father Charles E. Coughlin. On Sunday mornings in the 1950s, they gathered around television sets to watch Rex Humbard, and on Tuesday nights, millions of viewers bypassed Milton Berle to watch a Roman Catholic bishop wax eloquent about the glories of the Middle Ages. Fulton J. Sheen's "Life is Worth Living" was on the air from 1952 to 1957 and earned its star an Emmy in 1952 as television's most outstanding personality (beating out Jimmy Durante, Lucille Ball, Arthur Godfrey, and Edward R. Murrow).

The idea for this book—Bishop Sheen and the power of television—is a good one, but the book itself is not. Christopher Owen Lynch has done a rhetorical analysis of Sheen's broadcasts in order to discover the

secret of the bishop's success. Sheen used simple declarative sentences and let his big blinking eyes stand for the proof of his statements. And he was a charmer who could talk for twenty-five minutes without cue cards and stop on a dime. His message was constructed around the beauties of medieval Catholicism, refurbished to meet the challenge of communism in the heyday of the Cold War.

Lynch understands that context is central to any rhetorical study and tries to provide a clear historical picture of Sheen's project, but he is not a trustworthy historian, nor does he understand the nuances of Catholicism or its American embodiment. The general picture one gets of Catholicism in the 1950s and today is as fuzzy as early television transmission. History and interpretation are uncritical and often inaccurate. For example, the idea of pilgrimage "is similar to Augustine's doctrine of two cities" (p. 43); or "this was the experience of John Winthrop in 1603 as he gazed at the new colony of Boston" (p. 59); or "Sheen's medieval cathedral stopped short of embracing [John Courtney] Murray's controversial position equating all churches" (p. 63).

Sheen was a gifted and studious child who grew into a vain and talented man. He was a charismatic preacher, able to draw a number of famous people into the Catholic church (Henry Ford II, Clare Booth Luce, Heywood Broun, and Virginia Mayo, for example). He was clearly a man to be admired, but that does not mean that the best rendering of the man is an uncritical one. Lynch magnifies Sheen's gestures. For example, when Sheen brought a statue of the Virgin Mary to his set, showed it to the television audience, and called Mary "Our Lady of Television," was it really "a new title [that] suggests a modification of tradition and an adaptation to the needs of a new rhetorical situation" (p. 87), or might it have had other meanings? I waited in vain for Lynch to pose some questions about Sheen's ideas, self-presentation, impact, or image.

The chapter titles are clues to the author's purpose. "The Shaping of a Medieval Knight for a Modern World" (pp. 15–31) is biographical. "Quest for Stability in the Midst of Change" (pp. 32–58) situates Sheen in the context of the Cold War. "The Medieval City and the Crusade for the American Ideal" (pp. 59–86) explains why Catholicism is the answer to the problems of the world. "A Television Troubadour Sings His Medieval Lady's Praise" (pp. 87–119) focuses on the Virgin Mary and Sheen's ideas about the role of women. "Bishop Sheen's Role Negotiation from Ascetic Bishop to Television Celebrity" (pp. 120–150) argues that his enactment of his role was a theological statement. "Bishop Sheen as Harbinger of an American Camelot" (pp. 151–160) concludes that Sheen's era called forth "one shining moment when innocence seemed to triumph over evil and justice reigned" (p. 150).

Fulton J. Sheen was a man of his times, a 1950s Catholic who thought that the past is the best, that complex political problems can be reasonably ad-

dressed by medieval philosophers. Did he "set the stage for an American Camelot" (p. 160)? Only in a book that is more a hymn of praise than a critical assessment.

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CHARLES HERSCH. *Democratic Artworks: Politics and the Arts from Trilling to Dylan*. (SUNY Series, Interruptions: Border Testimony(ies) and Critical Discourses.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998. Pp. xi, 232. \$19.95.

An engaged work with a serious purpose, this book argues that works of art can serve as a means of educating citizens for democracy. Charles Hersch "hope[s] to clarify the variety of ways works of art can act as vehicles for political education and to suggest some limitations on their ability to do so" (p. 2). In his exploration of the relationship between art and politics, Hersch makes use of cultural and political theory with a minimum of jargon. Yet in keeping the discussion mainly on a theoretical level, he fails to flesh out the historical context and important precedents for the political uses of art.

Hersch treats the 1950s and 1960s as a unit, claiming that "rarely in our history has the arts' political role seemed as central" (p. 2). The author fails to acknowledge the important leap that was made in the 1930s, when the question of "art as a weapon" was debated fiercely on the left, at the same time as the federal government recognized the importance of art as a tool for political education. The influence and commercial success of the political art and music of the 1960s may be unparalleled, but the 1930s—the decade in which the New York intellectuals came of age—served as both source and inspiration for what took place during the years of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements.

Hersch does not argue that there is a thread tying together the artists on which the book is focused—Lionel Trilling, jazz musicians, and Bob Dylan—but rather that we can gain much insight from analyzing their varied attempts to use art for political purposes. Thus we are told that criticism was most important in the 1950s and music the most prominent in the 1960s, but there is little discussion of why that might have been the case.

Hersch criticizes the New York intellectuals for not having paid enough attention to context or audience, but the same critique could be applied to his own work. Although he does provide a useful summary of the ideals of the civil rights movement and the New Left, he tells us little about the actual impact on citizens of particular works of art. In his best chapter, "Jazz and African American Politics 1950–1970," Hersch offers an insightful analysis of the meaning of particular works and artists, from Max Roach's "Freedom Now Suite" to Ornette Coleman's free jazz. He makes a compelling argument that the jazz performances of

Coleman and Charles Mingus were “musical enactments of the ideas of freedom put forward in the growing civil rights movement” (p. 120). At the same time, he acknowledges that the audience for free jazz was very small, and therefore it did not have much influence. Unfortunately, here as elsewhere, there is little discussion of the complex relationships among artists, audiences, and political movements.

By the end of the book, the relationship between art and politics has not been clarified or adequately explored. Having pointed out many limitations on the artist’s ability to educate for democracy, Hersch homes in on one crucial issue: the need for a citizenry and society that encourages and facilitates democratic practice. Without a political environment to support it, art cannot further democracy. “It is too much to ask of artworks,” concludes Hersch, “that they maintain a democratic vision in the midst of an undemocratic society” (p. 171). But writers, artists, and musicians have indeed maintained that vision in the most difficult of circumstances. To mention just a few, the creation of spirituals by African slaves in the United States, and of poetry and Aesopian plays by Eastern Europeans under communism, indicate that artists often find ways to keep the flickering light of freedom from being entirely extinguished.

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SARAH HART BROWN. *Standing Against Dragons: Three Southern Lawyers in an Era of Fear*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 308. \$35.00.

Aubrey Willis Williams, Harry L. Hopkins’s leftish deputy during the high days of the New Deal and later president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) in the 1950s, once remarked that there was no lonelier existence than that of those few white southern liberals who declared their support for racial equality once their region had closed ranks against the *Brown* decision of 1954. He knew at first hand the social ostracism, economic discrimination, and pervasive hostility that such a stand inevitably incurred. In the end, it drove him from his Montgomery home, back to the relatively liberal atmosphere of the nation’s capital. This excellent book is about three of the lawyers who, at one time or another defended Williams, his organization, his views, and his right to hold them. They were Clifford Judkins Durr of Montgomery, Alabama; John Moreno Coe of Pensacola, Florida; and Benjamin Eugene Smith of New Orleans, Louisiana. These three men, although different in age, temperament, legal training, and even political persuasion, had one thing in common. They all believed in the First Amendment to the Constitution and the civil liberties enshrined there. As such, they were willing to defend those in their region who found themselves harried by the courts, the media, or congressional

investigative committees for their beliefs and associations. They, too, lived lonely lives as a consequence, knowing with Williams the pain of ostracism, watching their own families suffer because of their convictions.

Much of the outline of the story that Sarah Hart Brown tells so passionately is already familiar. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), under its fiercely anticommunist chairman, Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland, trawled the South in the 1950s, searching for southern communists and recklessly probing the private lives of the region’s few progressives with a fine disregard for truth or the Constitution. A number of scholars, myself included, have written about the celebrated SISS investigations in New Orleans in 1954, which involved all three lawyers and during which the SCEF in particular was thoroughly and unscrupulously worked over. Brown not only provides fresh insights into that sorry spectacle but also extends our understanding of southern anticommunism by scrutinizing other, less publicized SISS inquiries. In so doing, she shows not only how destructive Eastland was but also how widely he ranged, and how closely he worked with state communist hunters, especially in Louisiana and Alabama.

Anticommunist witchhunts lasted much longer in the South than in other parts of the country because they could so easily be used to destroy the credibility, and often the livelihood, of southerners who questioned the region’s determination to maintain white supremacy at all costs. For this reason, men like Williams and organizations like SCEF continued to be harried right into the 1960s, long after the rest of the nation had tired of McCarthyism and Congress had reined in the worst of the inquisitors. State sovereignty commissions took over the job in the South, often backed up by the courts. Durr, Coe, and, particularly Smith, who was younger, were in increasing demand as lawyers willing to defend civil rights activists accused of various crimes as a consequence of their insistence that Supreme Court rulings be observed. Brown describes in detail, for example, Smith’s importance in training the young lawyers involved with the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964. The work was onerous, emotionally draining, and often unpaid. These three lawyers did not become rich through their efforts.

Brown is at pains to show how traditional were the men she has written about. They were all Jeffersonians; they considered themselves “civil liberties” rather than “civil rights” advocates, believing the one subsumed the other; they cared deeply about the Constitution; and they loved the South with a passion. Unlike some of their northern counterparts, although they may have defended men and women who were close to the Communist Party, they did not share their beliefs one iota, only their right to hold them. In 1962, in fact, Smith also defended George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party, whose views he abhorred, for the same reason. Often labelled as traitors by those before whom they practiced, Brown makes clear that the “true subversives” were those who so falsely accused them.

This is such a good book to read that it seems churlish to conclude that it could have been improved by more professional copyediting. There are some basic errors of fact. Theodore Roosevelt was not elected President in 1901, for example (p. 151); he succeeded the assassinated McKinley. Similarly, Nikita Khrushchev invaded Hungary in 1956, not 1958 (p. 265). The gremlins did something odd to "Eastland" (p. 190) and were active elsewhere. Nevertheless, these are minor blemishes in what is a well-crafted, passionate study of three worthy southerners.

JOHN SALMOND
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MATTHEW D. LASSITER and ANDREW B. LEWIS, editors. *The Moderates' Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. xv, 251. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$18.50.

The Supreme Court's epic pronouncement in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) that "separate-but-equal" public schools were "inherently unequal," and its subsequent decision in 1955 to implement desegregation "with all deliberate speed," evoked a full spectrum of reactions among white southerners ranging from grudging acceptance to outright hostility or "massive resistance." Virginia, as it happens, was witness to the entire range, and thus has been, and continues to be, an excellent state for a case study. Previous work on Virginia—and, more generally, on the civil rights movement in the South—has tended to concentrate on elites of both races and, more recently, on the behavior of ordinary African Americans. But middle-class white southerners, for the most part, have been left out of the story. This collection of essays by former students of Paul M. Gaston (to whom the book is dedicated) attempts to redress the imbalance and, by and large, succeeds admirably.

The book consists of a "Memoir" by Gaston, recalling his early days as an instructor in history at the University of Virginia in the late 1950s, an introduction by editors Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis, and six substantive chapters. The editors' introduction provides a useful road map to the previous literature and to the rest of the volume, putting forth the main themes and actors. The critical question addressed throughout the book is this: why did Virginia adopt a formal policy of massive resistance to *Brown* in the late 1950s, only to see the policy crumble a short time later, albeit with the crucial exception of Prince Edward County? The answer, according to the contributors, resides primarily in the state's geographically uneven racial make-up and in the behavior of "moderate" southern whites who did not wish to sacrifice their public schools on the altar of segregation. In the language of economics, the "demand" for segregation was a negative function of the perceived price of maintaining it (the loss of public education).

Chapter one, by J. Douglas Smith, examines the

behavior of Armistead Lloyd Boothe who, as a middle-aged lawyer from Alexandria, entered the Virginia legislature for the first time in 1948. Like virtually all of his colleagues, Boothe derived his political support from the "Byrd Organization," a political machine that reflected the philosophy—fiscal conservatism—of its founder, Senator Harry Byrd, Sr., and was kept in power by an extremely small portion of the Virginia electorate. Ahead of his time, Boothe steered a narrow course, at times working hard to demonstrate to his colleagues the disadvantages of maintaining Jim Crow at all costs, yet at other times going along with the resisters (such as voting in favor of interposition) for somewhat murky political motives.

Chapter two, by Joseph J. Thorndike, examines one of the stranger aspects of massive resistance in Virginia: the campaign for interposition spearheaded by James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond News Leader*. A rather sorry doctrine on constitutional grounds when it was first invoked by John C. Calhoun before the Civil War, interposition called on state legislatures to nullify Supreme Court (or other federal decisions) when they appeared to abrogate the power of states. Kilpatrick tried to promote interposition as a matter of "states rights" but ultimately failed to garner the support he wanted—primarily, it seems, because he would not (or could not) transcend the obvious racial subtext.

Chapter three, by Lewis, relates events surrounding massive resistance in Charlottesville, home of the University of Virginia. Two groups fought for political support in the wake of school closings ordered by Governor Lindsay Almond in the fall of 1958: the Charlottesville Educational Foundation (CEF), which sought to substitute a system of segregated private schools supported by state funds for public schools, and the Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling (PCES), a group organized by ten mothers who set up a system of temporary public schools to be disbanded when the public schools were reopened, even if they were to be integrated at that time. The PCES emphasis on "saving the public schools" eventually won the day by attracting the allegiance of moderate whites opposed to school closings, but the narrowness of the group's vision did little, in Lewis's view, to prepare white parents for the eventuality of integration. Chapter four, by James H. Hershman, Jr., continues in a similar vein, describing how various groups helped organize moderate whites in opposing school closings in Norfolk and elsewhere.

Chapter five, by Amy E. Murrell, is perhaps the most interesting; it deals with the difficult case of Prince Edward County. Located in Virginia's black belt with a near black majority population (forty-five percent) in the late 1950s, the county's board of supervisors was the only one to take massive resistance to its (unfortunate) logical conclusion when faced with court-ordered desegregation in 1959: it abolished its public schools. A makeshift system of private schools (complete with private funding) was cobbled together for

whites and appears to have worked tolerably well; but black children were largely left out in the cold, their parents unable to muster the same level of financial support as their white counterparts. The public schools remained closed until May of 1964, when the Supreme Court declared that the board of supervisors' decision had violated the Fourteenth Amendment and ordered the county to open desegregated public schools in the fall of 1964. Chapter six, by Lassiter, concludes the book with an appraisal of the efforts by the journalist Benjamin Muse to convince his fellow southern whites of the inevitability of desegregation and to encourage what he believed was a "silent majority" of moderates to speak out against school closings.

This volume has a few faults. As a group, the essays have a tendency to see the empirical trees at the expense of the theoretical forest; that is, the authors do not situate their work in the context of a model (or models) of strategic behavior, and therefore, the rich interplay among different strategies and how they might have interacted to form a counterfactual sequence of historical events is only occasionally revealed. This is not idle, ahistorical criticism. As recent works by Avner Grief, Barry R. Weingast, and others have shown, it is entirely possible to use techniques of modern game theory to illuminate why different actors—in the current context, moderate whites, the Byrd organization, and so on—might choose certain tactics at certain points in time so as to produce a particular sequence of events (observed or unobserved). The overriding sense one gets from reading these essays is that moderate whites were acutely aware of the tradeoff between maintaining a commitment to racial segregation in public schools and not having public schools at all. Where and when they were successful depended partly on luck, partly on timing, and partly on factors not in their control (e.g. racial composition, the federal courts), but the precise links among these different factors are not altogether clear in different settings. In fairness to the authors, the fact that only Prince Edward County chose to abolish public schools makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to draw general conclusions along these lines. Specialists in the economics of education who happen upon Murrell's fascinating chapter on the Prince Edward County case will almost certainly crave more information on the effects of the school shutdown. Murrell suggests at various points that these effects were severe, but she does not provide direct evidence. For example, were the black children subjected to the Prince Edward shutdown permanently harmed in terms of furthering their education and, ultimately, their incomes? Answering such questions, however, would have necessitated considerable additional research and a rather different research strategy than a recounting of historical events.

These criticisms are minor ones. Well-written and thoroughly researched, these essays are required reading for specialists in the civil rights movement, and a

fitting tribute to the man whose life and work inspired them.

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JOHN R. HOWARD. *The Shifting Wind: The Supreme Court and Civil Rights from Reconstruction to Brown*. (SUNY Series in Afro-American Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 393. \$23.95.

This book offers an excellent introduction to the Supreme Court's role in the development of civil rights for African Americans. John R. Howard packs a lot of detail into his compact chronological analysis of civil rights cases from Reconstruction to post-*Brown* affirmative action decisions. Individual court cases are carefully grounded in the political and racial climate of their times. The issues at stake are clear; plaintiffs and defendants emerge as real people. The legal analysis is a model of clarity, which any upper-level undergraduate can understand. Howard chronicles the more important and familiar cases—*Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), the Scottsboro cases (1931), *Sweatt, Brown vs. the Board of Education* (1954)—in depth and covers numerous others that are not so easily recognized. Although he covers familiar ground already well-plowed by Loren Miller's *The Petitioners: The Story of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Negro* (1966); Donald G. Nieman's *Promises to Keep: African Americans and the Constitutional Order, 1776 to the Present* (1991); Charles Lofgren's *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation* (1987); and Richard Kluger's *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education* (1976), among many others, Howard's emphasis on the racial views of individual justices makes this book compelling reading for the specialist as well as the generalist.

Howard employs small-group theory to demonstrate his main point: the racial assumptions of one justice may affect the dynamics of the entire court and thus determine—for good or ill—how cases are decided. Joseph Bradley's domination of Chief Justice Morrison Waite, Howard argues, for example, imposed Bradley's racist, formalistic interpretation of the Reconstruction amendments and Enforcement Acts on the court, even though Waite was personally committed to expanded opportunities for African Americans. Oliver Wendell Holmes similarly influenced Chief Justice G. Edward White, but the addition of Charles Evans Hughes to the Supreme Court bench provided the counterweight that enabled the court to decide favorably for blacks in *McCabe v. Atchison* (1914) and again in the grandfather clause case, *Guinn v. U.S.* (1915). While it is no surprise that judicial prejudices shape constitutional law, Howard's sweeping chronological analysis makes the point dramatically. The author piles on the evidence to demonstrate that Supreme Court holdings on race and rights were

influenced as much by the racial notions of the justices as by the facts of the cases they decided.

There is no doubt that race prejudice played a major part in shaping the constitutional rights of African Americans, but Howard occasionally overplays his hand, particularly in his discussion of the Reconstruction-era court. Beginning appropriately with *Slaughterhouse* (1873), the court's first interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, Howard notes that Justice Miller's narrow interpretation of federal authority to intervene in areas formerly under state control signaled trouble ahead for black people. However, he does not consider how the court's adherence to traditional notions of federalism in the *Slaughterhouse* precedent constrained the justices when they first interpreted the rights of African Americans under the Fourteenth Amendment in *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1876). Ignoring Bradley's strong dissent in *Slaughterhouse*, Howard holds Bradley responsible for Waite's narrow interpretation of black rights in *Cruikshank*. Race weighed heavily in the Waite Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, but so too did the state action provision of the Fourteenth Amendment and a traditional understanding of the federal system.

Cruikshank and its companion case, *U.S. v. Reese* (1876), which construed the Fifteenth Amendment for the first time, seriously limited the scope of federal authority to counter terrorism in the south and protect the black franchise. But the cases did not, as Howard argues, "deny United States attorneys the capacity to use the law as an instrument to stem the fury" (p. 111). *Reese* left room for the government to enforce the voting rights of black Americans where discrimination was clearly on account of race. Moreover, a unanimous court in *Ex parte Yarbrough* (1884), which Howard ignores, held that Article 1, section 4 of the Constitution authorized Congress to regulate the franchise in federal elections without reference to the Fifteenth Amendment. Federal attorneys continued prosecuting voting rights cases throughout the 1880s, but Howard seems completely unaware of these ongoing federal efforts to stop the violence and protect the black franchise. Moreover, it is not at all clear that a more generous construction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in *Cruikshank* and *Reese* could have sustained black rights in the hostile Southern political climate where white Democrats sat on trial juries. Federal attorneys could bring enforcement cases to court, but they could not force juries to convict. Although Howard overstates his case at times, his reevaluation of the Supreme Court justices in light of their attitudes on race and rights demonstrates that some of our most admired Supreme Court justices—Bradley and Holmes to name the most obvious—have sorry records indeed when it comes to civil rights.

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MORTON J. HORWITZ. *The Warren Court and the Pursuit of Justice: A Critical Issue*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1998. Pp. xii, 132. \$18.00.

This very slim volume is a modest effort to provide for the general reader "who wishes to acquire some elementary knowledge" of the U.S. Supreme Court during the Warren era (1953–1969). Morton J. Horwitz's premise is that during this time, the Warren Court "initiated fundamental constitutional change" (p. xi) that strengthened the concept of democracy. Horwitz, as so many other writers, applauds the Warren Court: it was one that "initiated a revolution in race relations, expanded the constitutional guarantee of 'equal protection of the laws,' dramatically expanded the protections of freedom of speech and press, overturned unequally apportioned legislative districts, accorded defendants in criminal cases massively expanded constitutional protections, and recognized for the first time a constitutional right to privacy" (p. 3).

Horwitz examines five areas of the Warren Court's "expansive" constitutional jurisprudence: racial segregation; civil rights movement litigation by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality, as well as the continuing litigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); American xenophobic fear of communism; human rights in a democratic republic, including voting and criminal justice litigation; and the era's democratic culture (as reflected in pornography and right of privacy litigation).

The basic question Chief Justice Earl Warren asked counsel in so many of these controversial cases was "But is it fair?" His colleague, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., acknowledged by Horwitz to be one of the greatest jurists to ever serve on the U.S. Supreme Court, often referred to "human dignity" in his commentary about the essential role of the court when it interpreted the U.S. Constitution: has "individual dignity been honored, whether the worth of the individual has been acknowledged?"

Inherent in Horowitz's examination of the court's actions are some general views of how the men of the Warren Court saw their role as Justices of the Supreme Court and how they went about the task of interpreting the Constitution. Horwitz focuses on a number of clashes among sitting members of the Warren Court in these discussions: the perennial disagreement between the very deferential jurist, Felix Frankfurter, and his erstwhile opponent, the literalist, textual Hugo L. Black, as well as the clashes between Black and those who maintained that it was an "evolving" U.S. Constitution they were interpreting, including Brennan, Thurgood Marshall, Arthur Goldberg, William O. Douglas, Abe Fortas, and the "Super Chief," Warren himself.

There are errors that mar the quality of the text and point to the difficulty of writing a 100-page book about America's most turbulent period of constitutional law.

For example, Black did not hold the tenure record allegedly broken by Douglas in 1975; Warren retired in 1969, he did not resign (p. 10); Black did not have a "sense of inferiority" given the excellent educational backgrounds of other men on the court (p. 14); the NAACP's direct attack on *Plessy vs. Ferguson* was promulgated in a 1949 policy change initiated by Marshall (pp. 15, 20); in discussions of the Civil War amendments, Horwitz fails to mention the granting of citizenship in the Fourteenth Amendment (p. 16); Kentuckians are also southerners (p. 22); in *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the court asked the parties to answer five questions dealing with the intent of the writers of the Fourteenth Amendment as well as implementation issues associated with desegregation (p. 23).

There is no mention of the critical role played by the Johnson administration in desegregating the public schools, especially Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur Cohen's aggressive use of funding cut-offs against school districts that did not desegregate their public schools. Contrary to Horwitz, major sections of the 1965 Voting Rights Act were *not* implemented immediately; for example, Section 5, the critical "preclearance" section, was not applicable until 1971–1972 (p. 33). In chapter three's discussions of *Walker vs. Birmingham* (1967), there is no mention of the fact that the initial vote in conference was five to four to overturn the convictions and that one of the five, John M. Harlan II, had misgivings, asked Warren to reschedule discussion of *Walker* for the following Friday, and then changed his vote to uphold the convictions (p. 46). Frankfurter, claims Horwitz, from the Cold War on rejected the Holmes-Brandeis concept that there had to exist a clear and present danger for First Amendment rights to be lost. As seen in the Flag Salute cases, *Minersville School District vs. Gobitis* (1940) and his dissent in *West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943), as well as the Japanese Exclusion cases, however, from the moment Frankfurter joined the court in 1939, he deferred to state and national governmental restrictions on a person's First Amendment rights (p. 68).

These are some examples of the problem a writer encounters when trying to write a short book about the most revolutionary Supreme Court in American legal and political history. It is a very difficult task to examine sixteen years in 100 pages; Horwitz's book is an example of this reality.

HOWARD BALL
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KURT SCHUPARRA. *Triumph of the Right: The Rise of the California Conservative Movement, 1945–1966*. (The Right Wing in America.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 221. \$29.95.

American historians have often relegated the right to the margins of United States political history and portrayed it as a movement of dour, maladjusted

reactionaries who want to retreat to some nonexistent golden age. In his study of California elections from 1958 through 1966, Kurt Schuparra tests this view in the conservative heartland, focusing on southern California.

Although California is often seen as a liberal stronghold, Republican governors have controlled the state almost continuously since 1910. Republican moderates like Earl Warren devised a flexible program that appealed to many Democratic voters, but by the mid-1950s this pragmatic centrism struck many conservatives as a sellout to the left. Conservative Republicans condemned Dwight D. Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism" as warmed-over New Dealism.

The conservative Republicans of Orange County were especially restive. It was the fastest-growing county in the United States, flooded by people fleeing the urban ills of Los Angeles. It was a white middle-class stronghold; only 0.6 percent of the citizenry were African American. Residents prized their frontier self-image as rugged individualists, even as urbanization and industrialization were destroying their rural lifestyle. They attacked government spending while the county accepted huge federal transportation and water subsidies, and a third of its residents held jobs in the federally funded defense and aerospace industries.

Senator William Knowland's 1958 run for the governorship began the conservative rebellion. Knowland directly challenged moderate Republicanism and, although defeated by Democrat Pat Brown, unified the conservatives and gave them a mission that helped them endure future defeats. Although conservatives stuck by Richard Nixon in his doomed 1962 run against Brown, their hearts were really with an outsider, Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, who shared their self-image as rugged individualists and whose message echoed their own hatred of big government, their uncompromising anticommunism, and their old-fashioned patriotism. They stood behind him in the 1964 Republican Party presidential primary, when Goldwater defeated New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, leader of the beleaguered moderate Republicans. Goldwater went on to suffer a humiliating defeat in the fall election, but the losses by Knowland, Nixon, and Goldwater simply confirmed to the conservatives that the nation was in even worse trouble than they had assumed and caused them to redouble their efforts.

Conservative spirits were buoyed by Ronald Reagan, a new leader who seemed to combine ideological purity with electability. He was the most popular speaker in conservative circles, whipping crowds into a frenzy with his furious attacks on Democrats, big government, and the Soviet Union, while appearing calm and reasonable on the evening news clips from those same speeches. In his attacks on big government, Reagan carefully made room for such popular New Deal programs as Social Security and shifted his focus to threats to the "American way of life," to what would later be described as the culture war. He capitalized on white middle and working-class disgust with distur-

bances in black neighborhoods, with "welfare queens," Vietnam war protesters, and campus unrest. In the 1966 California gubernatorial campaign, Reagan shrugged off Brown's inept attempts to label him as an extremist and cut deeply into the Democratic Party's labor vote, easily defeating the governor.

Reagan devised a message, style, and program that proved as popular nationally as it did in California. He discarded the old pessimistic conservative message of limits and decline and put forward an optimistic vision of the future. "It's morning again in America," he said. His populist conservatism spoke in the name of the working and lower-middle class rather than the wealthy elite (although the wealthy benefitted from his policy). Behind his uncompromising conservative message, he was often flexible in action. As governor, he signed the nation's most liberal abortion law, compiled a good environmental record, increased educational spending, and reduced welfare rolls while raising welfare payments.

In his brief, well-documented study, Schuparra uses the gubernatorial elections to trace the triumph of the right in California. He carefully shows how California conservatives positioned themselves for success as the nation's political center moved to the right. Schuparra has read widely in the published sources and effectively uses the relevant manuscript collections and oral history interviews to describe the evolution of the conservative minority to its current place in the mainstream of the Republican Party.

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RAYMOND WOLTERS. *Right Turn: William Bradford Reynolds, the Reagan Administration, and Black Civil Rights*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1996. Pp. ix, 499. \$49.95.

William Bradford Reynolds served as assistant attorney general in charge of the civil rights division for eight years of Ronald Reagan's presidency. His tenure lasted longer than that of any other occupant of the office since its creation under the Civil Rights Act of 1957. A descendant both of the Puritan religious leader, Governor William Bradford of Massachusetts, and of the Du Pont family of industrialists, Reynolds reflected the ideological bent and political wishes of the president who appointed him. This meant an association with a chief executive who believed that the civil rights revolution had not only gone too far but had subverted the constitutional guarantees designed to ensure racial equality.

As a Hollywood actor, Reagan had supported civil rights causes in the 1940s and 1950s, but by the time he entered politics in the mid-1960s, he had abandoned both his New Deal Democratic loyalties and his enthusiasm for the civil rights legislative agenda. A conservative Republican, he questioned the constitutional validity of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting

Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, all of which had passed with bipartisan backing and reshaped the political and racial landscapes of the nation. The enforcement of these monumental pieces of legislation only buttressed Reagan's opposition. He deplored the construction of race-conscious remedies that allegedly ended one form of discrimination against blacks by imposing another against white males. When Reagan became president in 1980, he had the opportunity to reverse the direction of two decades of civil rights implementation.

Consequently, the Reagan administration took aim at what had become established methods of administering civil rights laws, primarily with respect to voting, employment, and education. In tandem with Reynolds, Reagan built his policy on the premise that the civil rights laws and judicial rulings of the 1950s and 1960s had originally endorsed desegregation and were intended to end racial considerations of any kind. According to this view, they were not designed to impose integration or extend advantages to African-Americans because of the color of their skin. To do so would violate the color-blind language of the Constitution as well as the intentions of the framers of the civil rights acts, who had stipulated that they did not mean to sanction racial goals or quotas as public policy. Reagan and Reynolds charged that a combination of aggressive federal bureaucrats and misguided judges stood non-discriminatory civil rights statutes on their heads and devised programs that did the opposite of what had been intended.

Rather than furnishing a biography of Reynolds, Raymond Wolters has published an account that seeks to portray sympathetically the legal opinions of a person he regards as a principled conservative. In part, he constructs this book as a defense of Reynolds against charges that he was a racist who turned his government agency into an anti-civil rights division. Such accusations led Congress to turn down Reagan's appointment of Reynolds as deputy attorney general in 1985, although he remained as head of the civil rights division. Wolters maintains that the Reagan administration not only tilted this nation to the political right but also took the right turn in reversing affirmative action, busing, and the creation of election districts to maximize black political representation. He traces and analyzes litigation dealing with these three areas of racial policy and concludes that, as a result of Reynolds's arguments, the courts are finally adhering to the doctrine that individuals must be treated equally regardless of their race rather than being provided special advantages because of their race.

Wolters has written an arguable if not argumentative book that should be considered seriously by those taking the opposite approach to public policy. He raises important questions about the efficacy of government programs such as busing and the equity of affirmative action solutions built exclusively on race and sex but not class. Generally based on solid research, including use of Reynolds's personal papers

and interviews with the former assistant attorney general, the book is less satisfying as a work of history. Designed to vindicate Reynolds, it lacks balance. Although Wolters easily defends Reynolds from unfair charges of racism, he employs language that distorts the opposition to the Reagan administration. Civil rights advocates are characterized as hardliners and elitists, and affirmative action, a neutral phrase, is routinely and derisively referred to as affirmative discrimination. The author's strong endorsement of the Reagan administration's racial policies occasionally takes him way out on precarious interpretive limbs. For example, with little evidence and scant attention to international developments as well as domestic business and labor practices, Wolters argues that affirmative action contributed to the decline of the industrial sector in the United States. Likewise, without acknowledging broader pedagogical, social, and cultural trends that transcend race, he asserts that falling educational standards stemmed from the use of busing to promote racial balance in the public schools.

In contrast to such unsubstantiated claims, the book's overall arguments are familiar and echo those presented by scholars such as Hugh Davis Graham, Herman Belz, and Abigail Thernstrom. Readers who want a different perspective on this subject should consult works by Morgan Kousser, Frank Parker, and Peyton McCrary. More importantly, what remains to be written is a comprehensive account of the Reagan administration and civil rights that goes beyond the legal issues and examines the politics that shaped the outcome of decision making. This means a close look at Congress as well as the executive and judicial branches and a careful examination of the inner operation of the civil rights division itself, which in a book about Reynolds is curiously absent.

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ROBERT R. TOMES. *Apocalypse Then: American Intellectuals and the Vietnam War, 1954–1975*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 293. \$50.00.

Robert R. Tomes has written the first comprehensive intellectual history of American intellectuals and the Vietnam War. It is an enlightening look at the public debates and internal exchanges that pushed liberals, especially, through the holes of a ideological pasta maker into ribbons of sectarianism. In the beginning, American intellectuals, he writes, echoing Louis Hartz, "embraced the goals of the liberal republic as their own" (p. 124), never feeling it their bounden duty to stand in opposition as in Europe.

All that changed with the Vietnam War. The moment change became evident, Tomes suggests, can almost be pinpointed by the publication of Robert Lowell's poem, "Waking Early Sunday Morning," which was printed in the August 5, 1965 issue of the *New York Review of Books*. Here the "all-American Lowell," whose ancestors had helped to "forge Amer-

ican civilization," rejected the role of global policeman in bitter verses expressing resignation, despair, anger, and rebellion (p. 145). Not all intellectuals rejected the American mission, of course, and the lines of disagreement became chasms of boiling lava as the ground under alliances gave way and old guard leftists scrambled to find new, more secure footing.

As the *New York Review of Books* drifted leftward behind an anti-Vietnam vanguard (it has drifted back toward the center in recent years), the old left marched right to establish *Public Interest*, a periodical predestined to become the standard bearer of neoconservatism. Vietnam thus served as a catalyst for new political agendas that went far beyond the war itself. Tomes does not discuss the 1967 Six Day War in the Middle East, the event that set off alarms for many Jewish intellectuals who had previously opposed the Vietnam War, but he does remark on the concern felt about Henry Kissinger's vision of post-Vietnam detente. If we backed out of Vietnam, it was argued by neoconservatives, what about the Middle East?

Over on the old conservative side, ranks reformed to attack the media for its portrayal of the Vietnam War. William F. Buckley even went so far as to compare Walter Cronkite and Mike Wallace, writes Tomes, to the Gestapo. Questions about official reports on the war's "progress" were put down to liberal whiners, who could not face up to the harsh realities and sacrifices the war required. It was an interesting, if not really surprising, sign of the times that writers in the *National Review*, like their radical counterparts, saw the United States on the verge of revolution by 1968.

Viewing the scene from the dark vantage point of that post-Tet era, Irving Howe looked back in longing toward the better times before and after World War II, when New York intellectuals both saved themselves from Stalinism and secured for themselves "full citizenship in the European intellectual community" by giving evidence of their distaste for mass culture (p. 201). He wondered if there were enough energy left in New York writers to confront the New Left and the resurgent right. Contempt for mass culture veered pretty close to a general elitism that New York intellectuals of all persuasions had often practiced under several different headings. Howe's ennui blocked out of view the idea that perhaps the reopening of old questions, if a far from comfortable process, was necessary if liberalism itself were not to fall prey to the Tin Woodsman's condition in the Wizard of Oz: rusted at the joints, unable to respond to any intellectual challenge except with the creaky rhetoric of the past.

The internecine debates that split the editors of *Studies on the Left* into wanna-be activists and scholar-bricklayers that Tomes identifies at the outset of his study reflected very different interpretations of American history, and of what dissent could (or ought) to produce. Embracing activism, the successful members of the board played out the tragedy of the New Left, a failure that left ideas in the hands of their intellectual opponents. Tomes insists that the ultimate power of

ideas and ideals should never be discounted in American history. If the war's origins were in the intellectual constructs of the 1950s, he concludes, then the nature of its end emerged from the constructs of the 1960s. Probably this conclusion gives too much credit or blame to intellectuals. Those who lived through the era will have quibbles with his categories, which tend to be too neat and occasionally even a bit misleading. Nevertheless, Tomes has summarized the debates skillfully, a noteworthy achievement that enables us all to comprehend the intensity (and agony) of the times.

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ORRIN SCHWAB. *Defending the Free World: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and the Vietnam War, 1961–1965*. (Praeger Studies in Diplomacy and Strategic Thought.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998. Pp. x, 243. \$59.95.

Orrin Schwab's thoroughly researched and well-crafted study merits a close reading by students in need of a tight, well-focused, and smart analysis of how and why the Vietnam War became unavoidably Americanized. Schwab moves from a careful review of President John F. Kennedy's counterinsurgency program to a penetrating analysis and cogent explanation of how and why President Lyndon B. Johnson was compelled to launch a full-scale war in the summer of 1965. In so doing, he explores in depth the key roles played by ideology and politics in shaping the differing approaches to the Vietnam conflict taken by these two presidents.

Schwab's story is not new, but his notion of state management casts a fresh light on the institutional tensions and the tactical as well as strategic differences that surfaced inside the American state system over what policy to follow in Vietnam. On one side was Kennedy's policy of neo-Wilsonianism, or liberal internationalism, which received strong backing from the State Department. On the other side was Johnson's modified and limited commitment to the doctrine of military realism, which largely emanated from the Pentagon and its policy analysts.

Despite their different approaches, both presidents viewed the conflict inside Vietnam as part of a larger geo-strategic and political struggle with the Soviet Union and China. Thus, Ho Chi Minh's determined challenge to American interests in Southeast Asia had to be resisted. Schwab asserts that Kennedy was more of a dove than a hawk in the struggle to contain communist advances in that region. Because Kennedy viewed the conflict there as largely political in character, his counterinsurgency program was designed to create a viable political, social, and economic system in South Vietnam as the best way to counter the Viet Cong insurgency. By November 1963, Kennedy's approach had failed to turn the tide: South Vietnam was in virtual shambles, and the Viet Cong seizure of power now appeared all but unstoppable. Kennedy's

assassination and the murder of Ngo Dinh Diem changed the political and military dynamic in both Washington and Saigon and brought a new sense of urgency and a changing context for policy making and debate to every corner of the national security bureaucracy. These developments gave those advocating a stronger military response to the crisis their opportunity "to gain greater and greater influence" (p. 68).

Johnson desperately wanted to avoid a war in Vietnam, but when faced with the prospect of either losing South Vietnam or committing massive military resources to prevent it, he opted for the latter. Schwab, working with a multitude of primary documents and pertinent secondary sources, carefully reconstructs the high-level policy debates and discussions that took place inside the Johnson administration leading to that decision. After situating his analysis in the context of conflicting ideological and institutional perspectives, he points out that a number of Johnson's advisers, including William and McGeorge Bundy, viewed plans for a ground war with deep skepticism, and that Secretary of State Dean Rusk also hoped to avoid such a war but went along with his president out of loyalty and a commitment to protecting a key outpost of the American containment system. By contrast, General John McConnell, the Air Force chief of staff, and John A. McCone, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, looked askance at the proposal for a land war, preferring instead to employ strategic air power to defeat the enemy.

Johnson, seeking a safe middle-ground strategy, relied heavily on the policy recommendations of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and his team of civilian and military analysts. They provided him with the option he desired: launching a conventional but limited ground war that would not needlessly risk precipitating war with China, or destroy prospects of achieving detente with Moscow, or weaken Johnson's domestic political base. Johnson accepted the McNamara plan to Americanize the war because, from his perspective, "legally, and morally, in historical, political, tactical, and strategic terms, it was the only viable course for him to pursue" (p. 208). But there is a deeper explanation for the president's decision. Schwab concludes his excellent monograph by suggesting that Johnson, for better or worse, went to war in Vietnam in order to defend the "Free World," that largely integrated system of global power the United States had successfully created and managed since the end of World War II.

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MARILYN JACOBY BOXER. *When Women Ask the Questions: Creating Women's Studies in America*. Foreword by CATHARINE R. STIMPSON. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Pp. xxiii, 360. \$29.95.

At the time of this book's publication, there were more than six hundred women's studies programs in the

United States. This statistic registers the enormous expansion of the field since 1970, when only one such program existed, and at the same time falls short of acknowledging the thousands of scholars who teach courses on women and gender within other disciplinary departments. By 1993, according to figures provided by the U.S. Department of Education, more than twelve percent of all students had received credit for courses in women's studies, which outdistanced all other interdisciplinary fields. Reviewing this data, Marilyn Jacoby Boxer logically concludes that women's studies, once considered an academic fad, has become not only enormous in size but an integral part of higher education.

Boxer, a long-time practitioner of women's studies, provides the first major historical overview of this development. Trained in modern European history, she served for six years as a faculty member and chair of the first women's studies program at San Diego State University and moved on to teach women's history on four other campuses. She therefore came to this study as an experienced scholar who was deeply invested in her subject, and she expresses her opinions quite clearly. This is not to say that the story she unfolds is narrowly subjective. To the contrary, her insider's knowledge works to the reader's advantage. Only someone deeply entrenched in the debates—women's studies has been a hotly contested area—could pull together such wide-ranging sources to map in vivid detail a complicated course of development over three decades.

Boxer does not use a linear format to chart the history of women's studies. She organizes her presentation along the axes of critical issues in the field. For example, in discussing its origins in the early 1970s, she states clearly that women's studies has always embraced both advocacy for and inquiry about women. More than an interdisciplinary endeavor, according to Boxer, women's studies emerged as a unusual program within higher education because its early practitioners pledged themselves to maintain a connection between political action and scholarship within the academy. Several chapters later, in discussing the "quest for theory," Boxer explores a change in commitment: namely, a slow drift away from a political practice rooted in experience or daily life. Other chapters cover equally compelling issues ranging from the impact of feminist pedagogy on the classroom to the relentless assault of critics inside and outside the academy.

One of Boxer's most engaging chapters, entitled "Recognizing Differences," surveys the impact of multiculturalism on women's studies. Here she points out that, although the pioneering scholars were mainly white women, questions of "difference" and "diversity" circulated from the beginning. The early collections, such as Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writing from the Women's Liberation Movement* (1970), include essays on and by women of color or, to use the nomenclature popular the time, "Third World women." A decade later, though, discus-

sions of diversity intensified with dramatic results. Within the National Women's Studies Association, which had been founded in 1977, race-based controversies prevailed for more than a decade and, by 1990, brought this organization to the brink of collapse. Less fragile than the institutional side of women's studies, feminist scholarship excelled in making multiculturalism a major component of its endeavor. Boxer quotes a recent survey that indicates that ninety-five percent of women's studies program have included courses on cultural diversity. Boxer went so far as to contend that women's studies has addressed the challenges posed by diversity more directly and more concertedly than any other academic field.

Historians may find especially interesting Boxer's references to the growth of women's studies within their own profession. The American Historical Association sponsored a panel at its 1970 annual meeting entitled "Up from the Genitals: Sexism in the Historical Profession," which, as Boxer pointed out, indicated a new direction for the organization. Change came slowly, but between 1987 and 1997, the membership elected four women to its highest office (whereas in its 112-year history only one woman had previously served as president—and then during the middle of World War II). Graduate students proved especially eager to affiliate with women's studies. Boxer reports that the number of doctoral dissertations in history that the UMI Dissertation Services listed under the heading "Women's Studies" for a six-month period in 1995 numbered 92. She underscores the significance of this statistic by adding that the cumulative total for the previous eighty-seven years was only sixteen.

This book is enormously valuable as a history of the first twenty-five years of women's studies within the larger context of higher education in the United States. The research is strong, the analysis clear and forceful.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

LAURENT DUBOIS. *Les esclaves de la République: L'histoire oubliée de la première émancipation 1789–1794*. Translated by JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAIX. Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1998. Pp. 239. 120 fr.

Laurent Dubois places slaves and free people of color at center stage in his analysis of the colonial crucible of Guadeloupe during the French Revolution. Building on recent scholarship by Anne Perotin-Dumon, Carolyn Fick, David Geggus, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Colin Blackburn, and others, he seeks to integrate the best insights of cultural anthropology with a class analysis of republican revolutionary ideology. Laurent's book begins with a "social cartography" of the island of Guadeloupe, examining the physical geography, demographics, and social systems of power in the colony. It then turns to the role of rumor not only as a

means of transmitting information from France and the other colonies but as a means of organizing resistance among slaves, soldiers, and other subordinates. Many of the slave revolts, culminating in the Saint Domingue insurrection of 1791, were stimulated or justified by rumors of impending emancipation by the king of France.

The increasing conflict between royalists and republicans in France also erupted in the colonies. In Guadeloupe, planters rallied to the more conservative colonial assemblies, while *petits blancs* coalesced around the Jacobin political clubs. In this early phase, color was not a significant determinant of loyalty. Armed slaves and free people of color (*gens de couleur*) could be found in both camps. By late 1792, the royalist faction controlled Guadeloupe, Martinique, and parts of Saint Domingue. The arrival of Governor Lacrosse shifted power to the island patriots and many of the "new citizens" (former *gens de couleur*) threw their support to the republican cause and its promise of full political participation.

On April 24, 1793, approximately 200 slaves rose up and executed twenty-three whites from six of the largest plantations in the Trois-Rivières region of Guadeloupe. They marched to town and submitted to local authorities, claiming that they had put down a royalist plot to turn the island over to the British. Republican authorities accepted this justification, and there were no reprisals against the insurgents, other than extended imprisonment while officials tried to determine appropriate actions. The event prompted the government to confiscate royalist property, incited a much larger slave revolt in St. Anne, and stimulated the political assimilation of other "new citizens."

The British invaded Guadeloupe in March 1794 and held the island for two months. Meanwhile, the Jacobin government in France unilaterally abolished slavery. Governor Victor Hugues arrived in Guadeloupe in June with the universal emancipation decree and successfully drove out the British with the help of the newly freed slaves. Yet emancipation under Hugues, following gradualist abolitionist theory, tied "new citizens" to their former plantations as agricultural laborers. The new regime imitated the mature slave system in many aspects. By 1799, Napoleon's reforms were resubmitting the colonies to metropolitan rule, and in 1802 slavery was reinstituted in Guadeloupe.

This book is at its best when analyzing the circulation of rumor and symbols by slaves and free people and the ways that power and authority were reconfigured in the colonies. Anyone who has sought to tell the story of slaves from their own perspective encounters a substantial obstacle: the scarcity of surviving documentation in the slaves' own voices. Dubois minimizes this difficulty by examining the indirect ways that power is enacted and represented by all parties; the book sparkles with suggestive details and analytical forays into the representation of power.

At the same time, Dubois has not sufficiently contextualized the events of Guadeloupe in the wider

Atlantic world. He rightfully makes some important comparisons with the outbreak of revolution in Saint Domingue, which has been studied more thoroughly because the colony was larger and more economically powerful than Guadeloupe and ultimately achieved independence. Deeper comparisons could be drawn. For example, what difference does it make that, at the outbreak of the revolution, only twenty percent of the 90,000 slaves in Guadeloupe were born in Africa, whereas perhaps sixty-six percent of 450,000 slaves in Saint Domingue suffered the Middle Passage? With what political notions might these Africans have been familiar? (John Thornton has done some interesting work in this regard.) What proportion of Guadeloupean slaves and free *gens de couleur* had spent some time in the United States, France, or other parts of Europe, either as domestic servants or as students, and how might these experiences have shaped their discussions of the meanings of citizenship and liberty?

The book is a slightly condensed French translation of the first half of Dubois's English-language dissertation (1998). It is an original, innovative work by a promising new scholar. We can all look forward to more developed future work.

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TERESITA MARTÍNEZ-VERGNE, *Shaping the Discourse on Space: Charity and Its Wards in Nineteenth-Century San Juan, Puerto Rico*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 235. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$17.95.

A fissure is developing between the Puerto Rican history that is written for Latin Americanists in the U.S. and published by American university presses and the history that is written and published in Puerto Rico for university students and the general public. A good instance of this development is Teresita Martínez-Vergne's book. Impeccably written, with all the proper academic twists and turns, it examines the development of nineteenth-century public policy in San Juan toward the needy. The basic issue is the appropriation of public spaces by the white liberal establishment in ways that made manifest the dependence and the subordination of the colored working classes. All the contradictions of the staid liberal discourses on property, liberty, health, security, and the free circulation of goods are duly pointed out with smooth irony and trenchant quotations; all the proper points are made and the adequate statistics marshalled; but in the end, one has to ask oneself, why was this book written and where are its flesh and blood subjects?

Justifications for this academic exercise are not lacking. It fits snugly a niche that has been perennially vacant in Puerto Rican social history. It tries to connect political discourse with social reality, and it takes advantage of the available sources. But who are these "liberals" who are constantly brought up as witnesses of their own Victorian deviousness? Why is

the reiterative label applied indiscriminately to every ordinance and deliberation of the nineteenth-century San Juan municipal council? Why is the liberal ideology so liberally plastered over all those responsible for the elaboration of welfare provisions? The political history of the city of San Juan is taken for granted, and the liberal character of those in power is gratuitously assumed because that was the coloration of the Spanish metropolitan political elite. That is the risk one takes when one does away with proper names and surnames and assumes a faceless, Foucauldian bourgeoisie as a subject.

It is not so much the anonymity of the agents of the liberal agenda, however, but the nameless objects of public benevolence whom one would wish to encounter in these pages. The subaltern's capacity to resist and to negotiate, even if only in the historical memory, is diminished by the obliteration of names and the reduction of words and acts to a statistical table, thus extending the alledged liberal rationality and order to our own day. But in our own day, the continuation of the dominant effort to impose order and discipline on the subaltern groups may be abetted by a historiography that seeks only to harmonize understandings of the past with contemporary trends in academia, giving insufficient attention to the ongoing efforts to discipline and to punish.

None of the above should in any way diminish the perception of the excellence and competence of this book, which will remain a prized work of reference.

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PHILIP A. HOWARD. *Changing History: Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 227. \$35.00.

The mutual aid associations formed by Africans in the Americas have long been of interest for researchers. They exceeded mutual aid functions, often incorporating religious and political activities, sometimes of a subversive nature, suggesting their role as organizations of resistance to racism and as crucibles for the maintenance of African culture or the recreation of new Afro-American cultural forms. Yet there are few in-depth, English-language studies of these organizations in Latin America, where they were widespread, mainly in urban areas. Where studies do exist, they often focus on the lay religious brotherhoods, or *cofradías*, which blacks formed. *Cabildos* (councils), however, usually formed—at least nominally—around African ethnic affiliation.

Cuba is an obvious choice for studies of these societies—along with Brazil—since the slave trade continued late there, the black population was numerous, and archival sources on the *cabildos* are doubtless richer than for countries such as Colombia. Philip A. Howard builds on existing work by Cuban scholars,

some of which focuses on specific types of associations or on blacks in Cuban society in general (with the notable exception of Fernando Ortiz's "Los cabildos afro-cubanos," *Revista Bimestre Cubana* [1921]).

The book has a roughly chronological structure. It begins with a sketch of race and class in Cuba before 1850 and a chapter on the African and Iberian background to mutual aid societies and some features of *cabildos* in Cuba: their emergence in the sixteenth century as groupings of Africans who shared elements of culture; their nineteenth-century role as a support network for the growing free black artisan class; their membership overlap with the black militias; the monopolization by some *cabildos* of particular occupations, such as stevedoring; and the groups' elected kings and queens or captains. Chapter three deals with the overlap of secular and sacred activities, as *cabildos* organized medical help for members and dances on national holidays and also funerals and other rituals, often involving divination, curing, and spirit possession. The following chapters describe the participation of the *cabildos* in challenging slavery and Spanish rule and in promoting the welfare and rights of Afro-Cubans in a racially stratified society. In this process, the ethnic basis of *cabildos* declined, being superseded by Pan-Afro-Cuban mutual aid societies, some of which published newspapers and ran educational programs.

Howard's book is a valuable and thoroughly researched addition to the literature on *cabildos* and on Afro-Cubans in the nineteenth century. It is, however, strangely reluctant to engage with broader debates about blacks in the Americas. In chapter three, for example, Howard discusses the emergence of *santería* (the worship of spirits, some African, some identified with Catholic saints, which possess the worshipper) and syncretism. Africans admitted elements of Catholic religion into their practices but "never deviated from their own definition of religion" (p. 60). Yet Howard never really broaches the heated debates about the syncretism, creolization, and retention of African culture in the Americas. There is no reference to Sidney Mintz and Richard Price's *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (1976) or to more recent texts that address the issue, such as John Thornton's *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (1992). The notion of syncretism itself, criticized by some for its implication of two "cultures" that simply meet and mix, is used without comment. The chapter that discusses these issues is based mainly on secondary sources, swooping from nineteenth-century descriptions of African societies, to twentieth-century anthropological accounts of the same regions, to recent accounts of Cuban *santería* on the unstated assumption that ritual activity in the 1950s is a reliable guide to what was happening in the 1870s. One could argue that it is such a guide, but Howard does not make the case. Howard states that the *cabildos* grouped Africans who spoke the same or related languages (pp. 43, 78), but

he does not address the problems of knowing the real ethnic make-up of the societies and language use within them.

Finally, Howard describes the ambiguous role of the *cabildos* as both organizations of resistance—fomenting rebellion, creating Afro-Cuban cultures seen as immoral and dangerous by whites, but also valued by some of them who purchased their secrets and formed their own societies—and organizations of assimilation exhorting blacks to educate themselves and adapt to the mores of white-oriented Cuban culture. Yet he never really tries to explain in a systematic way why and how these roles coexisted and what made one option more viable than the other in a given context.

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STEPHEN BELL. *Campanha Gaúcha: A Brazilian Ranching System, 1850–1920*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 292. \$55.00.

In this book, historical geographer Stephen Bell studies the modernization of ranching methods in the Campanha region of Rio Grande do Sul. Employing the insights of dependency theory, he uses a core-periphery model to examine the Campanha as an example of a region that was a periphery within a periphery.

After chapters that describe the region and its economy, most of Bell's book is devoted to demonstrating that innovations in ranching came much later to the Campanha than they did to the rest of southern South America. This is largely an exercise in description, as Bell discusses in considerable detail a host of innovations (such as the rise of rural associations, fencing, rural codes, breeding techniques, and the planting of specialized feeds) and how, in each case, they were implemented first in Argentina and only later, usually decades later, in Rio Grande do Sul.

In his descriptive chapters, Bell occasionally concludes discussions with brief, one or two-sentence explanations of why something happened the way it did, and when it did. These explanations tend to emphasize the local, physical environment and the Campanha's isolation from foreign influences as the primary reasons for its delayed modernization when compared to Argentina and Uruguay. Campanha ranchers modernized late because Rio Grande do Sul's main port was archaic, while transportation to it was difficult. Ranchers resisted planting alfalfa for feed because the region's compacted soil made cultivation much more difficult and expensive than in Argentina. Furthermore, Campanha ranchers were largely isolated from European influences. Thus, Bell asserts, Uruguayan and Argentine producers modernized production and improved breeding techniques because of the influence of European immigrants. In contrast, there simply were no "foreign minorities with means present in any number to act as catalysts for change on the Campanha grasslands" (p. 104).

Aside from these brief explanations, Bell waits until the end of the book (chapter seven) to explain at length why innovations came later to the Campanha. This is a problem, because his explanations in this chapter rely on factors he largely ignores in the first two-thirds of his study. For example, for most of the book he consistently avoids in-depth discussions of labor relations in the Campanha. In his interpretive chapter, he then asserts that outlaws, many of them out-of-work cowboys and displaced *agregados*, made life and property so insecure as to discourage owners from investing in expensive ranching innovations. Since virtually none of Bell's research addresses this issue, however, it is hard to judge the validity of his argument. The same can be said about the related assertion that the absence of state authority further discouraged rancher investment and innovation. This is, of course, an interesting idea, but again, the body of Bell's research does not address it, nor is it discussed in his descriptive chapters.

On the one hand, Bell argues that political and social factors largely determined the pace of innovations in the Campanha. On the other hand, he asserts the importance of the local physical environment and the absence of foreign "modernizers." His archival research and descriptions, however, point almost exclusively to the latter two factors. He could have compensated for his lack of information on the former by turning to John Charles Chasteen's *Heroes on Horseback: The Life and Times of the Last Gaucho Caudillos* (1995). Strangely, Bell ignores this book, even though pertinent discussions of Brazilian politics and history, comments on labor relations and violence in the Campanha, and comparisons of Brazilian and Uruguayan ranchers form the heart of Chasteen's book.

Scholars will turn to this collection when they wish to know more about when certain ranching innovations were adopted in Rio Grande do Sul. They will turn to Bell's book when looking for an extended discussion of who promoted such innovations in southern Brazil. They will need to look elsewhere, however, for a more complete and convincing explanation of why Campanha ranchers acted the way that they did.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

GREGORY CRANE. *Thucydides and the Ancient Simplicity: The Limits of Political Realism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 348. \$45.00.

Gregory Crane takes the title of his new book from Richard Crawley's inspired over-translation of Thucydides's account of the moral shift that came with political revolution in the Peloponnesian War: "The ancient simplicity to *euêthes* = 'good temper' or 'sim-

plicity' into which honor so largely entered was laughed down and annihilated; and society became divided into camps in which no person trusted the next" (3.83.1). Here, as occasionally, Thucydides lets slip his mask of the cool, scientific observer, betraying humanity, even sentimentality. An early convert to the new rationalism of the Sophists, Thucydides thought he had found a key to understanding the secular, abstract forces that govern human events. The new science of war and politics could do without "ancient" superstition, without traditional morality, and without the gods. Many speakers in the *History* blandly dismiss questions of right and wrong, and the few who hold out for justice often appear hopelessly out of step with the new world order. And then came the crack-up. According to Thucydides's abstract analysis, Athens, with its money, walls, and ships, should have won the Peloponnesian War; instead, old-fashioned Sparta prevailed in a contest that proved to be not glorious, as Thucydides had expected, but morally ruinous.

Crane's book therefore addresses the heart of the matter, the limits of Thucydides' rationalist approach. Crane focuses on Thucydides's "political realism," placing it in the context of modern political thought. After much argument, Crane concludes that Thucydides showed that the Athenians' realism was bankrupt, "simply another ideological gambit" (p. 294). Certainly, by the end of the war, this must have been true, as Thucydides looked back with dismay on his early naiveté. Crane says that three principles governed Thucydides' thinking: first, immutable rules govern international relations; second, groups, not individuals, determine outcomes; third, "the pursuit of power is a fundamental human motivation" (p. 295). But, in the story that Thucydides comes to tell, all these tenets are proven false. It is one of the great virtues of Crane's book that he acknowledges and even focuses on these paradoxes.

The first two chapters apply Thomas Hobbes, Niccolò Machiavelli, and other "modern" writers to Thucydides, and the second chapter defines realism in great detail. Chapter three examines Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus for the paradigm that Thucydides broke. Chapter four treats the "programmatic" debate between the Corcyraeans, and chapters five and six cover the *Archaeology*, the introductory history of ancient times, in which Thucydides enunciated the realist principles that he believed governed and will always govern history. Chapter six deals specifically with Thucydides's realist view of wealth and his rejection of the archaic "symbolic capital" of gift exchange, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. Chapter seven, "The Rule of the Strong and the Limits of Friendship," deals with the Mytilenean debate between Cleon and Diodotus. Chapters seven and eight cover Sparta and the particular challenge it presented to the Athenians. Chapter nine centers on the Athenians and on the Melian dialogue. The tenth chapter analyzes the "Modern Simplicity" of the Athenians.

Many will find one of the most intriguing parts of

this book to be Crane's analysis of the U.S. Civil War siege of Atlanta as an analog to the Melian dialogue. Crane cites a remarkable exchange of letters between General William Tecumseh Sherman and the surrendering Confederate commander, John Bell Hood. Hood protested Sherman's proposed forcible removal of the city's population: "In the name of god and humanity I protest"; to which Sherman responded: "If we must be enemies, let us be men, and fight it out as we propose to do, and not deal in such hypocritical appeals to God and humanity" (p. 26). In comparing this exchange to the words of the Athenians and Melians in Thucydides, Crane gives pause to those who consider the Melian dialogue an implausible fiction.

Crane writes clearly and well, but like his author, he has a categorizing mind and is prone to daunting lists of abstractions. For example, he identifies four characteristics of political, literary, artistic, and scientific schools of realist thought: "procedural," "scientific," "ideological," and "paradigmatic" (p. 38). Later in the same chapter, we encounter a discussion stretching over six pages of what end up being the seven "assumptions" of political realism.

Crane, the chief artificer of the Perseus Project, has taken pains to make his book accessible to nonspecialists, and he makes appropriate use of scholarship from disciplines such as political science, sociology, and anthropology. Many of his arguments depend on close philological reading of the text, involving frequent citation of extended passages in ugly transliterated Greek that will annoy classicists and scarcely enlighten others. Some readers may find that the various parts of Crane's book, the abstract analysis at the beginning, the deployment of modern analogies, detailed analysis of extended texts, and final conclusion do not hand together as neatly as they might have. But as with Thucydides's *History*, we would be poorer without this book, for it is a learned and subtle attack on some of the most intractable problems that preoccupy Thucydidean scholars.

STEWART G. FLORY

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JANE F. GARDNER. *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University, 1998. Pp. x, 305. \$85.00.

Jane F. Gardner's new book makes a useful addition to the growing scholarship on the Roman family (to which she had already contributed importantly). The Latin word *familia* is too easily translated as "family," but, as Gardner emphasizes, *familia* was an agnatic, legal construct that only partially coincided with "family," which she defines as blood and affinal relations. Her book consists of three long chapters exploring the points at which *familia* and "family" diverged: emancipation, adoption, and the mother-child relationship. Gardner's conclusion (p. 271–72) is directed against legal historians who conflate *familia* and family, and then construct a narrative of the disintegration of the

Roman family based on legal changes affecting the *familia*. Her critique is effective, because she brings a sophisticated understanding that the legal system did not define or describe social realities but was an institutional framework to be manipulated by individuals in order to achieve preferred outcomes.

The first chapter of the book analyzes the legal procedure of emancipation by which a son or daughter was freed from paternal power and thereby set outside the *familia*. Past accounts of emancipation have often assumed that this institutional breaking of *familia*-ties was a result of the rupture of family ties and hence evidence of the disintegration of the family unit. Gardner demonstrates that the Romans in fact developed law to preserve the family bond between the emancipated child and the natal family. So, for example, from the end of the republic the praetor recognized the claim of an emancipated child on the father's estate alongside the claims of unemancipated children. As Gardner points out (p. 109), the most commonly attested motive for emancipation was not an emotional schism between father and child but the desire to give the child the independent property rights necessary to accept an inheritance from outside the *familia*.

The theme is continued in the second chapter on adoption, an institution that the Romans used for creating lines of inheritance of property (not nurturing bonds to care for young children). Gardner effectively shows that the "family" bonds of affectionate devotion (*pietas*) were continued even after the *familia*-tie was severed.

The typical form of Roman marriage in the classical era (*sine manu*) did not bring the wife into the *familia* of her husband, leaving her without a *familia*-tie to her own children. Chapter three describes the legal developments that recognized the mother-child bond in the hierarchy of claims to inherit.

Gardner's full treatment of emancipation, adoption, and the mother-child bond fills a significant gap in the scholarship on Roman family life. It is based on legal sources, of which Gardner has a detailed and reliable grasp. For example, she is always careful to notice the intricate and sometimes quite different consequences of these legal institutions for freeborn families and ex-slave families.

Finally, two general observations. As Gardner forthrightly observes, historians have no good evidence for the frequency of emancipation or adoption, and this fact limits our understanding of the strategic use of these legal institutions. The number of directly attested adoptions (p. 133) is, to my mind, surprisingly small. Without knowing the frequency, we are poorly equipped to understand why Roman elite families, which were largely unable to perpetuate themselves in the senate over several generations, did not make more use of adoption to repair lines of descent.

Gardner effectively critiques the German legal approach to understanding the Roman family, but she says little of the French cultural approach, which resembles the German in the constructivist emphasis

on the arbitrary, non-biological, legal definition of the family. Gardner's argument about the interactive distinction between *familia* and family offers an implicit critique of the French approach by demonstrating the numerous ways in which Romans developed institutions to accommodate their sense of ties to those "natural" or "blood relations" who were unrelated in civil law. Gardner quotes Valerius Maximus's statement that "the bond of procreation is the tightest" (p. 38). The cultural constructivists could counter with the argument that the Roman notion of "natural" or of "procreation" is itself an arbitrary cultural construct. This much is true, but it is also true that the Roman notion of biological ties is rather close to our own modern understanding and does not support some of the more exotic interpretations of the Roman family.

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THOMAS A. J. MCGINN. *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 416. \$55.00.

Prostitution in ancient Rome is a topic which, until recently, received remarkably little scholarly attention. Thomas A. J. McGinn's erudite study of the legal rules affecting female prostitution from 200 B.C.E. to 250 C.E. is therefore particularly welcome.

A shift of focus to the margins, as McGinn points out, has characterized many recent studies in social and cultural history, and his own work is often sensitive to the insights such an approach can offer. McGinn is generally alert to the symbolic significance of prostitution for the Romans. The extensive battery of legal prescriptions that regulated the status of prostitutes (along with the practitioners of other disgraceful professions such as acting and fighting in the arena) enshrined them as a crucial point of reference in the Roman social hierarchy. One of the strengths of this book is its emphasis on the ambiguity of prostitution for the Romans. Laws such as the Augustan prescriptions on marriage and adultery allocated prostitutes a conspicuously lowly place in society. Prostitutes were treated as despicable yet necessary, if legitimate marriage was to be protected. At the same time, prostitution was legitimized by the taxation system (at least after Caligula). McGinn rightly emphasizes problems with an "evolutionary hypothesis," arguing convincingly that Roman jurists and legislators did not develop a consistent "policy" toward prostitution. He stresses instead the ad hoc responses of lawmakers to divergent, sometimes contradictory trends in Roman society.

McGinn's mastery of Roman legal scholarship is most impressive. Occasionally his detailed exposition of scholarly debate serves to obscure the main thrust of his own argument; on the whole, though, he is a clear guide through the sometimes rebarbative controversies that tend to characterize modern studies of the Roman jurists. Individual chapters offer some enlightening

discussions of specific areas of the law. Chapter three, for example, treats the Augustan marriage laws with great clarity, while chapter five's discussion of the Augustan adultery law is particularly helpful in its treatment of the prescriptions governing husbands' pimping of their wives, as well as the other strategies by which the law assimilated adulteresses to prostitutes. As McGinn emphasizes, this law reflected and reinforced the role of the prostitute as symbol of sexual shame in Roman society. Later chapters examine, among other topics, the laws governing the taxation of prostitutes and those restricting the use of slaves as prostitutes.

In his opening chapters, McGinn tackles the problematic question of defining the prostitute. For Roman jurists, he suggests, the key issue was promiscuity, rather than, as one might expect, payment. Subsequent chapters seem to operate on the assumption that Romans were generally in agreement over who was and who was not a prostitute. Only the adulteress, a figure given new prominence through the Augustan legislation, threatened to blur this distinction, according to McGinn. Yet promiscuity is surely harder to define than payment. How many lovers must a woman have to count as a prostitute? There must have been many women (and indeed men) who were seen as prostitutes by some people but not by others. McGinn does not tackle the issue of the high-class courtesan, such as Cicero's contemporary Volumnia Cytheris, on the grounds that Roman jurists make almost no reference to such people. Courtesans are treated with admirable subtlety in James Davidson's recent study of classical Athens, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (1997), which suggests that the indefinability, the unpredictability of the exchange between the courtesan and her "friend" was a crucial part of her allure. When is a present a payment? If the courtesan chooses her partners carefully, how can she count as "sexually indiscriminate," an important criterion in the juristic definition of prostitution? Such issues are not taken account of by McGinn.

As the introduction immediately makes clear (although the title does not) this study focuses on female prostitution. In chapter two, McGinn does give a full account of the legal disabilities affecting male prostitutes, but they receive little mention elsewhere in his study. One might question how far it is possible to make sense of Roman attitudes to female prostitutes without giving serious consideration to attitudes toward their male counterparts. McGinn's treatment of sexuality is largely restricted to (often perceptive) discussions of female sexual honor, but these could have been pushed much further. What, for instance, does it say about Roman attitudes to female sexuality that complaisant husbands are regularly identified as effeminate? Surely McGinn is misguided when he suggests that female prostitutes enjoyed, even if only notionally, the same sexual freedom as Roman men. Nevertheless, this is an impressive work that will long

remain the central reference point for anyone studying Roman prostitution.

CATHARINE EDWARDS
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MARY STROLL. *The Medieval Abbey of Farfa: Target of Papal and Imperial Ambitions*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 74.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1997. Pp. xii, 298.

The Abbey of Farfa lies on the road to Rieti in the mountains of central Italy about fifty miles northeast of Rome. Charlemagne bestowed privileges and immunities on it, and Farfa became an imperial monastery. Its link to the emperor determined a large part of its history during the next four centuries.

Mary Stroll has written extensively about the ecclesiastical and secular politics of central Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this book, she changes her focus but not her interests. Beginning with a brief history of Farfa in the early Middle Ages, Stroll traces the turbulent history of the abbey to its precipitous decline in the second half of the twelfth century. She is particularly concerned to fit Farfa into the controversies between the papacy and the empire in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. She argues that Farfa remained loyal to the empire until the time of Frederick Barbarossa and went into decline because "without [imperial] immunities and liberties that provided its strength, it retreated from the world" (p. 276).

Much of the book is not, strictly speaking, a history of Farfa, but an extended discussion of two events and the documentary evidence arising from them: the 1059 electoral decree of Pope Nicholas II and a property dispute between Farfa and the Ottaviani family in the early twelfth century. Even cognoscenti may raise their eyebrows over Stroll's decision to devote five chapters to Nicholas's decree and may not remember the connection between Farfa and the electoral decree. Gregory of Catino, a monk at Farfa, included one version (generally considered a forged, pro-imperial text) in his *Chronicon*. Stroll presents a complicated argument that this text, not the pro-papal version included in Gratian's *Decretum*, is the original decree. Her main evidence is based on the work of a sixteenth-century monk from Farfa, Panvinus, and his dating of the manuscript from which he took a version of the decree to shortly after A.D. 1059. Stroll has great confidence in Panvinus's paleographical skills; I am dubious. At the end of her long analysis, she concludes that the pro-imperial version of the decree "could well have been the decree formulated by Nicholas II" (p. 208). But whether she is right or wrong about the decree, and given the evidence we could speculate forever, she undercuts the reasons for her long dense argument about the decree at the end of the book when she concludes that Farfa's preserving of the decree "may have had little or nothing to do with its politic(s)" (p. 275). If Farfa's version of the decree has

nothing to do with politics, why does it merit the detailed coverage in her book?

There is no question that the property dispute with the Ottaviani (1103–1105) forced the monastery to haul its pro-imperial sympathies up the mast. The family argued in court that the Emperor Constantine granted the Roman bishop dominion over all Italy and that no one could lay claim to the right of ownership without papal authority. Farfa rejected the Ottaviani's claim and asserted that the Donation of Constantine granted lordship (*principatum*) over all churches but not dominion over private rights of ownership. Stroll muddies her argument by consistently translating the Latin word *proprietas* as "private property." *Proprietas* almost never meant that, during this period and later. Rather, it means the right of ownership or of possession, a very important distinction. Anyway, since the case did not result in a judgment for either side and since it had no influence, as far as we know, on later thought or events, it is hard to understand why we should have paid so much attention to it. To write that "the dispute . . . would serve as a referendum on the claims to authority of the papacy and the empire" (p. 133) is to exaggerate its importance in several ways. First, the use of the modern term "referendum" is completely out of place when describing an event in the Middle Ages. By using that word, Stroll implies that if one side had won the court case, their arguments would have become normative in medieval jurisprudence. Second, the court that concluded its deliberations in the fortress of Tophia was no "supreme court," and its decisions would not have been viewed as having created a precedent (even if the concept of judicial precedent existed in this period). The dispute does give us a striking example of the Ottaviani's citing the Donation of Constantine to support an extreme papalist position. That fact is important, but one wonders whether six chapters covering eighty-two pages should have been devoted to it in a book whose title leads one to think that Farfa's history is the main subject.

The book contains much that is valuable and interesting. Stroll is particularly good at exploiting German, Italian, and French literature on her subject. Her research is broad, and she has a keenly skeptical approach to other historians' work that I find admirable. As I read the book, however, I kept noticing where she needed good editorial advice. I wished she had shortened the sections on the electoral decree and the trial. Her arguments in those chapters are expansive and leisurely. There is too much repetition throughout the book, particularly in the notes (e.g. pp. 1 n.3, 20 n.10, 115 n.33, 151 n.30, 151 n.19). An author is always irritated by a reviewer who wanted her to write a different book. Nevertheless, I do wish that she had written more about Farfa.

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JANET BURTON. *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 40.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 352. \$69.95.

Janet Burton's new book is divided into two parts. The first section deals with the foundation and expansion of monastic orders and their monasteries in Yorkshire, the second with less mundane aspects of the monasteries' presence in the county, including cultural influences on monastic life and the monasteries' impact on the world outside their walls. In both sections, Burton engages recent historiographic debates and archeological studies, helping to make this book one of the more comprehensive studies of early medieval English monasticism available. Although the book is of primary interest to historians of medieval religion, it will also appeal to those interested in medieval politics, especially the politics of colonization, as Burton sets the spread of these religious houses in the context of the extension of royal power attendant upon the Norman Conquest. Historians interested in the associated establishment of baronial power and land tenure will also find this book useful.

Part one includes helpful support material: a table of the county's monasteries, which lists their foundation dates; affiliations with European orders; and dedications. Maps of the territorial expansion of the three primary monastic orders in the county—the Benedictines, the Augustinians, and the Cistercians—and one that shows the location of the female houses help guide the reader through Burton's description of this expansion, especially the spread of Cistercian monasteries, which she describes as a "family of monastic houses" because of the order's colonization of the county by several primary abbeys and their smaller daughter houses. In this section, Burton establishes her basic themes: that regional baronial and royal politics affected the development and foundation of the monastic orders in the county; that this development was not insular but related to a broader European movement; and that the Cistercians were perhaps the most influential of all the orders in medieval Yorkshire. She marginalizes the female houses, however, by treating them as a discrete group, even though they shared order affiliations with most of the county's male houses. Citing scarcity of sources as a reason for this separation, the similarities between the foundations of many of the female houses and their male counterparts, specifically the Augustinians, would have placed the nuns in the wider context of the monastic expansion of which they were a part.

Having examined the foundations and traced the spread of monasteries in the county, Burton covers a variety of more interesting aspects of monastic life in Yorkshire in part two. She begins by stating the obvious: that women and men became nuns and monks because they had religious vocations. Readers may balk at this statement, but Burton is refreshingly correct to start her examination of monastic life with it,

because it so rarely enters discussions of medieval monasticism. In surveying recruitment patterns among female and male houses, she finds that nuns often entered a convent with a grant of land or annual income of rents and that male recruits of high social status frequently became abbots or priors of their houses. Her survey of patrons and benefactors continues the theme of local political influences on monasteries and their endowments, and she contributes some interesting insights into patrons' motives. Her discussion of female and male cooperation and coexistence, and the impact on natural resources and the physical landscape of both nuns and monks, relies on the works of Sharon Elkins, Roberta Gilchrist, and Glyn Coppack. Perhaps the most interesting chapter of this book deals with the manuscript culture of monastic life in this early period, specifically what the monks and canons read and how and why they acquired the manuscripts they did. Here Burton ties the Yorkshire monastic tradition to a northern English one by tracing many of the manuscripts owned by the wealthier male houses to Durham and the works of Bede. In this, she sees a distinct northern monastic cultural identity, but one that was influenced by the European material culture of Cîteaux, and one that had a positive influence on the development of monasticism in other parts of England. She concludes by suggesting that the time frame of her book, 1068–1215, was a golden age of monasticism in the county, the achievements of which were not to be seen again. Instead of ending on a note of regret, however, Burton suggests that this strong beginning established a foundation that allowed these houses of nuns and monks to survive for another three centuries.

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BRENDAN SMITH. *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170–1330*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 189. \$54.95.

The history of the English colony in medieval Ireland has been well served by a number of accounts, both narrative and analytical. In this context, one thinks of the works of Edmund Curtis, A. J. Otway-Ruthven, J. F. Lydon, and more recently, A. Cosgrove and R. F. Frame. It is hardly too much to say, however, that any work treating Ireland in this period as a whole is misleading. Authority within the island was decentralized, with important regional variations between communities of independent or semi-independent Gaelic chieftaincies, turbulent Anglo-Irish marcher lordships, and an east coast area regularly influenced by the operations of English common law and the officials of the royal administration at Dublin. In the early twentieth century, G. H. Orpen's four-volume *Ireland under the Normans* (1911–1920) dealt with events in Ireland from the Cambro-Norman invasion of 1169 to the

portentous murder of the earl of Ulster in 1333 as the history of a number of regions, rather than focusing exclusively on the concerns of the English king's administration, but his example has never hitherto been followed in relation to the Anglo-Irish colony, although Kenneth Nicholls's *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (1972) included some marcher lords in its account of the independent Irish chieftaincies.

Any regional study of the medieval English colony in Ireland would therefore be welcome and groundbreaking. Brendan Smith offers more, however, because he sets the colonization of Louth, Ireland's smallest county, firmly in the context of colonization and feudal organization in other frontier regions of the British Isles in the same period, using the details of a confined society with which he is intensely familiar to fine-tune the theories of P. R. Coss and D. Crouch, for example. His writing is lively, concise, and convincingly interpretive. The limited size of the region in question becomes an advantage as the names of the same individuals and families crop up repeatedly, until they become personal acquaintances of the reader, as they clearly are to Smith himself.

The structure of his book is a rather clever blend of narrative and thematic, in that he takes us through the chronological events in that part of Ireland in a series of chapters on the particular themes that dominated each period, beginning with an excellent account of the Irish kingdom of Airgialla, which preceded the colonists in that area but was itself formed by recent annexation and colonization of the older land of the Conaille Muirthemne by a powerful neighbor. Smith then treats the coming of the English and the all-important decision of Prince John to avoid granting control of the area to a single, powerful magnate. The latter set the pattern for the gentry-based society of Louth, which contrasted with the great lordships of the Fitzgeralds and Butlers in other parts of medieval Ireland. Three chapters on the Irish responses to colonization (especially as voiced by Irish churchmen), the often bitter yet symbiotic relationships between the leaders of the colony and the surrounding Gaelic Irish chieftains, and the tension between the royal authority at Dublin and the close-knit and unbiddable community of County Louth make the most original contribution to our understanding of how it actually felt to be a colonist on the medieval Irish frontier. Smith emphasizes in-breeding, intercommunal hostility and discrimination, and loyalty to one's own maintained even at the expense of loyalty to the crown.

Smith ends with a chapter on the fundamental allegiance of the English in Louth to their king and their service in the king's wars both in other parts of Ireland and beyond. A short conclusion highlights the vitality and permanence of a frontier society that for taxation purposes often described itself in messages to the central government as being on the verge of extinction. The full and careful footnotes and bibliography are not the least of the virtues of this fine book,

though I did miss a reference to the work of C. Etchingam in Smith's discussion of the prehistory of tithes in Ireland (p. 19). A series of helpful maps is included, although another small criticism would be the non-inclusion of the great stone castles on Map 3, which showed the distribution of motte and bailey sites in the county. I also missed a reference to the later history of the D'Exeter family in Mayo, as MacJordans, chief vassals to the MacWilliam Burkes (p. 147). The minor nature of these quibbles is in itself testimony to Smith's achievement.

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M. MICHÈLE MULCHAHEY. *"First the Bow is Bent in Study . . .": Dominican Education before 1350*. (Studies and Texts, number 132.) Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Pontifical Institute. 1998. Pp. xxi, 618. \$110.00.

In Andre di Buonaiuto and his collaborators' depiction of Thomas Aquinas presiding over an ordering of the sciences at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, the highest sacred discipline is preaching, whose embodiment holds a bow and arrow. M. Michèle Mulchahey's volume finally unpacks this image and its symbolism. Since Célestin Douais's work in the 1880s, virtually all studies of early Dominican education have focused on a few great names and their impact on university theology and preaching (p. 130). These authors noted the presence of mendicant scholars at the universities, but beyond that there was silence. Such myopia will no longer do, since, as Mulchahey exhaustively demonstrates, the locus of Dominican education was their individual conventual houses, not the great universities.

Mulchahey's massive book has three parts. The first is a single chapter on the early Dominican philosophy of education. It presents a severely practical, "essentially conservative" (p. 54) approach to theology. Until the 1260s, speculative synthesis and philosophical exploration found no place in Dominican education. Dominicans were not theological innovators. The second part, I will return to presently. The final part is a comprehensive survey of Dominican sermon aids and biblical tools (such as concordances) produced between 1216 and 1350. It synthesizes a vast and complex scholarly literature, giving it coherence by highlighting its utilitarian focus. This section also contains a fine history of the changes in sermon structure during the high Middle Ages.

The second part of Mulchahey's book is a splendid accomplishment. Her reconstructions are creative, suggestive, and of seminal importance for further research. She reconstructs the educational institutions peculiar to the Dominican novitiate, to the local house, and at the provincial level; she concludes with a chapter on Dominican educational institutes (*studia*) at universities. Two conclusions deserve notice: first, the identification of the local monastery as the place

for education of Dominican rank and file (*fratres communes*); and, second, the reconstruction of how Dominicans integrated philosophical studies into their system after 1262.

The foundation of Dominican education was the school (*schola*) found in every monastery. It involved daily presentations by the *lector biblicus* on the Scriptures and lectures by a *cursor* on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, as well as disputations and repetitions. Attendance was required of all *fratres communes* (p. 133) and not restricted to Dominicans. Aside from some logic (p. 238), this education was purely theological in content, founded on the traditional texts. The books were read on an elementary level, and the reading recommenced when a text was finished. Such foundational theological instruction made Dominican priorities very attractive to reformist bishops.

In her chapter on provincial *studia*, Mulchahey concludes that these *studia* principally trained the conventual *lectors*. There were several *studia* in each province, and these usually moved from house to house. Philosophical studies, "the arts," were first introduced in these programs through the efforts of Albertus Magnus and Humbert of Romans. How and when this occurred is the first major contribution of the chapter. This is followed by a remarkable analysis (pp. 278–306) of Thomas Aquinas's teaching at Santa Sabina in Rome during 1265–1266, which shows this to have been nothing less than a pilot project for a rethinking of theological education, in which Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* would replace the *Sentences*. By correlating Aquinas's disputed questions and the *Summa*, Mulchahey reconstructs his syllabus of morning lectures (to be included in the *Summa*) and the corresponding afternoon disputations. This implies a redating of Aquinas's works and a rethinking of both his methods and the development of his ideas. Future students of Aquinas will ignore this chapter at their peril. Remarkably, this revolutionary curriculum died with him, and replacement of the *Sentences* by the *Summa* was postponed for some two centuries.

The last chapter of this part sketches the complex relations between Dominican *studia generalia* and the universities' secular *studia generalia* (pp. 352–78). Mulchahey proves that Dominican *studia* were "general," not because of a university connection, but because they drew Dominican students from Europe generally. Arrangements were diverse. Some *studia* (like Bologna) became the university theology faculty, others (like Cologne) were free-standing, others (like Paris or Oxford) were affiliated with a university. Again, she reminds us that these enterprises focused not on theological speculation but on training preachers.

This only samples the riches of this volume. I regret that I could not benefit from it when I published my book on thirteenth-century mendicant preaching eight years ago. I hope that future scholars and readers will

be more fortunate. Shame on the Pontifical Institute for its price!

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MAVIS E. MATE. *Daughters, Wives and Widows after the Black Death: Women in Sussex, 1350–1535*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1998. Pp. xiii, 221. \$72.00.

This book by Mavis E. Mate is an effort to assess how the demographic and economic crises precipitated by the Black Death affected women living in rural, southern England during the 200 years that followed this catastrophe. It is based on an extensive collection of primary sources such as manorial accounts, wills and testaments, tax rolls, and guild and municipal records, and this source base is supplemented by a large body of published studies deploying similar material. The result is a well-documented description that provides occasionally rich detail about the lives of women from many walks of life, some of it rigorously enough selected and analyzed to provide useful correctives to existing scholarship. In addition, the book is laced with intelligent commentary both about the evidence and the weight that it can bear, as well as about the ways a woman's social position (class, age, health, marital status, and legal position) would have affected her experience of any of the economic or demographic events discussed.

The book's full ambitions are not realized, however, for the sources available simply do not permit a systematic study of changes in all women's roles or their "status" (whether in private law, in public life, in the market economy, or in the household) over so long and so unstable a period and in so diverse a geographic area. Mate is fully aware of the methodological problem, but she is not able to solve it. Instead, she typically presents the evidence she has about a particular issue and then turns to a discussion of the data's limitations, often leaving the reader perplexed and sometimes annoyed. For example, Mate gives us some data about women's wages for agricultural work but then elaborately cautions that such information cannot serve as an index of women's economic status. She is of course correct to point out that most women did not work for agricultural wages, that the few who did may have done so only sporadically, that the material well-being even of such women would have depended on a great deal more than the wage, and that none of these women may have wanted this work in any case. However well taken her cautions, this technique nevertheless leaves the reader uncertain about what, if anything, is to be learned from the evidence, whether it is about women's wages, as in this instance, or about their property rights, their experiences of marriage, their roles as household managers, their capacities as mothers, or any of the other subjects she takes up.

This is not to deny the book's usefulness, for it is replete with anecdotal information that is hard to get and therefore valuable. There are, moreover, some

sections in which the data is rich enough and rigorously enough chosen to allow systematic comparisons with other studies. The chapter on widows is particularly good. Here Mate is able to show, for example, that widows under about forty years of age, no matter their class, regularly remarried, and she argues—persuasively to my mind—that widowhood was presumably not always the welcome life stage other scholars have imagined.

In the end, however, we are given no clear answer to the larger questions the book poses. Instead, we are offered a few generalizations about the gender system of premodern Europe that seem, at this stage of feminist historiography, unsurprising. Women were imagined, imagined themselves, and generally lived as subordinates of men, bound to a household that was legally and politically controlled by men. Economic and demographic changes, whether or not associated with the labor shortages and increased availability of land that generally followed from the Black Death, were filtered through this system, affecting the terms of gender hierarchy only indirectly and slowly. Furthermore, any of these "external" changes affected different women differently, for class, age, and marital status were the primary determinants of women's status and roles, and of their experience of their gender.

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J. G. BELLAMY. *The Criminal Trial in Later Medieval England: Felony before the Courts from Edward I to the Sixteenth Century*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1998. Pp. 208. \$50.00.

J. G. Bellamy's book provides both a wealth of legal detail and a valuable foundation for further study of the social and political aspects of criminal justice administration between 1200 and 1600. Bellamy's fine study is strongest for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, owing partly to the nature of the extant evidence and partly to his main interests (as reflected in his several previous books). But there is much that is new and of interest on the earlier period: the closest examination yet achieved of procedure surrounding accusation; a painstaking reassessment of the substantive law, particularly revealing with respect to homicide; and new evidence confirming that trial jurors (and sometimes the bench as well) were informed before trial of the circumstances surrounding the felonies they were to try.

Bellamy demonstrates that conviction rates began to increase in the middle of the fifteenth century and climbed to highs in the sixteenth century that set the criminal justice administration of the Tudor period apart from that of the period of 1200–1450. He is persuasive that this "verdict revolution" owed much to improvements both in investigation and in the production at trial of evidence against the accused; he alludes briefly as well to social changes that left defendants

less protected by local patrons and trial jurors less likely to fear reprisal from associates of the accused. He usefully examines widespread recourse (post-trial) to benefit of clergy in the later period, although he does not conjecture whether sixteenth-century jurors' expectations that a defendant convicted of a clerigable form of homicide or theft would not hang might have increased their willingness to convict. Overall, Bellamy's detailed and original analysis of sixteenth-century legal records and related sources reveals a complex and multifaceted approach to criminal justice administration. Little, it appears in this subtle account, was entirely straightforward in the Tudor system of criminal justice administration.

Bellamy's explanation for the relatively low acquittal rates in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has much to recommend it. There are, to be sure, limits to what we can know about this matter. Bellamy resists my use of the term "jury nullification" *Verdict according to Conscience* [1985], preferring to characterize the leniency accorded defendants as a matter of judge-jury "consensus" (p. 14). Yet, as much of his own evidence suggests, such "consensus" might better be termed judicial acquiescence in jury nullification that could not easily be prevented. As Bellamy conjectures, judges might have thought jurors believed they were "obeying the voice of God"; they might have accepted "that convictions should keep to a traditional level." But judicial acquiescence, we might infer, was nonetheless often grudging. Relying on the mid-thirteenth-century tract, *Placita Corone*, Bellamy states that judicial behavior toward the accused "was a mixture of bullying, contempt, and wheedling. They sneered at the accused's explanations" (p. 110).

Bellamy's astute analysis of the technical aspects of the law of homicide supports and importantly extends the claims in earlier and less refined doctrinal analyses (my own included) that the legal distinction between murder and manslaughter emerged long before courts applied it with respect to the culpability of those defendants who appeared at trial without either a pardon in hand or the ability, under existing rules, to claim benefit of clergy. (All such defendants—manslaughterers as well as murderers—were, if convicted, likely to be hanged.) Bellamy attributes the harshness of crown policy in this regard to the practical consideration of maintaining order. Although he provides valuable insight into the Anglo-Saxon source of the murder/manslaughter distinction, he makes little attempt to trace the ongoing social adherence to that distinction in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries or to locate increasing judicial sensitivity to it in the very jury practices (acquittals and extremely lenient applications of the formal rules of self-defense) with which, he argues, the bench had, one way or another, come to be in league. This results, perhaps, from a certain degree of over-compartmentalization in what is in most other respects a well-organized and lucid account.

Bellamy has little to say about the benefits and

virtually nothing about the costs to authorities of "consensus" (or acquiescence), leaving such matters to others who will, no doubt, make good use of his foundational work. Among the costs, it might be supposed, were the long-range effects of the medieval guilt-determination process on widespread social understandings of the juror's oath, of the defendant's right to trial by jury, and of the jury's "rightful" role within the nation's constitution. In the case of the last, especially, one wonders what reactions were engendered by the attempts of Tudor officials to constrain trial jurors. A possible result of medieval judicial acquiescence (or judge-jury "consensus") may have been widespread political and social resistance to change and, if so, that resistance might have had something to do with the distinct limits (well-evidenced in Bellamy's important study) to the reach of Tudor (and later) reforms.

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MICHAEL HICKS. *Warwick the Kingmaker*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1998. Pp. xv, 346. \$62.95.

Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, is one of the most important figures of fifteenth-century England, his near legendary stature reflected in the sobriquet "Warwick the Kingmaker." He is, as Michael Hicks suggests, better known than either of the kings he helped both to make and to supplant. And yet, Warwick remains something of an enigma; no major biography of the great earl has appeared since Paul Murray Kendall's study, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (1957), now some forty years old. Hicks, fully recognizing the limitations that confront the medieval biographer, has nonetheless produced a masterful study of the kingmaker which is sure to evoke both praise and criticism, but most importantly it will surely inspire further reconsideration of the man and his career.

This very thorough study begins not with the childhood of Warwick, of which little is known, but rather with his family background. Not only the Nevilles but also the Hollands and Montagus are examined in close detail. Hicks makes considerable use of the Salisbury Rolls of Arms in an exploration that is at once genealogical and ideological. Upon becoming earl of Warwick, somewhat unexpectedly, in 1449, Richard Neville quickly gained control of the extensive lands hitherto controlled by the Beauchamp and Despenser families. This led inevitably to conflict with other magnates of the day, most notably the duke of Somerset, and thrust him into the center of national affairs. Hicks negotiates his way through the complexities—legal, genealogical, and political—of the inheritance with admirable clarity and concision.

One of the many strengths of this work is Hicks's command not only of the primary source material but also of the secondary literature and current historiographic debates. At times, however, this may be a drawback for non-specialist readers. His rejection of

the existence of a Warwick-Buckingham feud in the early 1450s, for example, may be correct, but the opposing view is dismissed as arising from "a rather perverse reading of the evidence" (p. 52) without further discussion. Similarly, Hicks dismisses the marriage of Thomas Neville to Maud Stanhope, Lady Willoughby, as the basis for the Neville-Percy feud, but he does not really account for the feud itself. His interpretation of the Loveday of 1458 challenges current conventional wisdom, which views this effort at conciliation as too little too late. If the Yorkists were not sincere, he wonders, why then did Salisbury have an exemplification of the settlement made for his own use?

Hicks points to Warwick's appointment as Captain of Calais and Keeper of the Seas as particularly important. This provided Warwick with considerable naval experience—in the form of piracy—and very likely upset the diplomatic agenda of Henry VI, leading to the confrontation that resulted in bloodshed at Blore Heath and flight into exile for York, Salisbury, and Warwick following the rout at Ludford. And yet the Yorkists soon returned. "If there was a time when Warwick was indeed 'an overmighty subject' and 'an idol of the multitude,' it was in 1460" (p. 168). Indeed, Hicks attributes much of the success of Warwick in particular and the Yorkists in general to Warwick's capacity to mobilize public opinion and his masterful use of propaganda throughout the next decade. Emphasis is also placed on the role of the papal legate, Coppini, as an unwitting tool of the earl. One question that is left unanswered here is the nature and extent of Warwick's power base in the north and the west Midlands, which is often alluded to but never thoroughly discussed.

Hicks does not view Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Wydeville as the crucial element in the break between Edward and Warwick. The real issue, in his opinion, was the foreign policy of the king, who openly and consistently favored alliance with Charles the Bold of Burgundy while Warwick sought a relationship with Louis XI of France. Ironically, Warwick would get his alliance with Louis, but only after entering into a compact with Margaret of Anjou to overthrow Edward and restore Henry VI. This, of course, was achieved, if briefly sustained, and earned the sobriquet of "the Kingmaker" for Warwick. Hicks's discussion of Warwick's motives in 1470–1471 is often speculative, but alternative interpretations are discussed, leaving the reader to pass judgment accordingly. The final struggle between Warwick and Edward IV, including the battle of Barnet, is discussed rather cursorily. Hicks may be correct in asserting that "Defeat did not make Warwick wrong" (p. 311), but one is left to wonder who was right in this tumultuous period. Hicks has made another considerable contribution to our understanding of fifteenth-century England, and this book is sure to be widely read and vigorously discussed.

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WILLIAM CAFERRO. *Mercenary Companies and the Decline of Siena*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science; 116th Series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 251. \$39.95.

There is a lovely quote by William Caferro, of words reportedly uttered by the English King Henry V, that chivalrous monarch beloved by Shakespeare, to the effect that "War without fire is as worthless as sausages without mustard" (p. 65). This summary judgment accents the all too vague separation between the brutal and predatory on the one hand and the chivalrous and gallant on the other. Perhaps it was these brutal times in which the dark and the light abutted one another that prompted Johann Huizinga, the master of this period, to confess, like Max Weber, that he studied history to see how much he could endure. Possibly we might invoke yet another classical historian of those days, Jacob Burckhardt, recalling his admonition that even times of decline and decay have a sacred right to our compassion.

Would it be overbold to suggest that three centuries proved to be harsh testing grounds for society, its institutions, politics, religion, and culture? Could we single out the fifth, fourteenth, and twentieth centuries and nominate them for this bleak distinction? Caferro's book certainly supports the appropriateness of this proposal, at least for the fourteenth century. Surely this was a time in Italy when customary social arrangements and time-honored institutions were placed under exceptional stress. The commune, reaching back to the eleventh century, proved inadequate to the new demands and was to undergo a radical transition. It was as if nature and the environment conspired to undo the best laid plans of men: famine and plague decimated urban populations, and inclement weather ruined crops. Modern research has demonstrated the growing imbalance between agricultural land and rural populations; marginal land was increasingly put under cultivation in a failed effort to redress the balance. Tuscany was particularly vulnerable to yet another disturbing sequence of events. As one of the most highly urbanized and wealthy regions of Europe, it attracted and held the undivided attention of the numerous companies of freebooters and marauders let loose on Italy. These mercenary companies are the subject of Caferro's detailed inquiry. He focuses on their impact on the city of Siena as they repeatedly exacted booty and ransom. These raids, commencing in 1342 and continuing to 1399, numbered thirty-seven. During more than half a century, he recounts, through a study of the treasury records, the strategies employed to raise revenue in order to buy peace. A prominent feature of his work is its comparison of Sienese and Florentine tactics used to achieve the same end.

Caferro's principal aim is to analyze Siena's decline, prompted in part by the rude and violent intrusions of these mercenary terrorists. He maintains that this was no mere "symptom of the degeneration of Italian

martial spirit, of the moral weakness of a once proud but now decayed society, or a moment in the greater evolution of Renaissance warfare, but rather a catastrophe of the highest order, one that deserves a rank alongside plague, famine, and war" (p. xvii). This statement, however, is little more than a straw man: few modern researchers would render such a value judgment concerning the "degeneration of Italian martial spirit." That contest was settled long ago. Likewise, bleak assessments of Italian moral decay are no longer proper currency for historical debate. Caferro's scripting of Sieneese history is just short of tragic. Indeed, it is true that the city was hammered by the marauders and finally did accept the lordship of Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan in 1399, but this was a brief historical moment and no end to the republic. As Niccolò Machiavelli cynically observed, death was ever the best ally, because in 1402 Giangaleazzo died, and in 1404 Siena recovered its liberty, continuing as a center of spiritual, intellectual, and religious life throughout the Renaissance. It produced a great pope, great preachers, humanist scholars, sculptors, painters and—surprise, surprise—military engineers of the first rank. The reason for underscoring these achievements is twofold: first, to emphasize Siena's quick recovery, and second, to accent the fact that Siena, after Lucca and Pisa, did consolidate its public debt in 1430 and can legitimately be characterized as a working territorial state.

While Caferro provides us with a detailed accounting of the fiscal maneuvers and tax strategies required for paying off the ransoms demanded by the mercenary companies, he may be a bit too eager to write *finis* to this resilient town. His comparison of Florence and Siena is useful, and he is most generous in acknowledging my contribution, some thirty years ago, to the study of public finance, war, the public debt, and rise of the territorial state. Whereas Florence spent millions of florins buying off freebooters and waging wars, Siena's payments over a fifty-seven-year period (1342–1399) totaled approximately 291,379 florins. Its debt at the end of the century was 23,000 florins, whereas Florence's was over 3,000,000. One could argue, as does the author, that this was a "staggering" sum for Siena. If one breaks it down, however, the average payment per year was 5,000 florins, or approximately 8,000 florins per raid. Was this truly a staggering sum? And was the residue of the Sieneese debt at the close of the century a sizable figure? It may well be that the costs for matters military were not overwhelming; it may well be that the mercenaries did not wish to kill the goose that laid the golden egg. True, Siena was hammered, but it emerged as a survivor in reasonable health.

Although one might dissent from certain of Caferro's conclusions, the careful survey of his topic merits appreciation.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PETER VAN KESSEL and ELISJA SCHULTE, editors. *Rome and Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press; distributed by the University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 333. \$54.50.

Rome and Amsterdam—two growing cities in the seventeenth century, as the subtitle of this volume of essays describes them—might well be considered an exciting challenge for comparative analysis, both in terms of the images they projected and in the trajectories of their development. But the book's preface by Ted Meijer and the introduction by Peter van Kessel, who co-edited the work with Elisja Schulte, both deny any actively comparative intentions. Rather, the editors' stated purpose was to "supply a wealth of material and stimulating viewpoints, which the reader can employ to reconstruct two societies and to observe them in relation to each other" (p. xv). And in this modest goal, the book certainly succeeds, not least in the wealth of illustrations.

In all, this remarkably dense volume, which was an initiative of the Netherlands Institute in Rome, presents twenty-four paired essays, one for each city on twelve wide-ranging themes. There are even two introductions, one for the essays and one for the illustrations. This structure betrays an editorial strategy that gave an impressive variety of experts the opportunity to summarize the best research on the demography, politics, social welfare, and culture of these very different cities. As one might expect, however, the results are uneven and disjointed, and given the variety of authors and subjects, the demands on the reader are significant.

The volume begins with essays on the contrasting images (by Luigi Spezzafero and Eco Haitisma Mulier) and the distinctive territorial or spatial organizations (by Claudio Schiavoni and Koen Ottenheim) of seventeenth-century Rome and Amsterdam, respectively. These are useful points of departure that underscore the historical continuity of Rome's aspiration to be the "modern" capital of Christendom combined with the solidity of its comprehensive parochial organization, on one hand, and the dynamic originality of Amsterdam's role as a center of commerce and toleration combined with the entrepreneurial development of its ring canal system, on the other. The next two essays on demography (by Eugenio Sonnino for Rome and Hubert Nusteling for Amsterdam) further heighten the contrast by exploring the very different foundations of these cities' common experience of significant demographic expansion in the context of stagnation elsewhere in Europe; they also highlight the extraordinary documentary record left by the annual Roman *Stati della anime* after 1569, which stands in sharp contrast to the more fragmentary demographic record for Amsterdam. Altogether, these first six essays illustrate well the strengths and weaknesses of the volume. Each is interesting and informative in its own right, but

given the complete lack of communication or interaction among them, the whole is nothing more than the sum of its parts.

In addition to two sets of essays on families—on general family structures and on the impact of aristocratic families on urban development—there are paired sets dealing with popular politics (though there is nothing specifically on elite politics), religion, welfare and poor relief, food supply, immigration, Jewish communities, and criminal justice. As one moves from one theme to the next, one continually is impressed by how different both the histories and the historiographies of these two cities are. In the most extreme cases, the discussions are so different that even the most determined reader would have nothing to compare! Thus, for example, on the theme of criminal justice, Michel Di Sivo's essay discusses the seventeenth-century reform of judicial institutions while Sjoerd Faber analyzes crime statistics over the sweep of centuries. Similarly, in the surprisingly brief essays on religion, Stefano Andretta focuses on religious institutions and baroque Catholic spirituality, while Arie van Deursen discusses the relations between civil authorities and the various religious groups in Amsterdam. In the absence of a common theme or questions, the reader is left to wonder what the editors had in mind.

The essays by Maria Luisa Madonna and Mario Bevilacqua on Roman noble families and Bas Dudonk van Heel on Amsterdam regent families are nevertheless noteworthy, not only because they are both very well illustrated but also because, being nearly twice as long as the other essays, they are more substantial, focusing very effectively on the history of representative families. In the end, however, the most significant essays by far—the introduction terms them the “cardinal” chapters (p. xvii)—are those on “the people and the authorities” by Laurie Nussdorfer (Rome) and Henk van Nierop (Amsterdam). Although they are frustratingly short, they stand out as the only two essays that are explicitly comparative, and as a consequence the reader learns not only what is distinctive about the patterns of popular political action in Rome and Amsterdam but also how we might understand those differences in relation to the very different structures of urban and territorial power. What accounts for the success of these two essays is not some Herculean effort to become adept in another's field of expertise but rather the willingness to ask complementary questions about the obvious differences in these two political histories.

I wish that all the other authors had been encouraged to do the same. Since the differences are almost always quite obvious, the additional effort required to interrogate those differences might have produced some challenging and exciting results. To be sure, I do not want to suggest that answering questions about obvious comparative differences is easy, but it is surely easier for those who are experts than it is for their less experienced readers. In this sense, although this handsome volume accomplishes its very modest goal of

offering the reader a wealth of information that is otherwise not readily available in English about two very distinctively important seventeenth-century cities, it leaves one with the unfortunate sense of a missed opportunity that is not likely to present itself again very soon.

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RAINER LIETKE. *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, c. 1850–1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. vi, 266. \$69.00.

The title of Rainer Liedtke's comparative study of Jewish welfare networks in Hamburg and Manchester is too modest: it fails to do justice to the breadth of the issues he raises. Although, at one level, a well-documented history of voluntary charities and self-help associations in the Manchester and Hamburg Jewish communities, this book is not fundamentally about welfare. It uses welfare, rather, to explore issues of Jewish identity and integration in the postemancipation era. Specifically, Liedtke addresses two questions that have not received the consideration they deserve. First, he asks why Jews supported separate welfare systems after they became citizens of the states in which they lived, and, second, he asks what shaped the character of these systems: internal influences (religious traditions and values) or external circumstances (the welfare models that Hamburg and Manchester provided)?

The first question centers on a paradox of postemancipation Jewish communal history: how to reconcile the striving of middle-class Jews for acceptance and integration with their voluntaristic support of separate charity and self-help networks. Before emancipation, when most Jewish communities were semiautonomous corporations, there was no alternative: they took care of their own as a matter of course. Afterward, Liedtke argues, they continued to do so because emancipation was flawed and incomplete, failing to bring in its wake social acceptance and respectability. In the eyes of their fellow citizens, Jews remained outsiders (more so in Germany than in Britain). Because this made them insecure, communal leaders wanted to keep the Jewish poor, especially immigrants from Eastern Europe in the case of Manchester, out of the public eye and off the welfare rolls. Seeking to enhance their communal image, they worked to demonstrate that Jews were not a financial burden to the state, while sponsoring, at the same time, programs to improve the status of impoverished or disreputable Jews. The result was the creation of separatist institutions (schools and hospitals, for example) that simultaneously promoted Jewish cohesion and Jewish integration.

Liedtke points to other functions of the communal welfare systems as well. For middle-class Jews who were indifferent to religious worship and ritual, the

systems offered a secular arena in which their Jewishness and connection to other Jews could be expressed. They also provided space for the display of status differences within Jewry, functioning as "instruments in the regulation of social status and relations, in the allocation of resources, and in the creation of a framework in which class differences could be ascertained and displayed, all within a largely separate Jewish sphere of action" (p. 233). Although it is doubtful that separatist institutions were created with these goals in mind (Liedtke is not clear about this), there is little doubt that in these two communities, as elsewhere in Western and Central Europe, they performed these functions for the middle-class Jews who funded and managed them.

In regard to the second question concerning the relative weight of internal and external factors in shaping Jewish welfare, Liedtke concludes that the former were less important than the latter in the day-to-day operations of communal charities. Using a comparative approach, which allows him to test culturally embedded explanations of Jewish behavior, he finds that Jewish welfare provisions mirrored those of corresponding non-Jewish welfare organizations. Although the governors and managers of Jewish charities frequently cited traditional religious values and teachings as their inspiration, in fact, their role was minor. In Manchester, for example, the Jewish Board of Guardians did not hesitate to commit troublesome paupers to the workhouse, knowing that Jewish observance would be difficult and that families would be split up. In one major respect, however, there was an important similarity between the two Jewish welfare systems. Both were committed to curing, rather than ameliorating, poverty. Unlike their counterparts, they encouraged socioeconomic mobility—one of their most successful schemes was the provision of interest-free loans to small traders—because communal leaders in both cities believed that Jewish poverty endangered their own standing in the larger society.

This is an innovative account of a dimension of modern Jewish history too often treated uncritically or cursorily. It asks probing questions, avoids easy answers, and consistently engages historical scholarship that transcends the specifics of the Manchester and Hamburg cases.

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TIM KIRK and ANTHONY McELLIGOTT, editors. *Opposing Fascism: Community, Authority and Resistance in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. ix, 246. \$59.95.

This collection of essays originated in a conference on "Popular Resistance to Fascism," part of a history workshop at the University of Newcastle in 1992. In their introduction, editors Tim Kirk and Anthony McElligott focus on fascism as an interwar, pan-European phenomenon, leaving it to others to debate

its merits as a historical category. Their interest is in the history of fascism and resistance to it on the local level, which sometimes unfolded differently from the better documented and more often studied histories of national resistance.

Following the introduction, eleven essays cover a wide range of topics, emphasizing heterogeneity within the European experience of fascism and resistance to it. Nick Howard examines military insubordination during the German revolution of 1918–1920; McElligott looks at judicial activism in collaborating with and shaping Nazi policy in Germany; and Neil Barrett identifies divisions among Jews in southeast Lancashire over how militantly to oppose British fascism. Local loyalties among those who fought for the Spanish Republic against the Franco coup are the focus of Helen Graham's contribution, and the failure of the Irish Blue Shirts of 1932–1935, in part because of the English democratic legacy left to Ireland, is Mike Cronin's theme.

Yves Le Maner highlights the specifically local conditions of the French Pas-de-Calais and Nord "forbidden zone," where German occupation officials competed with Vichy for authority, and Mark Mazower emphasizes the fragmentation of authority within the Greek wartime resistance. Kirk addresses the limits of dissent in Nazi Austria, with specific attention to the working class there. Hannes Sulzenbacher shows the wide variation in how homosexual men in Vienna experienced Nazi rule. Italy is examined by Philip Morgan, who addresses "popular" attitudes and forms of resistance to fascism, and Perry R. Willson, who examines the rewriting of the history of Italian women in the resistance.

The strength of the collection is its focus on the diversity of the experiences of fascism and resistance to it, whether in the French "forbidden zone," within Greece's wartime resistance, or among Vienna's homosexuals, to name just three examples. Two unifying themes, however, emerge: the centrality of Communists to the antifascist resistance, especially after June 1941, and the limits to women's postwar political emancipatory gains, in the perspective of post-1970s feminism, despite their extensive roles in antifascist resistance. The role of the Communists is highlighted in the essays dealing with Spain, Greece, Austria, and Italy, and the modest nature of women's gains from their resistance activities is noted in those on Greece and Italy.

As can be the case with published collections of conference papers, coherence among the essays is not always clear. The contributions by McElligott and Le Maner, for example, focus on the rulers, whereas most of the other chapters address resisters or, at the least, dissenters. There is a problem with defining "resistance." Morgan points out that the number of "dissenters" was increased in fascist Italy by policies that criminalized acts tolerated elsewhere, thus making resisters of people who had no intention of subverting the regime. Consideration of the long-term context of

concepts of "resistance" and "collaboration" would help provide context for the essays. Beginning chronologically with the 1918–1920 German military deserters' resistance to "fascism"—before it ever came to power—the chapters extend to the present. Willson's treatment of the rewriting of the history of women in the Italian resistance, for example, is reminiscent of Henry Rousso's retrospective Vichy syndrome study. Concepts of collaboration and resistance are continually revised in the light of unfolding history.

Finally, because most of the contributors address antifascist resistance on the local and even individual level, where written documentation is scarce, they are forced to study their subjects through police and other government records: in other words, through the eyes of the repressive authorities. Trying to get at popular resistance through the analysis of jokes and their diffusion can be difficult, as Morgan indicates, for the same jokes that might raise popular consciousness against a regime can also serve as a release, thereby perpetuating existing power relationships. Written records are also scarce because many resisters acted alone, and few wanted to leave paper trails for the police. To compensate for the paucity of contemporary written sources, the contributors often make use of oral interviews, conducted decades after the events described. A concluding chapter addressing these issues of coherence and methodology would strengthen an otherwise very useful addition to our knowledge of fascism and resistance in twentieth-century Europe.

BERTRAM M. GORDON
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MARC TRACHTENBERG. *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 424. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Was the Cold War a passionate, essentially bipolar confrontation? Or was it rather a prolonged exercise in widely shared crisis management, enlivened certainly by various disputes and the nuclear dimension? Marc Trachtenberg suggests that it was the latter, arguing that the path to genuine equilibrium ran through a German problem that became steadily more entangled with the politics of nuclear strategy. Initially, he writes, American leaders were willing to accept a postwar Europe divided into Western and Soviet spheres. Unforeseen events, notably a provocative Soviet southward expansionism, brought the integration of western Germany into the anti-Soviet camp, provoking Joseph Stalin's 1948–1949 blockade of Berlin. His death in 1953, together with the Adenauer government's 1954 renunciation of any desire for nuclear weapons, temporarily settled matters. But a surprisingly neo-isolationist President Dwight D. Eisenhower, eager to save money and disengage from Western Europe, urged the allies, including the Germans, to develop their own independent nuclear capability. The Soviets, anxious

to preserve the American custodial role over the increasingly self-assertive Bonn republic, responded by stoking up the Berlin crisis of 1958–1962. Stability returned only when President John F. Kennedy's decision against nuclear sharing finally allayed Soviet fears of an independently oriented German military revival.

Trachtenberg's study, deeply researched in European and American sources, reconstructs with unprecedented thoroughness the debates, perceptions, and relationships constituting the inner history of the German question. He traces the labyrinthine inter-allied and West-Soviet negotiations clearly, achieving an impressively tight weave between documentary evidence and authorial judgment. His German focus illuminates two deeply rooted impulses, long overshadowed by dominant historiographical trends, that invite a fresh look at the Cold War. One is the persistent if frustrated desire of most American political leaders to withdraw from all but remotely strategic responsibilities for Europe, even in the supposedly mission-driven 1950s. The other is the often effective, frequently manipulative activism, in their relations with the United States, of West European statesmen like Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer. The limitations of the bipolar interpretation are further dramatized by the fact that all the main powers maneuvered vigorously on German issues, but not one really achieved what it wanted.

There are some intriguing reassessments of individuals here too. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, for example, receives a more admiring portrayal than usual. Eisenhower, by contrast, seems to have been naive about European politics and dangerously careless over nuclear control mechanisms, although repeated references to "nuclear" rather than precise weapon categories rather soften the point. Kennedy cuts a much more impressive figure than usual here as he masters the control issue, outfaces Democratic and military hawks, and steers purposefully toward durable U.S.-Soviet understanding.

Much of this is persuasive, or at least richly suggestive. More controversially, Trachtenberg asserts that the "fundamental" problem of German power "lay at the heart of the Cold War" (p.vii), constituted "what was actually going on" (p. viii), and was the Soviets' "number one security problem" (pp. 96, 141). He weakens his case somewhat by deciding not to discuss other potentially causative or contributory Cold War factors such as domestic politics, ideological tensions, and Asian and Mediterranean issues. Alternative explanations, too, are only very lightly featured. More substantively, the strong emphasis on German "power" (as opposed to the undeniably significant German "question") raises formidable problems of proportion and definition. The Soviets clearly saw a political danger in capitalist Germany's socioeconomic success. Did they, propaganda and negotiating ploys apart, see a security threat there? We do not really know. But the consumption-obsessed German public showed little

interest in sacrificing for what could only be a second-rank, independent nuclear capacity, perhaps conscious that this would be unacceptable to their European allies and would uncouple them from a credible American strategic guarantee. Conversely, German reliance on American nuclear supply, the more likely scenario in 1958–1960, leads us back in only slightly modified form to the bipolar model Trachtenberg rejects. The main point is that the Germans had very little disposable power of their own before 1963; afterward, they sensibly became the pacesetters of detente. Meanwhile, German power served both sides (neither of which was fighting the last war) as a convenient fiction, usefully justifying Western measures in the late 1940s that were really directed at the Soviets (as the author shows) and, later, legitimizing Soviet threats to Berlin that were similarly aimed quite simply at bloc consolidation. German power had little basis in reality.

Trachtenberg's challenge to bipolarity is admirable, in large measure successful, and could be strengthened by reference to the many other things that were going on in Europe and beyond during this period. But there seems no escape from the impression that the United States, despite spasmodic posturing as Bonn's over-indulgent probation officer, was always the Western ringmaster and the Soviet Union's main security problem.

That said, it is a pleasure to welcome an elegantly written book that will stimulate constructive debate and make us think hard again about basic issues. It is a model of scrupulous scholarship and by far the most informative, cogent treatment of its important subject. It broadens Cold War historiography by bringing Europe more fully into the picture, deepens it by showing the long forward projection of pre-1939 emotional impulses, and dignifies it by demonstrating that accurate reconstruction rather than passionate polemic is the historian's highest calling.

FRASER J. HARBUTT
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HARRY KELSEY, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Pp. xviii, 566. \$35.00.

There is little to admire in the Francis Drake portrayed here. A violent man who always reacted angrily to criticism, he was especially inflexible where his own private wealth was involved. A habitual liar, occasionally a deserting coward, he was a thief on a grand scale who stole from the Spanish (his first great success in 1571 amounted to about £100,000), from his dead brother's estate, from his fellow investors, and from his crews. A contemptible murderer, he participated in butchering the people of Rathlin Island off the Antrim coast and orchestrated the execution of one of his own captains. Cruel to his inferiors, contemptuous of his fellow captains, he purchased the approval of his social superiors, whether Spanish or English.

Drake is best remembered first for his raid on the

Pacific coast of Spanish America, where he needlessly sacrificed the lives of half his crew. His plan was "to raid lightly defended Spanish ports and capture Spanish merchant ships" (p. 81), all piratical acts. He escaped by sailing west and circumnavigating the globe, the first Englishman to do so, some fifty-five years after the Pacific had become virtually a Spanish lake. That he became a hero to his countryman for the wealth he brought home three years later, perhaps £650,000, tells us much about Elizabethan England's isolation and relative weakness. Protected by the delighted queen and her councillors, who personally shared in the plunder, Drake was knighted, acquired an estate, and entered Parliament, "aligning himself with the most influential men" (p. 239) in England.

This remarkable venture and its unexpected success was followed by a financially disastrous 1585–1586 raid in the West Indies. There Drake's skill as a sea captain again was overshadowed by his failures as a naval commander. He "preferred to sail alone. He was never comfortable with a large fleet" (p. 39). As a negotiator for ransom to be extracted from his Spanish captives, he proved largely a failure. Yet the published account of his singeing Philip II's beard portrayed him as a Protestant hero, a gross distortion of the facts but a myth necessary to Elizabethan propagandists, with England by then involved in an undeclared war with Spain. Drake, no longer a mere annoyance to the Spanish crown, now had become "a major embarrassment" (p. 279).

This embarrassment was redoubled by Drake's successful 1587 piratical raids on Cadiz and Sagres. Undertaken in a period of growing Anglo-Spanish tension, with England actively aiding the Dutch uprising while Spain prepared to invade England, Drake was officially disowned by the queen, who nevertheless accepted his "rich gifts" (p. 304).

His sun began almost at once to set. He played an insignificant, if controversial, role in confronting the Armada in the Channel. Appointed to command a large force in 1589 to attack the remnants of the Armada as they made for Portuguese and Spanish ports, Drake returned virtually empty-handed. Not again employed at sea until 1595, he was given a joint appointment to command an expedition to Panama. Drake met an enemy quite different from the one he had encountered earlier. With well-defended ports, new ships, and emboldened commanders, the Spanish readily repelled the English expedition, which ended disastrously with both Drake and his commander dead from disease, after seizing a "trifling amount of booty" (p. 391).

Sprung from Devon farmers, son of a married priest, raised in part in the Hawkins household of seafaring cousins, he was introduced to piracy, slave snatching on the African coast, and slave trading in the West Indies. Certainly everything you ever might want to know about this thug-pirate, and a great deal more, is available in this excessively detailed book. As Harry Kelsey seems to have difficulty in distinguishing the

important from the mundane, the book is heavy going. Its problem is the absence of a suitable historical setting. Although Kelsey provides an excellent study of Drake and his connections, he denies us the crucial evidence to establish Drake's role in Elizabethan history. He provides no assessment of Anglo-Spanish relations to establish the relative position of England and Spain. Nor does he discuss the first vestiges of English colonialism and commercial interest in the East, which are crucial to understanding Drake's role. To learn all this, we must turn to such works as the late R. B. Wernham's *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485–1588* (1966), *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588–1595* (1984), and *The Return of the Armada: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain, 1595–1603* (1994), studies not included in Kelsey's bibliography. Likewise we learn nothing useful about England's ambitions in Ireland, although the details of Drake's involvement there in 1575 are provided. Far fewer insignificant details about Drake's adventures and more analysis of the historical setting would have greatly increased our debt to this biographer.

JULIAN GWYN
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THEODORE K. RABB. *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561–1629*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 412. \$55.00.

This excellent political biography may possibly establish some kind of record, since the author explains that he began work on it some forty years ago. Of course, while it has been maturing, Theodore K. Rabb has made notable contributions in other fields, particularly in European history. He has also seen a considerable number of Stuart revisionisms come and go. His own preferred option is for a modified and modernized S. R. Gardiner, shorn of his whiggish and teleological tendencies but still placing Parliament firmly in a major role. Rabb is especially reluctant to endorse the view that sees early Stuart politics as essentially the contest of aristocratic patrons, each with his following of obedient members of the House of Commons. The book's title is not, perhaps, completely explicit. Rabb presents Edwin Sandys as an archetypal specimen of the Jacobean gentry. Son of an archbishop of York, born in Worcestershire but settling in Kent, he built up for himself in eight Parliaments between 1589 and 1626 a remarkable reputation as a trusted guide and adviser to the Commons: the ultimate committee man. He owed this not to any great originality of mind nor to transcendent rhetorical skills but to sober application, patient attendance, and the ability to marshal and present arguments in a lucid and orderly fashion. Sandys was invaluable at reminding members who had just come in or who had dozed off of the salient features of the issue. The crown, irritated by his stubbornness, made no real use of his talents or of his

influence over the Commons, although he seems, in retrospect, to have had the makings of a very useful man of business. Of great vision he had little, save for colonial expansion and emigration and for the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. Consequently he spent almost all his time in opposition and in 1621 suffered a brief period of imprisonment to quiet him. Sandys viewed James I's proposal for a union of England and Scotland with grave suspicion, and he delivered a powerful and much-quoted speech against it. He opposed monopolies with great vigor, took a prominent part in the abortive negotiations for the Great Contract, and helped to pull down Lionel Cranfield. Later in life, he took an active part in the languishing affairs of the first East India Company, and he invested heavily both in time and money in the Virginia Company, of which he was treasurer between 1619 and 1624, when that enterprise was in great difficulty. But Rabb cannot accept the old view of Sandys as a beacon of colonial liberty, concurring with the description of him as a well-intended landed gentleman out of his depth. Even in Parliament, Sandys was a tactician rather than a strategist, more at home advising on procedure than on policy. The absence of personal papers means that we have only glimpses of his private and family life, and one wonders how he amused himself during the long intervals between Parliaments. Perhaps his four wives and fourteen children kept him occupied. He comes across as a solemn, hard-working, cautious, rather conservative lawyer, which is probably why his parliamentary colleagues found him so convincing.

JOHN CANNON
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NABIL MATAR. *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 226. \$59.95.

Islam represented a formidable force on the world stage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Muslim empires reached their greatest territorial extent, often at the expense of Christian powers, toward the end of the seventeenth century. The devout Aurangzeb (1658–1707) brought the Mogul Empire to its apogee, Barbary pirates posed a continual threat in the Mediterranean and beyond, and the concerted forces of Western Christendom only halted the Ottoman advance onto European soil at the siege of Vienna in 1683. It is hardly surprising that the English devoted a good deal of thought to the confrontation of these two religions and civilizations. Nabil Matar's book examines English attitudes toward Islam and Muslims as expressed in a wide variety of published writings from the mid-sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries. In fact, *Islam in British Thought* would have been a more descriptive title for the book, as it focuses on literary reactions to Islam rather than on its modest presence in Britain during these years.

The first two chapters of the book address the treatment in English published works of the phenom-

enon summed up in the ubiquitous cliché of the day, to “turn Turk.” Conversions of Christians to Islam tended to derive from the Ottoman presence in the Mediterranean and the practice of enslaving captives. Matar, however, stresses the “allure” of Islam as more important than coercion or self-interest in bringing about conversions. That allure posed a terrifying specter to English observers, and the “renegade” became a subject of both playwrights and churchmen. On the stage and in the church, the treatment of the renegade hinged upon his submission to circumcision, the ultimate test of the convert. It was a topic likely to get the attention of dozing members of either a congregation or an audience, and it raised the issue of how a penitent convert might renounce his apostasy and return to the fold of Christianity once back in England. Archbishop William Laud seized upon this question, however rarely faced in practice, to establish a process for readmission to the Anglican Church. Laud’s procedure naturally expressed his high church program and drew inspiration from the practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

Indeed, English thought about Islam could scarcely have escaped the polemical ferment over religious questions of the middle years of the seventeenth century. Although he displays an extensive knowledge of Islam, Matar’s integration of contemporary views of Islam with the controversies that led to the English Revolution may leave some readers less than fully satisfied. The author nevertheless—in one of the book’s most engaging passages—rehearses deftly the events leading up to the appearance of the first English-language edition of the Qur’an. Even in the original Arabic, copies of the Qur’an were exceedingly scarce in England. Cambridge University acquired its first manuscript copy only in 1631. The translation of the royalist Alexander Ross appeared in 1649, but not without the difficulties that might be expected in that troubled year. When Ross sought to have his translation from the French edition of André du Ryer printed, the Council of State ordered the printer arrested and all copies seized. Apparently the Puritan regime had reservations about the publication of the holy book of Islam as rendered by a high churchman. The work nevertheless appeared in due course and enjoyed a wide circulation. It provided additional fodder for the sectarian polemics of the Interregnum. The greater availability of Islamic texts also excited the interest of those who admired the legacy of Islamic science and of Rosicrucians and alchemists in search of esoteric knowledge.

Millenarian thought also invoked Islam, both to demonize the Muslim and to dream of the conversion of all Islam to Christianity. Just as the Commonwealth government countenanced the return of the Jews to England out of millenarian imaginings, so did it arrange for a grand public ceremonial conversion of a Muslim to Puritan Christianity. As Matar demonstrates, the eschatological theme gained strength from the religious controversies and anxieties of the middle

years of the century. The author’s reflections on the declining interest in Islam by the late seventeenth century, at least as a subject of polemics, seem little more than an afterthought. The growing stress placed upon reason no doubt played a role, as he suggests, and a developing attitude of toleration, combined with emerging commercial and imperial interests, probably contributed to dull the edge of British interest in Islam. But the author fails to explore these issues in the depth that they deserve, and the regnal date of termination brings the book more to an end than to a fully developed conclusion. Matar’s study nevertheless represents an important contribution to a field that, in view of the increasing presence of Islam in today’s Britain, can only grow in importance.

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SARA MENDELSON and PATRICIA CRAWFORD. *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xvi, 480. \$35.00.

Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford’s monograph represents a formidable research effort. They trace its origins to 1982: since then, although resident in Canada and Australia, respectively, they have scoured archives in Oxford, London, and a number of English county towns and read voraciously in the primary and secondary literature. They have benefited from close links across a huge community of scholars. Their objective is to tell what life was like for women during a period of nearly two hundred years. The keynote throughout is caution: the analysis proceeds smoothly and carefully. If this is feminist history, it is feminist history of the head, not the heart, for it is hard to find statements that are not either documented or wrapped in tentative phraseology. The book’s consistent respect for the limitations of the sources deserves applause, even if it makes this work a trifle dull to read. An exploration of medical, religious, and popular understandings of the gender order is followed by chapters that trace women through childhood, adolescence, and adult life and that deal with central themes, including occupational roles and the economy of the poor. This review will focus upon three issues of particular interest in view of the recent historiography and current debate: female culture, politics, and overall change in women’s lives and condition.

Mendelson and Crawford provide a highly intelligent and pioneering account of female culture, arguing convincingly that, in relation to space, speech, and material culture, it was distinct from that of men—even if its distinctiveness is hard for us to recapture. They are particularly good on such matters as the “liminal stance of the doorway” (p. 208). What the authors are saying here is that women showed persistent resilience in the face of a male-dominated culture. In their own quiet way, they were able to challenge and even subvert the assumptions of patriarchy. They did

this above all in their relationships with men, and it is an inevitable limitation of the book that by confining themselves to women's lives apart from men, Mendelson and Crawford overlook a central argument. The value of this section of the book is nevertheless indisputable. There are many useful vignettes, such as John Bunyan eavesdropping on plebian women's religious conversation, which bring home the realities of women's separateness.

The chapter on politics opens with a challenging agenda. The authors intend to question a tradition of political history written as a narrative excluding women. They "aim to restore women to politics and politics to women" (p. 345). What they proceed to show is Queen Elizabeth manipulating the politics of gender, aristocratic women wielding power around influential courtiers, women activists in popular protest, and examples of female religious activism. When it comes to the 1640s and 1650s, the familiar figures, like Katherine Chidley and Mary Carey appear, but Mendelson and Crawford show that the impetus for participation was not entirely lost after 1660. They are largely silent about the eighteenth century. Here a major issue of change has to be confronted, and it cannot be said that the authors are very convincing. They account reasonably enough for a decline in women's political participation outside the home in terms of "the changing paradigm of political theory" (p. 429) and their exclusion from the suffrage, but they suggest that women's passive support for Hanoverian monarchy and teaching their children obedience at home can still be seen as political activity. They change the terms of reference of this chapter on its last page.

The overall problem of change is tackled in an epilogue that is too short to come to grips with it fully. The weakness of the book's thematic and static organization is here apparent. Mendelson and Crawford acknowledge "the remarkable degree of stability sustained by the patriarchal gender order" (p. 432) during the period. They find stark reaction after 1660, with men stamping on female criminality as they did on women's political rights. They could have added a glance at trends in sectarian movements such as Quakerism. A few exceptional women like Mary Astell saw through the new theory of gender with which men were bolstering patriarchy, but she was hardly heard. The authors are too modest in the end to claim any definitive findings. They look to an "open and sociable conversation" (p. 436) with their readers. Do their own closing remarks not suggest that Judith M. Bennett has been right in emphasizing that women's history has been a story much more of continuity than of change? Is this not the implication, if perhaps an unpalatable one, of men's effectiveness in revising and adapting patriarchy over the centuries?

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HILDA L. SMITH, *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*. New York: Cambridge Uni-

versity Press in association with the Folger Institute, Washington, D.C. Pp. xiv, 392. \$59.95.

The women who are discussed in this volume "thought, wrote, and acted when the institutions of the modern state were first being developed," remarks Carole Pateman in her conclusion; their stories illustrate the relation between gender and the nation state at its inception. Pateman's concluding essay, a summary of feminist insights about the place of women in the history of political thought, and a recap of the important points and questions raised between these covers, is one of several signs of the care and intelligence with which this anthology has been put together by its editor, Hilda L. Smith. Every effort has been made to create a coherence unusual in anthologies. The essays were obviously circulated among the authors, and there are many cross-references within the volume. The editor's introductions to each of the four sections of the book, in addition to a fine overview at the beginning, make substantive generalizations about their import. Pateman's afterword, with its general observations (among others) about the "complex interrelationship between the public world of commerce, industry and politics and the institution of marriage" (p. 374), as well as its refutations of specific points made about her work in the foregoing essays, infuses the volume with a lively sense of engagement and debate.

Three-quarters of the essays are on English materials, as is befitting a book with this title; three are on French materials, and one is on German materials. The individual pieces are short: most are under twenty pages, including footnotes printed at the bottom of each page. If there is a theme running through the essays, it is this: women participated more actively in political institutions of medieval and early modern Europe than nineteenth and twentieth-century historical accounts have heretofore noted. The mechanisms by which men consolidated their power and excluded women from governance are many, but none is so final as the discursive practices that have erased women from the histories of the institutions and contexts of the early modern period.

In her introduction, Smith puts into perspective the questions these essays do and do not address. She cautions her readers not to "focus too narrowly on issues of rights, and voting, as constituting political standing" (p. 10) and reminds us that these women did not agitate for their own political rights in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries because they considered "women's exclusion from all public and political roles less certain than we've come to believe today" (p. 4). Nor, she warns, is it appropriate to focus on public and private "spheres" when theorizing the political in earlier historical periods, for "when dynastic politics and a court system meant socializing, plotting marriage and kinship strategies, and included a patronage system that used the standing and contacts of both male and female members of the governing

class, then what was masculine and feminine, private and public, political and nonpolitical was blurred" (p. 7).

Smith argues that women had a "clear, widespread, and real presence in political and economic structure" but that "language was so constructed as to deny both the reality and the significance of their standing" (p. 9). That is like saying that women constitute half of the world's population, perform two-thirds of the world's labor, and receive one tenth of the world's income. She explains the discursive cover-up by noting that the support systems available to men in schools and professional societies, the groups and institutions that honored and validated their participation, simply did not exist for women, and so their activities went unrecorded. For example, although women were full members of early modern guilds—wearing the ceremonial livery and referred to as "sistern" along with "brethern," "freewomen" along with "freemen"—later accounts obscured the evidence of their participation. Smith also observes that both Thomas Hobbes and John Locke held changing and inconsistent opinions about the nature of men and women's political status within the family and within the state.

Part one of this volume deals with women's political writings from 1400 to 1690 (Christine de Pizan, Elinor James and other Englishwomen involved with the popular press, Aphra Behn). Part two continues the chronology and treats women's political writings from 1690 to 1800, including the work of Mary Astell, Damaris Masham, Mary Wollstonecraft, Catharine Macaulay, and Emilie du Châtelet. Judith Zinsser's essay on Châtelet is a riveting account of this extraordinary woman, physicist, and mathematician, who translated (and interpreted) Isaac Newton's *Principia* (1687), making it more intelligible in French than it is in English (p. 183). Living with Voltaire on her husband's estate with the latter's concurrence, she took care of her households at Cirey and Paris, raised three children, maintained friendships with courtiers and ministers in the court, and nursed and entertained Voltaire when he was "ill with one of his many complaints" (p. 170), all the while pursuing her own work in algebra and Euclidian geometry, Newtonian optics, Leibnizian metaphysics, French grammar, translation, and biblical exegesis. Like Wollstonecraft, Châtelet died of complications in childbirth.

The organizing principle of the last two sections of the book is less clear, and there is some overlap with the first two chronological sections. Part three treats the intellectual and economic context for early modern women, emphasizing the way "intellectual values and circles . . . operated similarly to economic, political and legal restraints in restricting women's public place and public voice in English society" (p. 193). The essays in this section deal with the attitudes of Hobbes, Robert Filmer, and Locke toward women's political participation; the precedents for Catharine Macaulay's history of England; and the extent to which women operated as shareholders in joint-stock companies chartered by

the state. Susan Staves provides a stunning account of the political power of monied women as voting shareholders, lobbyists, and dispensers of patronage in the South Sea and East India Companies. Staves explains that although "in the early eighteenth century, at the beginning of party and print journalism," women such as Delarivier Manley wrote in the service of party politics, it soon became obvious that "a very large percentage of all 'political writing' was produced by people attempting to progress from writing to wealth and office" through patronage (p. 266). Since women were debarred from such places and preferments, they soon began to write for more direct remuneration "by producing translations from the French, books of advice to women, plays, or novels" (p. 269).

Part four, which contains some of the most exciting pieces in the book, describes contests over women's political power in fifteenth and sixteenth-century France, sixteenth and seventeenth-century Germany, and seventeenth and eighteenth-century England, demonstrating which powers women retained or lost under different conceptions of the state and of citizenship. According to Sarah Hanley, women in France "succeeded to lands, including duchies, fiefs, and apanages, and rendered homage for them . . . right into the early 1500s" (p. 291). Even in matters of royal succession, the only grounds for female exclusion were "sporadic and vague references to a custom" (p. 293), until Jean de Montreuil, secretary for Charles V and prévôt of Lille, determined to refute Christine de Pizan's case for women's inclusion in the royal succession in *The City of the Ladies* (1405), which recorded and validated rule by women the world over. He announced that the exclusion of women could be traced to an original Salic law text founding the kingdom. That he first forged three words of this text and later commented on doing so—as if it unequivocally provided the proof he sought—escaped the notice of later commentators. Hanley observes that Pizan's political contribution has to be assessed in this context.

Merry Wiesner's article on women's political participation in the German lands at the time of Martin Luther introduces the reader to Argula von Grumbach, Katherine Zell, and Anna Hoyer and demonstrates that women held positions of power as rulers of small states and as abbesses of free imperial convents. They controlled churches, schools, hospitals, and male monasteries; heard legal cases; and sent representatives to the Reichstag. Women were also citizens of medieval cities such as Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Munich, Nördlingen, Memmingen, Strasbourg, and Augsburg, where they were obliged to swear oaths of allegiance and to provide soldiers and arms for the defence of their city. As full citizens, they could confer rights of citizenship to the non-citizen men they married. "This rather off-hand acceptance of women as citizens began to change in the sixteenth century," Wiesner concludes (p. 316).

Smith's essay in this section describes an English dispute of 1735 over Sarah Bly's election by the women

of her parish to the office of church sexton. Her election was unsuccessfully challenged by her male rival, John Olive, on the grounds that women could not vote. As late as 1868, *Olive v. Ingram* was cited as precedent for the principle that women who paid parish rates had the right to vote in parish elections: that women, in short, were enfranchised subjects. The final essay, by Barbara Todd, introduces an anonymous tract, *The Hardships of the English Laws in Relation to Wives . . . in an Humble address to the Legislature* (1735), which points out the inequities in English law with regard to adult married women. Although Todd is not aware of its authorship, the text she treats was written by Sarah Chapone, friend to Samuel Richardson and to George Ballard, mother-in-law to Hester Mulso Chapone. Todd's hunches about the kind of woman who must have written this tract are right on the mark. She then goes on to explore the fluctuations of married women's separate identity in the settlement cases involving poor women's attempt to claim poor relief.

On the whole, this is an excellent collection, well worth buying for both the university library and the scholar's bookshelf. Cambridge University Press should have done a better job of proofreading with a collection of this caliber, but typo-free books, alas, are becoming a thing of the past.

RUTH PERRY

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WILLIAM ZACHS. *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1998. Pp. xvii, 433. \$65.00.

William Zachs has written a work of cultural history that will be consulted and read by scholars in a wide range of specializations. Specialists in the history of the book, who like to point out that their approach to the past is one that illuminates culture in significant ways, will celebrate the arrival of this splendid demonstration of their argument. As Zachs observes, the career of a bookseller and publisher "begins to explain the ways in which someone whose primary concern is making money contributes to culture" (p. 3). And such a career is susceptible to examination when substantial records survive. A large body of business correspondence and other records makes up the evidence for a biographical and business history narrative of thirteen substantial chapters. The second part of the archive, not all housed in one place, consists of 1,063 publications under John Murray's imprint, all meticulously checklisted, whether copies remain extant or not.

Scholars of literature, who know the second John Murray's part in making public the works of many important nineteenth-century poets and novelists, will inevitably regard this work as a prologue to the career of the man who was the subject of Samuel Smiles's *A Publisher and His Friends* (1891) and who flourished in Albermarle Street in the West End of London, where

the firm and its archives remain. Historians, however, will be more impressed by his father's contribution to eighteenth-century literature and culture, a contribution that was equally profound in its time and fully deserves the attention it receives in this handsome volume. The elder Murray started publishing in a small way in 1768, at age thirty. Twenty-five years later, his business had become a London institution: the second John Murray published Lord Byron, and the third Charles Darwin. Their father and grandfather is interesting not because of such illustrious associations among his own contemporaries but because, as Zachs observes, his actions "explain something about the transmission of literary taste, scientific knowledge and political and philosophical ideas" (p. 4). Researchers investigating the burgeoning culture of medicine and science in Britain in the late eighteenth century, to take a particularly apposite example, will learn much from contemplating an institution that did so much to disseminate that culture among professionals, amateurs, and students. An analysis of Murray's publishing patterns between 1768 and 1793 shows that almost one quarter of the books his firm released were on medical topics. Equally significant, though, is the way Zachs places his subject in the publishing histories of historical works, religion, translated works, and creative literature.

The framework of the book is a combination of personal and business biography, with three chapters on Murray's personal and family life interspersed with five on the national, international, and London book trades and five on his own literary and commercial activities. Historians of gender and of the family will find material of great interest in Murray's open and supportive relationship with an illegitimate son, as well as his complex relationships with two wives and his great affection for the offspring of his second marriage. His participation in copyright disputes and other conflicts is set in the context of the eighteenth-century book trade. A chapter on "Diversity and Specialisation" provides statistical as well as impressionistic evidence of Murray's commitment to a range of genres that was by no means limited to the literary. His "litigious and disputatious nature" is displayed in a series of court cases, and his political interests appear in responses, cautious and anxious, to the American and French revolutions and to popular radicalism in Britain.

Zachs's scholarly work demonstrates how a publisher's archive can be used to craft a precise and elegant piece of cultural history. The appended checklist of publications is an integral part of that history. Not only does it provide accurate citations for some works that have become rare, even obscure, more than two centuries after publication, but also its chronological arrangement (alphabetical within each year) and useful cross-indexing open up a rich and complex body of

evidence for eighteenth-century British cultural history.

LESLIE HOWSAM
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DON HERZOG. *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 559. \$29.95.

In 1778, Samuel Johnson, Fanny Burney, Hester Thrale, and Lady Ladd met for a conversation whose topic was chosen by Ladd: "the respect due from the lower class of the people." Her own contribution included the following: "I have no notion of submitting to any kind of impertinence: & I never will bear to have any person *Nod* to me, or enter a Room where I am, without Bowing" (pp. 474–75). Clearly she lived in a different world from the one I imagine most of us now inhabit. Respect was, it seems, due but did not need not be reciprocated. In the ideal society of the British upper classes, respect ascended but contempt descended, and it is contempt that this book is mostly about.

The title alludes to the notion that in the decades after the great French Revolution, the British lower orders were beginning to challenge the ascribed inferiority that left them as subjects rather than citizens. From another perspective, the actual evidence of this book suggests that the higher orders had the more poisoned minds. They were full of prejudices that demeaned the working classes, Jews, and blacks, all of whom were regarded as socially unacceptable and politically disqualified. Women were also demeaned and politically disqualified but socially acceptable in so far as they kept to their allotted role. Other categories to be looked down on included dancing masters and hairdressers. Both were suspected of transgressing gender boundaries. The latter were particularly suspect. Their salons were hotbeds of political discussion among people who had no proper capacity for it, and no one else from the lower orders could, in the ordinary course of their occupation, hold a razor to aristocratic necks.

One of the subthemes of this book is that contempt was a radical as well as a conservative affliction, and Don Herzog pinpoints the racism of William Cobbett and, to a lesser extent, Tom Paine, an aspect of their thought apparently ignored by such prestigious commentators as E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams. The suspicion of a cover-up is certainly interesting, but otherwise I cannot believe that any serious scholar will be surprised to learn of the ubiquity of racism in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Herzog's book draws more on social history than on the standard political and literary texts, although there is enough on Samuel Taylor Coleridge to make one like him less. The treatment of Edmund Burke is excellent and more extended, particularly so in the last chapter on Burke's notorious notion of "the swinish multitude."

One can see the macabre attraction of this theme for a scholar from a society that believes in universal human rights, where "political correctness" has made traditional prejudices so unacceptable that one has to tiptoe carefully through one's vocabulary lest someone else infer an insult. Herzog has thoroughly immersed himself in a society where apparently no one blushed before what would now be condemned as the most boorish prejudices. We here meet our species, warts and all, racist, sexist, and full of class snobbery. It is not an edifying spectacle, and upward of 500 pages is frankly more than we need. The coverage of primary sources is very thorough, but it is not clear that Herzog has integrated and synthesized them so that the main analytical points stand out. Indeed, it is not clear enough what the actual point of the book is. The blurb alludes to the emergence of conservatism in response to the radical challenge. In a nutshell, it is Burke against Paine, but this focus is neither thoroughly outlined nor consistently pursued. What we have is obviously the product of immense research into the primary sources, all of which, it seems, has found its way into the book. There are so many good stories, and the social atmosphere of the time is so nicely reconstructed that it makes for an entertaining read, yet I am sure that a more focused and analytical study of about half its length would have been more satisfactory.

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MAURA O'CONNOR. *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. x, 246. \$45.00.

Maura O'Connor has written a book with an ambitious agenda. By examining the "stories" that English men and women told about Italy during the first part of the nineteenth century, she sets out to explore how the political beliefs of these early Victorians were influenced by the "pleasures engendered by imagination, travel, and romance." Her contention is that the image of a unified Italy was so powerful that it played a large role in shaping England's "political landscape" as it emerged from the Napoleonic period and developed through the 1860s (p. 1). This is a large claim, and one that is particularly hard to evaluate as O'Connor never discusses in detail what she believes happened to English politics during this period. But if O'Connor has a tendency to raise big questions without really answering them, she has also found many interesting things to say about her subject.

She begins by examining early nineteenth-century travel writings. The authors of these books, she argues, romanticized Italy and the Italians, creating an image of the nation that deliberately confused fact and fiction. To make her point, she provides us with perceptive analyses of how travelers constructed their images, paying close attention to three central texts:

Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), the English translation (1833) of Germaine de Staël's *Corinne*, and Samuel Rogers's *Italy* (1822). Consistent with recent feminist scholarship, O'Connor emphasizes gendered representations, particularly in *Childe Harold*, where Byron characterized Italy as a "beautiful and neglected victim" (p. 25).

Giuseppe Mazzini and his English followers feature prominently in O'Connor's study. She tells the familiar story of Mazzini's London exile in order to demonstrate that English fascination with Mazzini played a significant role in generating support for Italy both inside and outside of Parliament and in directing the English toward a "more cosmopolitan liberalism" (p. 65). Perhaps the book's strongest chapter is devoted to Mazzini's friend and collaborator, Jesse White Mario. Here O'Connor discusses the role women played in promoting the Italian cause. In the process, she reassesses the contribution that women in general made to Victorian politics. Her argument is that women had an impact on the public sphere precisely because they brought to it qualities normally associated with the domestic sphere. White Mario's effectiveness as a spokeswoman for Mazzini, O'Connor maintains, was due largely to her gender, to "her ability to maintain . . . a thoroughly feminine manner" (p. 101). Victorian audiences apparently did not find it unusual that a woman should campaign on behalf of Italian nationalism. Indeed, O'Connor suggests that Mazzini deliberately chose White Mario because "she was a woman and could elicit more sympathy from her audience, thus providing the Italian cause with even greater moral legitimacy" (p. 102).

In a chapter on diplomacy, O'Connor sets out to demonstrate how middle-class "discourses" (p. 118) made their way into diplomatic sources. The chapter raises a number of issues, not least of which is O'Connor's use of the term "middle class." Throughout the book, she refers to the supporters of the Italian cause simply as "middle class," with little attempt to assess how many of them there were or to distinguish them by profession, region, or, most importantly, religion. In the end, we are left with a broad category of middle class that implies that everyone supported Italian nationalism and that they did so for the same reasons and in the same ways. A breakdown of that category would have identified those who did not support the cause and would have started to answer the question of why some supported it when others did not.

The final chapter explores the extraordinary reception accorded to Giuseppe Garibaldi when he visited England in 1864. Because there was something for everybody in the Garibaldi myth, it was able to attract a broad range of adherents that cut across class lines. For the aristocracy and middle class, Garibaldi embodied character, virtue, manliness, and patriotism; for the working class, he was the republican, the champion of freedom and democracy. O'Connor is surely right to argue that the English imposed their own values on

Garibaldi, but this is only part of the story, for Garibaldi also helped in the construction of his own myth.

TIMOTHY LANG
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CHRISTOPHER HAMLIN. *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800–1854*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. 368. \$64.95.

The present trend for seeing history as contingent rather than determinist is given further encouragement by Christopher Hamlin's highly engaging revision of the story of Edwin Chadwick and the sanitary movement. Hamlin stresses the continuity of motive between sanitarianism and Chadwick's earlier work in reforming the Poor Law. Medical opinion was certainly not united on the best measures for attacking the health problems of the Industrial Revolution. Conflicting medical evidence was offered to the investigatory commission of 1842, but Chadwick and his acolytes dismissed analyses that stressed "work, wages and food" as social priorities and selected instead the politically less unsettling measures of drainage and water supply. Evidence was also filleted to remove unpalatable comments. In spite of the huge costs, it was easier to contemplate reform through public works than to interfere with other causes of illness. Hamlin argues that alternative medical views did exist, stressing the writings of the Scottish reformer W. P. Alison, who thought that disease arose more from low income than poor sanitation, although Hamlin accepts that Alison's practical suggestions did not move much beyond a more humane Poor Law. This book breaks new ground in analyzing the language of the sanitary reformers and their constant associating of filth with moral depravity and political subversion. Hamlin also describes convincingly how Chadwick adjusted his sanitary priorities in keeping with changes in the political atmosphere.

Chadwick's selective use of evidence was common to both the Poor Law report of 1834 and the sanitary report of 1842. Traditional theories of health stressed the need for good housing, occupational hygiene, and proper nutrition, but in the context of the Industrial Revolution, such views could appear radical. By contrast, sanitary reform did not tamper with class relations, and Hamlin's view that "sewers and water were the bread and circuses of the Victorian age" should generate a lively debate (p. 140). Perhaps the weakest link is his reluctance to engage with the religious motives of many of his actors. Religion was less the opium of the people than of the middle class, and many of the men in this drama were motivated by passionate convictions that modern social historians hold in suspicion, and to which medical historians have given scant attention. Hamlin rightly notes that James Kay and Alison were driven in different directions by their religious beliefs, but the underlying theme is

interesting enough to demand closer analysis. Hamlin breaks new ground, however, in his account of the uncomfortable relationship between Chadwick and the engineers whom he hoped would carry out his projects. After this, it will be harder to argue for Chadwick as a victorious technocrat.

Historians sometimes unconsciously adopt the style of their subjects, and although Hamlin would not be flattered by the comparison, he occasionally echoes Chadwick's polemical tones. The main argument of this book is that "public health belongs to social justice quite as much as to civil engineering or epidemiology" (p. 340). Yet Hamlin has shown that Chadwick, too, saw public health as a tool, although in this case one for improving public morals and reinforcing the lessons of political economy. Although public health history has too often been described as the triumph of light over darkness, or technology over ignorance, Hamlin exaggerates the unproblematic nature of the MacDonagh thesis on the "revolution in government," which has always been controversial among historians. Nor would this book undermine Oliver MacDonagh's theory of "irradiation," through which the views of individuals or small groups may influence public policy.

For this reviewer, although mightily engrossed by Hamlin's book, his theories do not illuminate modern issues in quite the way he intends. From a British perspective, the American states seem remarkably free to pursue a variety of social aims. Their policies can be tough, sentimental, frugal, or extravagant, in the same independent manner as British local government in the nineteenth century. Although Hamlin means to give no comfort to Chadwick's more uncritical admirers, those who have lived through two decades of enforced contraction of social projects in Britain, and the dominance of private over public ambition, may take a different view. Here, the scale, audacity, and achievement of the Victorian public health movement seems staggering, however dubious its motives. With its system of Victorian public works crumbling, and little political will to replace them, Britain needs a second Chadwick—but candidates would do well to read Hamlin's book, which makes a major contribution to the history of public health.

ANNE CROWTHER
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CHRISTINE CLARK. *The British Malting Industry since 1830*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 300. \$55.00.

This worthwhile study of the British malting industry confirms, yet again, that, as in politics, a particular company's success has meant a long climb up Benjamin Disraeli's "greasy pole," with little room at the top for survivors. Clark ably describes the changing structure of the industry that began the nineteenth century with thousands of licensed maltsters and has ended up today with only a handful. One of the

surviving malting firms is Pauls Malt, which commissioned this history. Clark charts the story of this small-scale sector of the British economy, shedding much light on the nature of the industry, the strengths and weaknesses of family firms, and, to a lesser extent, on entrepreneurship and Britain's economic performance. Recent scholars, such as A. D. Chandler, Jr., and others, have characterized British small businesses as resistant to change, focused on the short term, and, as a result, symptomatic of Britain's relative economic decline at the turn of the twentieth century. Clark attempts to correct this view, arguing that, despite limitations imposed by the brewing industry, a number of the leading malting firms were resilient in the face of crisis and aggressive and innovative in their corporate strategies, with the result that they ultimately prevailed over their more conservative competitors.

Malt is one of the primary ingredients in the brewing and distilling process. It is made by partially germinating barley under controlled conditions, drying and milling it to produce grist, which is then mixed with water to form an extract. This extract provides the main source of energy for the fermentation of yeast into alcohol. Clark carefully chronicles key factors that affected the industry during the last 160 years. The development of the railway reduced travel times and freight rates and opened up a national market. In 1880, the government repealed the malt tax, establishing the "free mash tun." As a result, brewers and maltsters increased their reliance on foreign grain. Finally, the brewing industry dominated the malt market until World War II, with malt sales irrevocably linked to beer sales.

Clark does an excellent job of describing the intricate relationship between the brewing and malting industries, rightly concluding that overall the balance of power was always with the brewers. In the twentieth century, the performance of the malting industry has, for the most part, paralleled the ups and downs of the British economy as a whole. After a brief boom following World War I, the industry plunged into a deep recession. For those maltsters that survived the interwar years, World War II brought some measure of prosperity. The postwar years saw the final transformation of malting from a craft-based to a consolidated high-technology industry.

This book is meticulously researched and offers a wealth of detail. There is a valuable analysis of costs, prices, profits, and exports. To her credit, in offering her analyses Clark recognizes the sparsity of data and cautions against firm conclusions. Occasionally, there is a slip in her otherwise careful scholarship. For example, without offering any proof, Clark alleges that maltsters were not opposed in 1918 to state purchase of their industry, provided there was proper compensation. A more serious problem is the slight attention that is given to labor and labor issues in the malting industry. This may well be due to a lack of available sources; however, this industry study seems incomplete

with only passing references to the plight of workers in the malt houses.

As to the central thesis of the book, Clark, while recognizing the conservative nature of many of the smaller malting firms, does offer some convincing proof that a few companies, such as Pauls Malt, have a history of progressive industrial strategies and should not be lumped together with their more conservative competitors. This may be so. Since Clark offers little in the way of comparative analysis with malting firms in America, Europe, or Australia until recent years, however, it is difficult to conclude from this study whether or not leading British maltsters, even with progressive strategies, contributed to Britain's relative economic decline from the late nineteenth century.

V. MARKHAM LESTER
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G. R. SEARLE. *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xi, 300. \$85.00.

G. R. Searle has written a fascinating book about an important topic. He considers the question of how British intellectuals who were broadly sympathetic to a market-driven society reconciled their economic views with their notions of religious, moral, and social duties. The study concentrates on the period 1830–1870, on the grounds that this was the supposed apogee of free-enterprise capitalism. Moreover, the study has a subtle sting in its tail. Despite Thatcherism's call for a return to "Victorian" values and an unquestioning faith in the principles of free enterprise, Searle shows that, in fact, Victorians who gave the subject serious thought were deeply troubled and highly ambivalent about the norms dictated by a market culture. The work has certain, carefully defined limitations; it does not, for example, consider the socialist critique of capitalism, and more is said about the likes of Harriet Martineau and John Stuart Mill than such high priests of Victorian cultural doom as Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin. Searle's point is to demonstrate the incoherence, the reservations, and unresolved quality of the Victorian embrace of the market and the attempt to "moralize" capitalist theory and practice.

To this end, Searle—while obviously indebted to historians such as Brian Harrison and Boyd Hilton—casts a wide interpretative net. The book is organized thematically with opening chapters on capitalism and Christianity, political economy and morality, and slave emancipation. Searle shows that although David Ricardo and other political economists may have argued for a strict separation between Christian belief and the "science" of economics, a "watered-down version of 'Christian economics'" continued to prevail, particularly among such popular writers as Jane Hal-dinard Marcet. Searle catches Martineau, perhaps the most renown popularizer of political economy, declaring her refusal to mix moral questions with those of political economy and yet pronouncing that social

institutions are "the grand instruments in the hands of Providence for the government of man" (pp. 19–20). It was extremely difficult for Victorians to wash out the fading hues of religion. The campaign for slave abolition, the reform seen as establishing Britain's preeminence as a morally progressive nation, was never able to keep religion and economics in their separate places: sometimes this strengthened the movement and at other times, such as when it became clear that free-grown sugar was not necessarily the cheapest available, it caused doubt and consternation for abolitionists. And what about wage slavery? Radical readers of Adam Smith might well have concluded that if capitalists kept wage costs lower than slave owners, then wage earners received less for their labor than slaves did. The significance of abolition, Searle concludes, was that it "provided all sides to the argument with a compelling rhetoric and framework of reference" (p. 67). The debate over the Anatomy Act of 1832 was particularly alarming as it was uncertain whether the act sanctioned the free sale of bodies.

Then, as now, the parallels between or the lines deemed to separate legitimate capitalist endeavor from undesirable or even criminal activities were troubling. Just as the drug traffic or day trading on the internet pose questions about how we define the legitimate or useful world of commercial enterprise as opposed to crime or mere speculation, Victorians were divided in their views over how morality and market logic applied to gambling, speculative investment, limited liability, adulteration of food, drink, pornography, and prostitution. Contradictions abound. So, for example, financiers enjoyed much higher social prestige than industrialists, yet the banker became the stereotypical villain of popular melodrama, while industrialists often were more favorably portrayed. Searle suggests that perhaps despite all the talk about "moralizing" modern commerce—a system that increasingly depended on the investments of anonymous shareholders devoid of any direct responsibility for how their capital was used—the best that could be done was to find "havens of moral probity . . . from which the spirit of profit-making could be exorcized" (p. 106).

The family was the classic haven from the "heartless world" of capitalism, and it was in their writings on the family, and debates over gender, that Victorians often got their moral and economic wires badly crossed. Searle's chapter on the family and women is serviceable. He reiterates Catherine Gallagher's argument discerning a constant slippage in the writings of Mrs. Sarah Ellis (John Ruskin would be another example), at once associating and disassociating family and the marketplace; it was only by their isolation from outside society that women could purportedly influence and soften this competitive world. Searle documents the valiant struggle of Victorians to fend off cross-contamination between the private and public spheres of family and business. He might profitably have considered debates over women's role as consumers and how

the home itself became a site of acquisitive materialism.

Victorians were, of course, divided over what role the state should play in the workings of the market place. The most outstanding example of the state's direct intervention in the market was the relief of the dependent poor and implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The act was usually seen as a triumph for advocates of political economy and its policy of deterrence was widely regarded a settled hallmark of "progressive" society. Difficulties arose, however, over demarcating the boundary between the state and private philanthropy and over how to ensure that the lesson of deterrence was not undone by sentimentalism and indiscriminate charity. If inculcating the values of thrift and providence among Britain's laboring poor was an uphill battle, the chaotic world of charity organizations seemed to be part of the problem. As Searle insightfully comments, however, chaos was part of its attraction; once "scientific" management was brought to private giving under the direction of the Charity Organization Society, Christian benevolence became subject to the same coldness as state-administrated poor relief. Much here, as throughout the book, will be familiar to specialists. Indeed, the book's success is the result of the skillful manner in which the author has brought these themes together. Searle is not the first to show us that the "Victorian mind" was full of contradictions or haunted by collective self-doubt. But contradiction is not the same thing as hypocrisy, and Searle has done a fine job of reminding us that many Victorians were deeply troubled by the capitalist values of their world.

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CROSBIE SMITH. *The Science of Energy: A Cultural History of Energy Physics in Victorian Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 404. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

Much of the early scholarship in the history of science focused on an internalist approach to the field. Such an approach emphasized the technical or internal aspects of science and saw science as developing from the theories and ideas that emerged from the minds of individual scientists. Internalists paid little attention to how a particular scientific theory related to its external social environment. In recent years, much of the scholarship in the history of science has focused on an externalist approach that draws methodologies from sociology, economics, anthropology, and political science to explore the social and institutional frameworks out of which science emerged. But externalists have paid little attention to the technical details of the science they are studying. While internalists miss the forest for the trees, the externalists miss the trees for the forest.

In this important book on the formulation of a science of energy during the nineteenth century, Cros-

bie Smith attempts to bridge the gap between the internalists and the externalists with a contextual approach that relates the internal development of the history of energy to the cultural and economic concerns of the time. Combining the best aspects of the internalist and externalist approaches can be very demanding for both the author and the reader. Smith has done a remarkable job analyzing both the technical details of the development of a science of energy and the interactions between those scientific developments and the cultural and economic frameworks of the period. Unfortunately, large parts of the book will be inaccessible to historians who do not share Smith's significant background in physics. Those who can follow the physics will be rewarded with one of the most thorough studies of the development of the first and second laws of thermodynamics and their applications to engineering, electromagnetism, and chemistry. But even those without a strong scientific background should find a number of important new insights concerning the relationship between science and nineteenth-century North British culture.

This book focuses on the role of a group of North British scientists and engineers, including William Thomson, J. P. Joule, W. J. M. Rankine, and J. C. Maxwell, in formulating a new science of energy during the nineteenth century, and how both industrialization and current theological issues helped to shape the new science. Although the book focuses on North British practitioners, Smith also provides a detailed analysis of how the contributions of French and German scientists and engineers, such as Sadi Carnot, Emile Clapeyron, Rudolf Clausius, and Hermann von Helmholtz, gave international credibility to the cause.

Central to a science of energy was the formulation of the first and second laws of thermodynamics, which stated the principle of the conservation of energy and the principle of the dissipation of energy or the law of entropy. Drawing on archival materials, the book provides one of the most thorough internalist analyses of the complicated and diverse elements that went into the formulation of these two fundamental laws of physics. But what makes this book especially important is that Smith has interwoven his internalist study of a science of energy with a contextual analysis showing how the development of such a science was contingent upon the culture of the time. For example, the book shows the close relationship between the development of a science of energy and the new demands for power brought about by industrialization. Many of the key figures in the science of energy had personal ties with shipbuilders along the Clyde. Using the laws of thermodynamics, scientists could establish an ideal engine against which engineers could measure their ability to reduce waste and inefficiencies and maximize work in actual engines.

While a connection between the science of energy and industrialization is not unexpected, Smith also argues that the new science was also influenced by religious ideas that were being debated at the time.

Through the use of letters and other personal writings, Smith is able to show that many of the contributors to a science of energy saw this science in terms of certain Presbyterian ideas. They saw the law of the conservation of energy as reflecting the belief that energy was a spiritual gift of grace from God which could not be destroyed, while the law of the dissipation of energy (entropy) reflected the fact that if humans did not use the gifts of energy wisely, their powers would be irrecoverably lost. A science of energy could not only indicate how far a real engine fell short of the ideal but it could also indicate how far humans fell short of spiritual and moral perfection. Also, many North British scientists found the law of the dissipation of energy, with its idea of irreversibility, to be strong evidence against an anti-Christian materialism that had, at its core, a billiard-ball view of the universe that could run equally well backwards or forwards. In the end, the most important aspect of this book, for most historians, may be the new insights that it provides into the relationship among science, industrialization, and religious beliefs.

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SHANI D'CRUZE. *Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Working Women*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 263.

A millworker is murdered in Preston, throat slit from ear to ear by her estranged husband. A young domestic servant is raped by her shopkeeper employer in Suffolk. These two cases, in their different ways typical of the reports, social norms, policing, and proceedings in magistrate's courts, provide examples in this detailed, nuanced study of domestic sexual violence in Victorian England, based on evidence from Suffolk and Preston. The book begins with a theoretical and methodological overview and moves out from the two examples to examine women's networks at home, in the community, and at work and the role of courtship and flirtation, drink, and fairs in providing places both of pleasure and danger; it finishes with an account of women as social actors negotiating the presentation and reproduction of their reputations as witnesses and plaintiffs. Newspapers, too, are fully and elaborately quarried and investigated to provide a careful and elaborate account of how criminality, sexuality, and "reputation" were situated in the discourse of the day. Shani D'Cruze is careful to steer between the two dangers of naturalism, which would see violence as inevitable and intrinsic to heterosexuality at any period, and a discursive account, which gives no heed to the source of commentary or the significance of the person producing it. The care with which the legal system, policing, and commercial interests of witnesses are described is exemplary, as is D'Cruze's picture of the place of the Victorian public house in the lives of

women on both sides of the bar, a nice corrective to male-dominated history of leisure.

There is room here for a consideration of the essentially literary nature of the melodramatic, even gothic narrative of various representations of the murders. The only substantial area of investigation that seems missing from this original and delightful book is the role of the church. A murderous husband gets Methodism and thus comments on his wife's reputation after he has killed her. Nonconformity appears as a geographical presence and a source of a scandal, but there is very little about the church's view of domestic violence or the duties of spouses to each other or about the church-going habits of the author's cast of characters, yet their ordinariness is emphasized several times. The careful description of the variety of nineteenth-century notions of violence that she articulates would have borne interesting insights if the contribution of church or chapel to the ideas of moral economy at work here had been assessed.

D'Cruze questions as anachronism assuming that violence is necessarily always "rough" (unrespectable), that women never use it themselves or accept it when it is inflicted on them. For many women, violence appears to bring them to the magistrate's court only if children were hurt, when intolerably excessive, or when it "exceeded the bounds of a normative economy of violence within marital life" (p. 78). Like A. James Hammerton, she argues persuasively that marital violence is found across occupational groups, not specific to any culture or class, and she adds to Hammerton the recognition that a woman's occupational history may have given her a much greater chance of acting in her own defense or redefining the "normative economy" of domestic life (see Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Married Life* [1992]). Throughout women are seen as actors, not victims, although the book ends with an afterword in which this is to some extent questioned for the twentieth century. The conservatism of late Victorian culture is here being given an interesting social dimension, which contributes a new inflection to debates about class and the essential contribution that gender makes to any account of social change in this period. D'Cruze begins her book with an old woman's story of sending three militia men to a hospital who had come to assault her while her husband was away in 1797; she ends it asserting a cultural shift that rendered such confidently pleasurable aggression from a woman implausible a century later.

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JON LAWRENCE. *Speaking for the People: Party, Language and Popular Politics in England, 1867-1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 289. \$64.95.

Anyone who thinks that the debate over British electoral history has subsided will be disabused by this

new, revisionist account by Jon Lawrence. In the course of a wide-ranging discussion, all kinds of assumptions come in for criticism: Lawrence is skeptical about the emphasis on class and its political significance in traditional accounts; he thinks we need to look afresh at the relationship between local-regional identities and national partisanship; he claims that the power of political parties before 1914 has been exaggerated; he suggests that explanations for the early development of Labour should recognize the influence of popular Toryism; and he emphasises just how difficult it was for Labour to develop a relationship with its potential supporters in the country.

To this end, the book is organized in three sections. The first comprises three chapters that survey the historiography and in particular challenge the idea that growing working-class homogeneity provided the catalyst for independent Labour politics. Although Lawrence does not say so, the implication is that class politics is a post-1918 phenomenon in so far as it existed at all. Rejecting the importance given to sociological explanations, he argues that there is no automatic relationship between social structure and political movements; instead historians need to analyze the deliberate strategies of political parties to articulate concerns and construct alliances. Among other things, this means showing how local identities feed into and help shape national allegiances. Lawrence is surely right in thinking that broad-brush explanations for the rise of Labour really explain very little, and that a credible account must recognize the uneven nature of the party's growth in the regions.

Part two of the book gets to grips with local identity in the shape of Wolverhampton, a good choice because of its position in the West Midlands, because nearly two-thirds of its pre-1914 electorate were manual workers, and because after 1885 it had one staunch Liberal seat, one pro-Conservative, and one marginal. The first of these chapters examines the long period of Liberal dominance after 1832, focusing on the protracted dissension between the wealthy local Liberal elite and its Radical supporters. By implication, Liberals managed to live with internal disputes, and the turning point only came in the late 1870s, when Benjamin Disraeli's external policies boosted Tory fortunes. A fascinating chapter examines the relationship between Conservatism and Labour politics. Lawrence shows that middle-class support was far from sufficient to explain growing Conservative success; working-class wards of Wolverhampton could be just as pro-Tory. Nor is protectionism, in an area of declining industry, a complete explanation. Tory support, he suggests, was not found primarily among the poorest or the most deferential workers. He sees the phenomenon in terms of Conservative opposition to moral improvement and defense of the pleasures of the people, linked with the church, queen, and patriotism. These findings are not surprising, although in view of the strongly working-class character of Wolverhampton's electorate, Lawrence is by implication giv-

ing greater significance to this popular Toryism than some other historians. But he goes further in suggesting that the Conservatives made a *class-based* appeal partly by stressing the neglect of the poorer parts of the town and partly by urging an interventionist policy including fair wages for council contracts. Where Lawrence is especially interesting is in arguing that all this had implications for Labour. Many trade unionists were, after all, Conservatives. He shows how, locally, Labour could adapt to cope with a political culture that reflected Tory values by suppressing its temperance views, by avoiding religious controversies, and by associating itself with the workingmen's clubs.

In spite of this, the question, for Lawrence, remains why, on the whole, Labour was so *unsuccessful* before 1914 in winning over working-class districts. Several lines of explanation emerge. For a start, the working class, contrary to assumptions, was not especially homogeneous. Nor were trade unions very strong. Since Labour was, on the whole, a party of improvement, attempts to associate itself with the clubs were hampered, especially as the national leaders remained reluctant to defend them. Above all, an analysis of the Labour activists shows that they were drawn from suburban wards and as candidates were not strongly rooted in local working-class communities; their claim to represent the workers was thus no more credible than that of Conservatives or Liberals.

In the book's final section, Lawrence returns to national themes and evidence with an analysis of the limitations of the political parties' control, a chapter dwelling on the negative aspects of Liberalism up to 1906, and a broader discussion of Labour's difficulties in articulating an appeal to working-class communities. The three chapters in this section tend to deploy a selection of evidence without quite leading to a coherent overall view; at the end, one feels that Lawrence is stronger on the negative points than on the positive explanation for the pattern of pre-1914 politics. This, however, in no way detracts from the value of his discussion of the relationship between popular Conservatism and Labour. This is an original and stimulating book that will greatly advance our understanding of modern electoral history.

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STEWART A. WEAVER. *The Hammonds: A Marriage in History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. viii. 349. \$49.50.

E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) has provided the point of departure for any number of topics germane to the writing of nineteenth-century British social history. This is true of Thompson's comments about Lawrence and Barbara Hammond, the historians most responsible for producing the image of the Industrial Revolution as an apocalyptic experience. Thompson clearly admired and extended what the Hammonds had established,

but he agreed with their critics that they proved too willing to moralize history, and he believed that their underestimation of Luddism's revolutionary threat was attributable to their Fabian persuasion.

Thompson's critique of the Hammonds' moralizing might still stand, but his lumping of them with the Fabians, as Stewart A. Weaver's book vividly demonstrates, does not hold up to critical scrutiny. "The Hammonds," writes Weaver, "were not Fabians; they were not even socialists" (p. 5), and they only begrudgingly and inconsistently made peace with the Labour Party. Rooted in the Gladstonian liberal tradition, influential voices in twentieth-century "new liberalism," vigorous opponents of British imperialism and supporters of Irish home rule, the Hammonds were progressives in the best sense of the word, motivated above all by an old-fashioned hatred of social injustice. While the author wears his politics lightly, he clearly believes that the Hammonds' lives still have something politically to say to us today. In recounting their lifelong engagement with the major political issues of their time and their path-breaking engagement with the social consequences of the Industrial Revolution, he makes a compelling case.

The Hammonds' achievement was remarkable: eight collectively written books that all but launched the study of modern English social history, including *The Village Labourer* (1911), *The Town Labourer* (1917), and *The Skilled Labourer* (1919). Lawrence Hammond published six books on his own, in addition to being a political journalist for such publications as *The Nation*, *The Guardian*, and *The New Statesman*. I suspect that many readers will be surprised, as I was, to learn that he considered his crowning achievement to be *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (1938), a book conceived on a monumental scale but whose reception was eclipsed by the creeping shadow of global war.

At one level, Weaver's retelling of the Hammonds' political and intellectual lives is about the work itself, a reconstruction of its evolution, impact, and consequences as well as judicious assessments as to its continued relevance. Particularly noteworthy here is the retelling of the Hammonds' engagement with their critics, the classic encounter between "pessimistic" and "optimistic" interpretations of the Industrial Revolution, culminating in Anna Ramsay's condemnation of *The Town Labourer* as a socialist fantasy. It goes without saying that the contemporary historiography of the Industrial Revolution has outstripped the debates of 1920s. But looking back, the Hammonds, frequently accused of writing impressionistic history, prevailed against their more "scientifically" and "quantitatively" oriented colleagues, defending what Weaver describes as "the qualitative and culturalist genealogy of misery" (p. 205) that underpins their vision.

This book is foremost about a remarkable personal and intellectual friendship, a collaboration and exchange between "one husband and one wife . . . somehow able to transcend in both their public and private lives the boundaries of individual selfhood" (p. 5). This

"fused identity" is best summarized in a 1915 letter. Separated during the Great War, Lawrence wrote to Barbara of *The Town Labourer*: "I am very keen about our book, as I feel that it will remain a spiritual bond between us if I am killed and that it would be to you the sort of help and comfort that it would be to me if you died" (p. 129). Weaver does a superb job of bringing this partnership to life. Yet I believe that the narrative might have benefited by situating the Hammonds' relationship in terms of our understanding of the historical construction of gender. It might be inevitable that more space is given to Lawrence, given the wider scope of his activities. At the same time, the division of labor between them—Barbara being more responsible for the nuts and bolts of research and organization, Lawrence (as the author tells us) having a talent "for putting words and sentences together"—suggests the need for a wider analysis.

Overall, I found Weaver's book to be eloquently written and thoroughly researched; it captures the intellectual and political life of two remarkable people. In a postsocialist era, their liberal crusade against social injustice might have more to say to us than when Thompson was writing about them twenty-five years ago.

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CORMAC Ó GRÁDA. *Black '47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory*. (The Princeton Economic History of the Western World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 302. \$35.00.

Since 1994, there has been a torrent of books, journal articles, television documentaries, films, and conferences concerning the Irish famine of the 1840s. Cormac Ó Gráda's new book is a superbly written work. It presents fresh perspectives on the famine, including topics "hitherto not given their due in the literature" (p. 8). In addition, the book differs from other recent publications on the same subject in two significant ways. First, it is interdisciplinary, although Ó Gráda is a professor of economics, and this discipline, with economic history, provides the principal analytical framework. Lest the reader take fright at the prospect of an economic treatise, it should be noted that Ó Gráda writes in a lucid style and possesses a consummate skill in presenting complex arguments and data in an easily understood and interesting manner. A second significant feature of the book is that it reappraises the Irish famine in comparison with other famines.

The Irish famine of 1845–1849 is compared to other European famines in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the 1840s, the Netherlands suffered serious famine conditions, as did Finland (1866–1868) and Tsarist Russia in the 1890s. More recently, Biafra, the Soviet Union, Bengal, Ethiopia, China, and Ukraine have all experienced famine and large-scale

mortality. Despite the absolute numbers of dead in these catastrophes, in the words of Amartya Sen, "[In] no other famine in the world [was] the proportion of people killed . . . as large as in the Irish famines in the 1840s" (p. 3). One million dead out of an Irish population of eight million is the generally agreed estimate. Why this cost in human lives? Ó Gráda points to two critical factors. First, the shock to the food supply was greater than in the case of the other famines cited. Second, the recurrence of the potato blight in 1846, 1848, and 1849 meant that the Irish famine was longer lasting than the others. Ó Gráda also draws our attention to an apparent paradox. Most modern famines occur in remote areas, often experiencing corrupt and inefficient administrations operating within low income economies. By contrast, Ireland in the 1840s was next to the world's most prosperous economy and possessed a relatively efficient and honest administration. Further, unlike Russia and China in times of famine, a free press reported events in Ireland. Why then the horrific death toll? The combination of treasury parsimony and the influence of laissez-faire economics resulted in an amount of public spending on famine relief that was totally inadequate to breach the gap left by the destruction of the potato.

The demography of famine Ireland is analyzed, including the significance of emigration as an alternative to famine relief. The author concludes that assisted emigration would have saved many more lives. Chapter four is a skillful combination of economics, statistics, and narrative history, identifying who in Irish society gained or lost. A simple economic model and price/output data support the hypothesis that markets operated relatively well. The disruption of economic and social life consequent on the famine, however, meant few benefitted while it lasted. Afterwards, real wages rose, Irish agriculture became more prosperous, and landlords' rents increased. Those who left Ireland earned more than they would have in "an imaginary blight free Ireland" (p. 156). Ó Gráda devotes a chapter to the impact of the famine on Dublin, using a wide range of previously ignored sources. He concludes that although Dublin escaped lightly, it was not immune to the consequences of the famine.

Another distinguishing feature of the book is the author's use of folklore and famine memory. Ó Gráda provides a comprehensive survey of such sources and the problems of using such material. He argues that the view that the nuances in folklore recollections are essentially anti-British is wrong. What comes through in such evidence is resentment and resignation. The economic impact of the famine lasted long after the immediate events of 1845–1849. The huge famine emigration, reinforcing Irish communities abroad, provided further incentives for more emigration. Unlike famine in Europe, where the demographic effects were quickly overtaken by population growth, in Ireland, death and emigration produced a uniquely long delay in population growth. Drawing on an impressive range of source material, Ó Gráda establishes beyond doubt

the scale and nature of the famine tragedy in Ireland and, in so doing, authoritatively puts in their place those writers who have sought to play it down. The inclusion of some econometric results may baffle the general reader, but these in no way detract from an intrinsically interesting, scholarly, and important work that provides genuinely new insights into this cataclysmic event.

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THOMAS HENNESSEY. *Dividing Ireland: World War I and Partition*. New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. xxi, 280. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$27.99.

In this book, Thomas Hennessey addresses a complicated and significant period in both British-Irish relations and modern Irish history. Hennessey maintains that to understand the partition of Ireland it is necessary to appreciate "the diversity of national identity in early twentieth century Ireland, the relationship of this to conceptions of the state, and how the First World War radically altered such relationships" (p. xi). The book focuses primarily on the opinions of Irish political elites, both nationalist and unionist, but also attempts to link these elites to their wider constituent communities by using a broad selection of Irish newspapers. This latter is a worthy but difficult goal, as the relationship between newspapers and public opinion, or for that matter elites and their communities, can seldom be conclusively shown.

Hennessey is well qualified to write this history, having previously published on Ulster unionist identity and Northern Ireland. After an introduction, he surveys Irish identity and opinion in successive chronological periods as well as themes. These include Ireland in 1914; the Great War 1914–1916; the Easter Rising and its aftermath; loyalty and the crown, 1916–1918; and the Irish Convention and conscription crisis 1917–1918, followed by his conclusion. Hennessey explains that the enthusiasm the Irish showed at the beginning of World War I obscured the nuances that divided unionist and nationalist opinion on the war's importance. Irish Party leader John Redmond's offer of support for home defense was made with the expectation that the British would put home rule into effect. Irish nationalism split during 1914–1916 between those supporting the war and those opposed outright to any wartime help for the British. The majority of unionists saw the war itself, not home rule, as the central issue faced by Ireland and Britain. Thus, the author maintains that Irish identity was deeply divided both before the war and in its early stages.

According to Hennessey, the Easter Rising of 1916, and particularly its aftermath, dramatically affected Irish opinion and the fortunes of the Irish Party. While Redmond and other constitutional nationalists worked to bring home rule to reality, British suppression of the Rising and partition and conscription proposals only served to weaken the Irish Party's hold over Irish

nationalism. The partition issue also divided Ulster unionists and southern unionists, the former accepting partition on the likelihood of home rule implementation and the latter opposing it while adapting themselves to home rule. Southern unionists were willing to surrender union but not their Britishness, an attitude that was tested by the rise of Sinn Féin, the party in Ireland most opposed to the British presence. In the Irish Convention that met during 1917–1918, the Irish Party and southern unionists agreed to a home rule measure that maintained the supremacy of the British imperial parliament over the proposed Irish parliament. This arrangement, along with nationalist opposition to conscription in Ireland, further estranged Ulster unionists, who were determined to remain outside any home rule scheme. In addition, the Irish Convention broke the hold of the Irish Party over nationalism in Ireland.

Hennessey is to be commended for this excellent book. Working from his sources, he tells it like it was. His sound conclusion is that Ireland would have been partitioned in some form, even without the intervention of World War I. The war's significance for Ireland was in creating circumstances that led also to psychological partition, something that "could not have been predicted before the war" (p. 235). Before the war, no one would have suspected that partition would include dominion self-government in the South and home rule in the North. Nationalists had assumed that Irish self-government would be within the United Kingdom. After the war, the majority of nationalists supported an Irish Republic outside the British Empire. The Great War had propelled Sinn Féin and Irish Republicanism into prominence and in turn confirmed pre-war Ulster unionists' worst suspicions of Irish nationalism. Ulster unionists came to reject their Irishness in favor of being British. Total polarization and the psychological estrangement of Ulster unionism had begun.

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RICHARD ENGLISH. *Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xii, 267. \$45.00.

Among the heroes of the Irish revolution, Ernie O'Malley receives far less recognition than such luminaries as Eamon de Valera, Michael Collins, Padraic Pearse, and James Connolly. Yet it is often from lesser lights, as Maryann Gialanella Valiulis has shown in *Portrait of a Revolutionary: General Richard Mulcahy and the Founding of the Irish Free State* (1992), that fresh insights can be gained on the nature of militant republicanism and the nationalist tradition. Richard English largely falls short of realizing these aspirations. Although well-researched and clearly written, his treatment of O'Malley as an Irish Republican Army (IRA) intellectual is hampered by organizational flaws,

oversympathy for his subject, and preferences for the inconsequential and mundane.

The first problem lies in the unorthodox structure applied to O'Malley's life. It features a fivefold thematic division that inhibits full chronological development of the subject, allows uneven coverage, and encourages repetition—especially concerning O'Malley's marital problems. While his activities as an uncompromising nationalist and IRA gunman (involving imprisonment, injury, and a hunger strike) are duly described, their importance is overshadowed by the treatment lavished on his less significant exploits as a writer, traveller, and aesthete. O'Malley's corpus was limited to two books (one posthumous), and English admits that their value "lies less in the precise accuracy of their detailed historical record . . . than in their reconstruction of a Republican enthusiasm" (p. 153). Nor were his unpublished poems, inspired by William Shakespeare's sonnets and the poetry of Pearse, "sustainedly serious" works (p. 157). Dilettante and dabbler, words never used by the author, most aptly characterize O'Malley's intellectual pursuits.

The word moocher best describes his "bohemian sojourn" (p. 140) from 1925 to 1935, when he lived off family and friends (of wealth and culture) in Dublin, London, Paris, Barcelona, and the United States. In the last, he became enamoured with the Indian culture of Taos, New Mexico, and the charms of Helen Huntington Hooker, the daughter of a wealthy American businessman who shared O'Malley's artistic and romantic tastes. Their marriage in 1935 marked a turning point for O'Malley. His wife's financial, social, and cultural connections, reinforced by her sister's marriage to John D. Rockefeller III, enabled the former activist to become a man of leisure. Henceforth O'Malley's life was defined more by the intellectuals he knew (such as Samuel Beckett, Liam O'Flaherty, Louis le Brocquy, Louis MacNeice, and Hart Crane), the books he read (often by British authors), and the art works (including paintings by Jack Yeats) he collected with Helen's money. But English seems more intent on celebrating these dilettantish pursuits than explaining O'Malley's more obvious failures: to perpetuate his republican idealism or to enter the medical profession. Nowhere is O'Malley more overrated than in repeated references to his superficial involvement, with John Wayne, Maureen O'Hara, and John Ford, in filming *The Quiet Man* (1952), a quaint bit of postwar Americana. A more candid appraisal of O'Malley's later life suggests neither sagacity nor creativity but intellectual mediocrity.

By far the most important chapter, entitled "The Revolutionary," effectively integrates O'Malley's activism with his nationalist thought. English shows how his revolutionary ideas were rooted in a romantic temperament, his experience as a soldier, a Catholic political tradition, an antimaterialist mentality, and Ireland's Gaelic culture. Yet two overlapping ironies persisted. First, through his familiarity with English literature and friendship with such writers as Tory imperialist

John Buchan, O'Malley was "both Anglocentric and Anglophile" (p. 122). More seriously, he and his IRA comrades exhibited, at critical points, a Leninist tendency to subvert the will of the people for the sake of power and revolutionary idealism. "The views of the actual voters," therefore, "can be ignored if they contradict the views which the Republican elite hold to be essential to true Irishness" (p. 100). That English threats of war justified such undemocratic sentiments in 1921 is never identified by the author as a "red herring," but his analysis of O'Malley's anti-English and anti-Treaty stance goes far toward explaining the conflicting undercurrents within republican ideology. Still, much of this ground has already been explored elsewhere.

This book will no doubt appeal to those who cherish O'Malley's memory, but scholars will be less satisfied. Sometimes banal statements—for example, "De Valera was a political giant in early twentieth-century Ireland" (p. 30)—mar the text, and the life story itself, owing to its ahistorical rendering, lacks organic unity. Name dropping abounds—of authors read, artists appreciated, composers heard, and personalities cultivated. Despite straining so hard for effect, it is small wonder that English is forced to concede that O'Malley's "intellectual life was comparatively unblest by formal, institutional recognition" (p. 170).

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GEOFFREY PARKER. *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Pp. xx, 446. \$35.00.

Geoffrey Parker's book on Philip II's grand strategy was published on the fourth centenary of the Spanish monarch's death, a fitting time for scholars to reevaluate Philip's monarchy. Parker examines the overarching strategy that governed Philip's foreign policy and tries to determine why that strategy had failed so miserably by the end of Philip's reign. Parker argues that Philip faced challenges on so many fronts that he was unable to follow any comprehensive plan consistently. Still, Philip had clear goals and ambitions—such as the defense of Catholicism and the maintenance of his inheritance—that formed the core of his grand strategy.

In the first third of his book, Parker examines what he calls the "strategic culture" at the Spanish court; that is, the habits and personal foibles of Philip as well as the daily workings of his government. What emerges is a fascinating, detailed picture of Philip as a chronically overworked monarch who insisted on controlling key administrative functions and was therefore always frustrated with his inability to accomplish as much as was needed. We learn about Philip's propensity to isolate himself in order to be able to work and of his dislike of time-consuming audiences with ambassadors. Parker skillfully demonstrates that this forceful individual tried hard to manage his huge empire and

was in fact able to see quickly to many important matters. Nevertheless, Philip had serious liabilities: a faulty understanding of finances, an inability to overlook much of the minutiae of government, an insistence that his ministers receive their orders from the king himself, and a desire for perfection (and a frustration when that perfection eluded him, as it always did).

In the last two thirds of his book, Parker considers the implementation of Philip's strategic goals. Looking at Spanish attempts to retain Flanders as well as Spanish relations with England leading up to and including Philip's attempt to conquer England in 1588, Parker effectively shows the problems of executing a grand strategy. These problems included financial constraints, an inability to fight wars on several fronts, widespread foreknowledge of Spain's plans to send an armada to England, failure to coordinate properly all the logistics concerning the armada, and an inability to adapt to changing military technology. Although Parker recognizes that similar problems would have plagued any huge empire, he argues that in Philip's case, their more immediate cause lay with Philip's particular style of government and his unwavering commitment to upholding the Catholic faith.

While he succeeds in convincing his reader of the importance of Philip's character in shaping political events, Parker is less successful in other respects. Perhaps the most problematic aspect of the book is the author's attempt to draw connections between Philip and modern leaders. At frequent intervals Parker interrupts his narrative to make comparisons to, among others, Abraham Lincoln, Adolf Hitler, Winston Churchill, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. These comparisons are on the whole too cursory to be useful. At times, one even wonders about Parker's characterization of the politicians in question. For example, Lincoln, Georges Clemenceau, and Churchill are lumped together as successful "warlords" (p. 40). Do these comparisons really help us to understand Philip and his actions better? In the context of studying Philip's grand strategy, is it useful to examine challenges faced by Churchill? Were these challenges really that similar, given the realities of twentieth-century total warfare and complete national mobilization? Comparing leaders and their grand strategies over centuries can be interesting and even fun, but it is less clear how much historical insight is actually gained by such an approach.

Likewise, Parker's use of modern business management theories seems like a stretch and leads to some ahistorical analogies. Parker imagines Philip as an early modern CEO and attempts to apply twentieth-century studies of stress management to understand Philip's actions. One wishes that Parker had refrained from making these connections, which he apparently did to appeal to his stated audience of strategic analysts and devotees of the rise and fall of great empires. His more likely audience—those fascinated by Philip II—would have been satisfied with his mas-

terful analysis of Philip's policies and the reasons for their failure.

Parker's book will appeal to scholars of early modern Europe, as long as they are able to overlook the anachronistic comparisons. Parker justifies his historical parallels on the ground that by comparing Philip to other leaders, historians will recognize that many of Philip's problems were inherent in leading any global state, business, or institution and were not brought on by his incompetence. Even without these parallels, Parker has in fact made his case well by marshalling excellent material to show the frustrations of governing a sixteenth-century empire. In the process, he has drawn a convincing portrait of a talented but flawed leader.

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SUSAN VERDI WEBSTER. *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 298. \$55.00.

Few symbols of Spain are as deeply rooted in popular imagination both abroad and at home as the parades of hooded penitents of Holy Week celebrations, especially in the south. It thus comes as a surprise to find that, a wealth of local antiquarian research notwithstanding, so little is known of the precise historical development of these rituals or the penitential confraternities that carried them out. Susan Verdi Webster's welcome book focuses on the luxuriant imagery of the processions, most notably the sculpted figures carried by members of the brotherhoods. Yet the wider ritual setting also receives attention, thanks to the author's insistence on its importance for the proper understanding of a series of uniquely popular art forms devoted to recreating as literally as possible the high points of the Passion narrative. The result is an absorbing study of the interaction of ritual and image in the streets of Golden Age Seville, and one that goes a long way in illuminating the relations between lay religious experience and the production and consumption of vernacular art in the context of an early modern Spanish city.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the definitive consolidation of many of the features of Seville's present-day Holy Week festivities. While the most dramatic of these practices involved mass processions of public flagellants, even more unique was the type of sculpture carried throughout the city on elaborately decorated platforms. These figures were distinctive for at least three reasons. First, they were commissioned not by clerical authorities but by the ordinary citizens belonging to the penitential brotherhoods. Numbering over forty by the early 1600s, these associations boasted a broadly mixed membership comprising a sizable proportion (over one-half?) of the city's permanent residents. Thanks largely to their deep social roots, the confraternities successfully de-

fended their customs and institutional autonomy against the reforming aspirations of both secular and ecclesiastical superiors. The active oversight these associations exercised over the creation and upkeep of their processional images meant that few other contemporary artistic forms could claim to express as genuinely as they the devotional and aesthetic wishes of the lay masses. The figures moreover stood out for their extreme realism. The Andalusian images featured real clothing and even, on occasion, human hair, which raised more than a few eyebrows among austere reformers such as Juan de Avila and St. John of the Cross. Their open appeal to viewers to identify emotionally with the sufferings of Jesus, Mary, and the apostles brought the most pathetic moments of the biblical narrative to the streets in what was in many respects an evolving substitute for the mysteries and other popular religious theater of the Middle Ages. Finally, these statues were fully "activated" only in their ritual context. Expressly designed to be contemplated from multiple viewpoints, they were best appreciated not in their year-round stations in the confraternal chapels but rather in one climactic moment each year, when they became the moving centerpieces of a colorful and highly charged popular street theater.

Webster weds the skills of an experienced archival researcher with the sensibilities of an art historian in her enthusiastic portrayal of the historical roots of the imagery and drama of Holy Week in Seville. Her emphasis on the question of audience reaction is especially innovative, and she has searched far and wide among early modern documents and texts for contemporary expressions and descriptions of viewer responses. While her focus is strongly local—at one point she locates Toledo in northern Spain—more could have been said about the linkages between Holy Week celebrations and their importance over time in the elaboration of specific urban and regional identities, a connection that is merely hinted at on the last page. Greater effort could also have been made to relate her findings to recent work in art history on the role of mimesis in the stimulation of emotions by images, a matter of considerable importance to early modern Catholics in particular. Still, students of art, religion, and cities alike will find much of interest in this excellent book. They would do well to begin with its splendid cover, which features a detail from the "Virgin of Solitude," an extraordinarily beautiful figure from the early seventeenth century.

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ALLYSON M. POSKA. *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain*. (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, number 5.) Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV. 1998. Pp. 178.

Despite the misleading title of this book, which promises a larger perspective, Allyson M. Poska's study of the diocese of Ourense in Galicia during the seventeenth century represents an original and interesting contribution to historical scholarship. In six concise and well-researched chapters, she presents a picture of the religious life in this northwestern corner of the Iberian peninsula that seems quite different from our usual image of a fervent Catholic Spain.

The aim of the book, in Poska's words, "is to provide an understanding of the content of local religion in Ourense and to examine the attempt by the episcopate to bring it into conformity with the behavioral and spiritual program of the Catholic Reformation Church" (p. 10). The concept of "local religion," made famous by the anthropologist William A. Christian in *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (1981), is indeed an appropriate one to apply to the religious history of Ourense. A mountainous, sparsely populated, and largely rural diocese—Ourense, and Galicia in general—did not have any significant Muslim or Jewish populations. Another contrast to other regions of Spain was the relative weakness of the Inquisition, which has been the subject of Jaime Contreras's authoritative study, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Galicia, 1560–1700* (1982). The geographic and economic isolation of the diocese, together with the weakness of the institutional church, rendered the implementation of Tridentine decrees of moral and religious reform all the more difficult.

Based on a careful analysis of visitation records from a sample of twenty-six parishes and ten parish annexes (out of a total of nearly 600 parishes in the diocese), Poska argues for the strength of tradition and local custom and the ineffectiveness of Tridentine reforms. In chapter one, she examines the ecclesiastical hierarchy's not too successful attempt to impose a centralized parochial system at the expense of local sacred shrines. Chapter two discusses the disciplining of the clergy, a task viewed with little or no enthusiasm even by the ecclesiastical elites in the diocese, and whose success was hopelessly compromised by the persistently high level of illiteracy throughout the early modern period. The behavior of the people and the church's regulations constitute the subject of the third chapter. Whether in church or in the tavern, at work or at play, the laity ignored or resisted ecclesiastical censure. Although the bishops managed to reform confraternity life to a certain extent, they lacked the will or the means to discipline and transform the behavior of ordinary Christians. Significantly, visitation records (and the testimony of the informants they reflect) are silent on witchcraft, although such beliefs persisted into the twentieth century in rural Galicia. Only in naming practices did the Tridentine church achieve some success, as chapter four demonstrates the virtual disappearance of non-saint names by the end of the seventeenth century. Chapter five focuses on marriage and shows that Tridentine marital reforms were quite limited in impact, as opposed to other

dioceses in Spain or France. A relatively high rate of illegitimate births and de facto divorce reflected the persistence of communal moral norms in matters of love and sex. In spite of synodal legislations and censures, the Tridentine church played a relatively minor role in the regulation of daily life. In chapter six, Poska turns to a sample of 187 wills. In death, the laity and the church found common cause. All testators endowed requiem masses, gave charity to the poor, and invoked the Virgin Mary and the saints. Nonetheless, mourners still staged elaborate and raucous feasts after burials, much against the decorum of the Tridentine church.

The conclusion is inescapable: Gallegans stubbornly resisted the aspects of Catholic reform that conflicted with local beliefs and practices; they succeeded in large measure due to the peripheral position of the diocese. This well-researched case study offers interesting material for a comparative study, not only between Galicia and Castile but between peripheral and central regions in the world of early modern Catholicism.

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JOSÉ ANDRÉS-GALLEGO. *Burguete-Auritz: Nueve siglos de historia*. Navarra, Spain: Ayuntamiento de Burguete. 1998. Pp. 268.

A few years ago, the mayor and municipal council of Burguete, a small town in the southern slope of the western Pyrenees, decided to hire a professional historian to research and write the history of the town and its region. They did this to preserve Burguete's past and to provide a legacy to coming generations at a time when rapid change threatens to obliterate historical memory. The worthy officials did not just hire any historian; instead, they gave the task to José Andrés-Gallego, a gifted and well-known historian of nineteenth and twentieth-century Spain, and commissioned him to write a history "not as they [the citizens of Burguete] wanted it to be written, but as it truly was" (p. 5).

What a novel and exemplary concept in present-day Spain, or anywhere for that matter. As an unexpected consequence of Spain's political decentralization and the rise of autonomous regions—a most welcome development, I hasten to add, after the brutal centralism of Francisco Franco's regime—the writing of history in Spain, and the writing of local and microhistorical studies in particular, has suffered greatly. With some exceptions, devolution of power to the autonomies has produced ideologically driven mythifications of local and regional pasts, academic parochialism, and regionally restrictive academic employment practices. These developments threaten to choke broader visions of Spain's history, and most local histories have lost their comparative perspectives or no longer place local events within comprehensive regional and national contexts. In many respects, this book is a breath of fresh air, not only because Burguete's officials had the

integrity and vision to hire an outside historian with no ties to the place, but most of all because their hired historian has written a worthy example of how to do local history right.

For their efforts, Burguete's citizens have gotten a lively portrait of the town through many centuries. Andrés-Gallego's book is an engaging, detailed, and long-ranging study of the town. Beyond its unique and historically fraught position as the first town in Spain on the great pilgrimage road to Compostela from areas in northwestern Europe, and its earlier incarnation as Roncesvalles (the site of Count Roland's heroic death in the early twelfth-century *Chanson*), Burguete has had little claim to fame. This book is most remarkable for what it does with the scattered and fragmented records of the town's history.

With an exhaustive and intelligent deployment of the extant documentation—gathered far and wide throughout Navarre—from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century, Andrés-Gallego begins with a long explanation of the town's successive names: Roncesvalles, *El Burguete*, *Burguete*, *Burguete-Auritz*. This is followed by a wide sweep of history, insights into important events, and thoughtful references to, and comparisons with, other towns in the region. We meet, in rapid succession, Burguete's citizens (everyone who in some manner or other made it to the written records), pilgrims trekking across the Pyrenees, merchants passing through and hawking their wares. We also hear the ebb and flow of Castilian and Basque, the languages spoken in Burguete. Andrés-Gallego's clear and colloquial style brings to life a number of *tableaux vivants*, drawn faithfully from primary sources, of the town's life and people.

Chapter two examines Burguete's harsh geographical and climatic context. From a comparative perspective, it also explores the economic structure of the town and how it was slowly transformed through more than nine centuries of political, economic, and social change. Andrés-Gallego is not reluctant to note how small the town was, and how insignificant, except for location. The next chapter turns to the slow formation of Burguete's administrative and juridical framework from the thirteenth century onwards. Special attention is given to frequent conflicts over territorial boundaries and rights with surrounding communities, and, above all, to the municipal council's uneven and often antagonistic relations with the ecclesiastical authorities at the hospital of Roncesvalles (the main religious institution at the mountain pass, which had retained its original name).

The concluding chapter examines the issues of disputed jurisdictions from a different perspective. Instead of focusing on conflict, Andrés-Gallego shows how various struggles over the municipality's hinterland were resolved through peaceful litigation and arbitration, through negotiations and alliances. He also shows how the sense of identity of Burguete's citizens shifted from local allegiances to regional and national ones. In the nineteenth century, a Spanish

national identity began to flourish, but it was closely intertwined and at times in conflict with a Basque identity. Language, customs, the Carlist wars of the nineteenth century, and religion: all serve as context for Burguete's internal politics and for the binding of its citizens into a community. Analyses of types of houses, family organizations, and other significant social aspects are included as well in this rather lengthy chapter. The town endured the enormous social and economic transformations brought on by the Republican confiscation of ecclesiastical property in the nineteenth century. In the end, Burguete emerged into the twentieth century having preserved many of its sustaining traditions and its sense of self.

This is a delightful and impressive book. It serves as a model to Spanish local historians who are deeply mired in microhistorical analysis but without a lifeline to wider contexts. It shows how a good historian, even with a limited subject, can examine change over the *longue durée* by drawing on the widest possible canvas. As such, this book will be of interest not just to Hispanists but to historians everywhere.

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MONTSERRAT CARBONELL I ESTELLER. *Sobreviure a Barcelona: Dones, pobresa i assistència al segle XVIII*. (Referències, number 20.) Vich, Spain: Eumo. 1997. Pp. 207.

This monograph is a fine contribution to the history of poverty and welfare in the eighteenth century. Montserrat Carbonell i Esteller rightly insists that the study of poverty "from below" is central to the understanding of the early modern period. She examines the experience of destitute women who, in swelling numbers in the late eighteenth century, frequented the Barcelona poorhouse (Casa de Misericòrdia) or used the services of the city's state-sponsored pawnshop (Mont de Pietat). She discovers and documents "the diversity of [survival] strategies used by working-class families, and individuals to adapt to the changes brought about by the beginning of [Catalan] industrialization" (p. 19).

Carbonell places official Catalan welfare policies of the early modern period in a general European context: rationalization and secularization of charitable establishments, institutionization of the urban unemployed, classification of the poor according to virtue, and their reform through labor. The seventeenth-century *arbitristas* had argued that the proliferation of beggars was one of the major reasons for the decadence of Spain. By the eighteenth century, the Barcelona poorhouse emerged as the key urban welfare institution and acted as a place of transition, helping to integrate immigrants into the city by placing them as textile workers and servants. Its expansion after 1772 permitted it to intern massive numbers of beggars. If the Great Confinement explored by Michel Foucault

and others took place later in Spain than in other European countries, the motive for it was largely the same: to strike fear in the hearts of the jobless so that they would work. Both church and state helped finance institutions designed to render the poor useful to society. Gradually, though, in the second half of the eighteenth century, sources of funding from the monarchy and proceeds from inmates' labor began to outweigh more traditional charity. The church no longer guaranteed the welfare of the poor.

During the last half of the eighteenth century, discipline inside the poorhouse became more rigid and maybe even more religious. The authorities perpetuated gender differences. Men and women were assigned to different institutions, where both prayed at least two hours daily. Both were forced to work at tasks defined by the traditional sexual division of labor. The poorhouse became the guardian of female honor, and outside visitors were limited. Women were increasingly restricted and found it more difficult than previously to leave the institution to attend, for example, processions and funerals. Intensifying repression accompanied feminization of institutions. Women were classified according to "virtue," and those found lacking were separated from children. Entrances and exits were strictly controlled, dining hours and dress code seriously enforced. No longer could inmates cook and eat in their rooms. Yet internees resisted and defied controls by, for example, continuing to steal and traffic in food and clothing. Much more than females, who were subjected to greater social and institutional control, males escaped and then returned surreptitiously to their rooms.

Food crises, rural exploitation, and the difficulties of the Barcelona textile industry augmented the numbers of the impoverished at the end of the century. At the same time, the material conditions of inmates deteriorated. Females in particular became less integrated into the labor market. Increasing numbers came from families whose males had been forcibly conscripted into the military; a textile industry in crisis obligated others to seek aid. As immigration into the city expanded, so did the numbers of the assisted poor. Many were either young single women or older widows. The latter adopted a variety of survival strategies, including occasional wage labor and begging. They usually stayed longer than young women, who became independent relatively quickly. The author demonstrates the strength, practicality, and flexibility of family networks. Poor families would lodge their young children in the poorhouse temporarily and then retrieve them when finances improved. She also explores how the indigent cleverly and intelligently used the pawnshop as a survival mechanism. Those interested in Catalan migration patterns can find useful maps that show the geographical origins of poorhouse women who emigrated from the provinces to the city.

A few minor flaws—typos, several missing footnotes, and some repetition—slightly mar Carbonell's solid contribution. More significantly, the author downplays

the exploitation of the poor by their own family members. Nor does she discuss the "vices," such as drinking and smoking, of the indigent. She quickly dismisses as a "stereotype" (p. 57) the urban beggar who refused work. Although the author places Catalan welfare policies and institutions in a European context, she might have made a greater effort to explore the particularities of the Barcelona system, especially its decentralized nature and the comparatively powerful influence of the church. These reservations notwithstanding, this is a rich, creative, and sophisticated book.

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REBECCA HAIDT. *Embodying Enlightenment: Knowing the Body in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Literature and Culture*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xi, 279. \$45.00.

Competing with France and England's turbulent histories, and lacking the more profound engagement that characterized the philosophical movements of these and other European countries, Spain's eighteenth century scarcely receives a nod in literature and history courses, most of which jump from the early modern period to the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rebecca Haidt's book aims to end this unwarranted neglect: in a riveting and intellectually astute move, she initiates the reader into eighteenth-century Spanish culture by means of its fascination with the body. Borrowing judiciously from Michel Foucault (but also Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler, and Marcel Mauss), Haidt traces the complex changes in the conceptualization of the body—physiological and social—from Scholasticism to the debates generated by novel empirical thought that relied on a reappraisal of classical epistemology. She surveys numerous authors of the Spanish Enlightenment, from the erudite friar Benito Feijoo to the polymath Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, and such heterogeneous sources as medical treatises, legal documents, plays, popular songs, portraits, and pornographic poems to demonstrate how the body came to be gendered, ordered, and socialized in the century.

Chapter one argues that the changing nomenclature of medical terminology, the "naming of the body," signifies a difference in its "knowing." The conflict as to whether anatomical treatises should be in Latin or the vernacular reflected these differing attitudes. The early eighteenth century reinstituted the classical debates between dogmatism, which supported written authority, and empiricism, which gave priority to observation and experimentation. Haidt explains that although Feijoo, along with other *ilustrados*, or enlightened thinkers, promoted experimentation based on observation and experience, he rejected systematic explanations, holding to the view that knowledge of oneself was superior to medical knowledge, since

bodily experience was inaccessible to scientific language.

Feijoo's insights on the importance of individual experience ultimately led to a sensualist terminology accounting for the body's role in intuitive self-awareness. Chapter two directs these insights toward pleasure and desire. The erotic poetry composed and circulated by *ilustrados* such as Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, Juan Meléndez Valdés, and Félix María Samaniego, as well as Francisco Goya's *Maja desnuda*, although meant for private consumption, presented a means of thinking about the body. For Haidt, the eroticization of the (female) body through the poetic and visual reproduction of the (male) gaze not merely encodes the "Enlightenment's privileging of the senses in experience of the world," it offers a "strategy for the production of knowledge about the carnal body" (p. 65). Haidt's forthright analyses of even the lowliest poems fully demonstrate how well she apprehends their serious intent. Without camouflaging their blatant sexual pose, she shows that the poetry performs a double strategy in that it both transmits information (on the physiology of sex) and appeals to the (male) reader's sensuality by stimulating his arousal. Her discussion raises the question of whether women could have an active role in the production of knowledge. Since this pornography was written by men for a male audience, the gaze, and the knowledge derived therefrom, rebound only to male benefit. Although Haidt cautions that hers is not a history of "the material conditions determining 'male' or 'female' experiences of bodies" (p. 8), her arguments help also to explain why there were even fewer women writers during the Enlightenment than during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

Chapter three, on the *petimetre*, or fop, examines how the unstable masculine body acquires difference through physiognominal comparisons to foreigners, women, and animals. Haidt notes that the deviant figure's androgyne body functions antithetically to promote socially acceptable "manly" behavior and to maintain national pride. In contrasting the *petimetre* to the gentlemen protagonists of José Cadalso's epistolary novel, *Cartas marruecas* (Moroccan Letters; 1789), chapter four observes that the correspondents' exchange on moderation versus uncontrolled bodily gestures served as a guide to masculine virtue. For Haidt, this discourse of "virtuous friendship"—a topic also reclaimed from classical philosophy—results in a reasoned self that questions patriotism and advocates national reform.

Haidt uncovers the social purposes of eighteenth-century Spain's sharply masculine bent, even—or especially—in light of the anxieties raised by the *petimetre*. Knowledge of the body, through medical language, was determined by male practitioners. Pornography, visual and verbal, both expressed and contained a distinctively masculine desire. And, as the Aristotelian concept of friendship excluded women, Spanish views on the greatness of the soul were limited to men, who

shared in a brotherhood of virtue across national boundaries. Among its many strikingly original insights, this engrossing book discloses how, at every turn, the body gendered male is privileged, performed, and displayed through the institutionalized rationality of the Enlightenment.

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ANGELES EGIDO LEÓN. *Manuel Azaña: Entre el mito y la leyenda*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. 1998. Pp. 469.

Biography was not a genre that prospered in Spain under the Franco dictatorship or even in the first years of the democratic regime. The exceptions were all written by men whose greatest moments had come during the 1930s: Salvador de Madariaga on Christopher Columbus or Hernán Cortés, Gregorio Marañón on the Duke of Olivares, Jesús Pabón on Frances Cambó. There were many sprawling hagiographies of Francisco Franco and other Nationalist generals but little else that was worthy of the title biography. In the second half of the 1990s, that situation changed dramatically, although large numbers of important politicians remain unknown. The change reflected a curious symmetry: the earlier biographies of Franco came to be balanced by books about Manuel Azaña. Although still relatively unknown outside the Hispanic world, Azaña was probably the most crucial figure of twentieth-century Spain after Franco himself. He was prime minister and minister of war in the first reforming two years of the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1933), architect of the Popular Front in 1935, led the government again after the elections of February 1936, and became president of the republic on the eve of the Civil War.

The fact that Azaña should be the principal beneficiary of a new age of Spanish political biography is not just a reflection of his own political importance. It is also the consequence of the fact that he left behind him a huge quantity of autobiographical materials. His letters, speeches, and diaries, full of personal detail and mordant observation and written in the most crystalline prose, are a temptation to any would-be biographer. Moreover, there also exists the magnificent personal memoir written by his closest friend and brother-in-law, Cipriano de Rivas Cherif, *Retrato de un desconocido: Vida de Manuel Azaña (seguido por el epistolario de Manuel Azaña con Cipriano de Rivas Cherif de 1921 a 1937)* (1980). These riches have already been plundered to great effect by Santos Juliá (*Manuel Azaña, una biografía política: Del Ateneo al Palacio Nacional* [1990]), José María Marco (*Manuel Azaña. Una biografía* [1998]), and editors Alicia Alted, Angeles Egido, and María Fernanda Mancebo (*Manuel Azaña: Pensamiento y acción* [1996]), among many others.

In such a context, it has to be asked whether there is

a need for a new biography. The competition is not without its deficiencies. Marco's highly readable work is undermined by its sparse scholarly apparatus. Juliá's book, a dense and implacably intelligent analysis of Azaña's multiple roles during the Second Spanish Republic, ends suddenly with his election to the presidency in the spring of 1936. Even the essential work of Cipriano Rivas needs to be collated with the colossal mass of material on Azaña that has been made available since it was written (in a Francoist prison) in the early 1940s. Accordingly, Angeles Egido León's splendid book is to be welcomed most warmly as a sensitively written and comprehensive summary of the present state of knowledge about Azaña. It is based on the extant bibliography and on recently discovered material; indeed, one of its most fascinating chapters is a historiographical survey of the evolution of writing about Azaña.

Egido writes as an admirer but is punctiliously objective in her exposition of Azaña's vocation of "reorganizing the future for the Spaniards." With sensitivity and common sense, she dismantles the many myths about his cowardice, as she does claims that he had a homosexual relationship with his friend Cipriano Rivas. She stresses the complementary nature of their friendship—Azaña older, austere, taciturn; Rivas younger, extravagant, talkative—and above all the fact that the Rivas family gave Azaña what he had never had: a warm family atmosphere. Her account of his courtship of Cipriano's younger sister Dolores, twenty-four years his junior, is particularly delicate, showing how he won her with humor, tenderness, and nobility. The grumpy Azaña of legend is seen disguised as a cardinal courting Lola in 1928. Egido also provides considerable nuance for the widely held view of Azaña as a misogynist. Madariaga said that "he liked to keep people as far away as was compatible with being able to talk to them." He usually said what he thought, and his inability, or refusal, to tolerate fools made him seem cold and arrogant.

Egido traces Azaña's passage from the relative obscurity of the Madrid political debating club, the Ateneo, to the big stage of national politics. With some acute observations, she outlines the problems of a fifty-year-old man renowned for his bookish habits and his indolence who was suddenly thrust into major responsibilities. A burst of titanic energy took him from obscurity to the ministry of war in April 1931, to the premiership in October 1931, to the presidency of the republic in the spring of 1936. The reforming achievements of 1931–1933—the new constitution, human rights, the vote for women, divorce, military reforms, the disestablishment of the church, the Catalan autonomy statute, enlightened labor legislation, and agrarian reform—were considerable and owe much to the astonishing effort of will and oratory by which Azaña imposed his vision on the Cortes. Egido provides a magisterial account of the way he dealt with the military coup of August 10, 1932, demonstrating coolness before and clemency after. As a distinguished

historian of international relations, she also astutely reexamines his commitment to foreign policy and deals a deathblow to the old commonplace that the Spanish Republic had no foreign policy. Madariaga spread that idea, together with the accusation that Azaña's mis-handling of Edouard Herriot's visit to Spain in November 1932 accounted for French failure to aid the Spanish Republic in 1936. Egido's lucid and meticulous analysis proves that Azaña's alleged discourtesy was no more than a fidelity to the neutrality enshrined in the Spanish constitution.

There are few aspects of Azaña's career that are not illuminated by this book. Although there remains much to be said, Egido's account of Azaña's mysterious introversion in the prelude to the military uprising and during the Civil War fills an important gap in the historiography. He returned to power after the elections of February 1936 determined to consolidate the republic against the extremisms of right and left. He hoped to form a tandem government with the moderate Socialist Indalecio Prieto to give the republic firm rule and so head off military conspiracy. Azaña would abandon the cabinet in order to take over the presidency; Prieto was to take over as prime minister but was prevented from doing so by the opposition of the leader of the Socialist Left, Francisco Largo Caballero. The result hastened the descent into civil war. A shrewd and strong prime minister, Azaña was lost, and, to make matters worse, after assuming the presidency he increasingly withdrew from everyday politics. This withdrawal was to have tragic consequences. To be sure, the image of the prisoner in the gilded cage of the presidency, unheard by his own government, was built in large part on the sad writings of the president himself. Nevertheless, Egido constructs a richly delineated account of Azaña during the Spanish Civil War. In contrast to the Nationalists' determination to restore the old regime in social, religious, and political matters, Azaña represented modernity and the European Spain of the future.

Azaña's tragedy was that his vision was too coldly rational for both a right determined to defend the old order and an extreme left that wanted revolution. Thus, he saw "his" republic of order and democratic coexistence attacked from without by the army and from within by the anarchists. The inner tragedy is well captured by Egido, who portrays an Azaña plunged into private grief and despair while publicly fulfilling his duty as president of a republic in its death throes. Despite a conviction of inevitable defeat, he stayed on, as he put it in a letter to a friend, "out of a sense of duty to a just cause, out of respect for those who gave their lives for that cause, and in order to be ready should the occasion arise to end the tragedy in less disastrous circumstances" (pp. 363–364). Egido is especially to be praised for her meticulous reconstruction of his various efforts at setting up international mediation. This is a lucid guidebook to Azaña's tragic

failure to modernize Spain. It is an enormous pity that the publishers did not permit a detailed index.

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BERNARD QUILLIET. *La France du beau XVI^e siècle (1490–1560)*. Paris: Fayard. 1998. Pp. 683. 198 fr.

Bernard Quilliet is the author of numerous political and military histories, including biographies of Louis XII, Christina of Sweden, and William the Silent, and he has won many awards from the Académie française. His new book provides a lengthy overview of the social, political, and economic history of sixteenth-century France.

The title of this work should give historians pause, in view of recent French historiography. Quilliet considers the seventy-year period from 1490 to 1560 to be one of marked improvement in social and economic life, at least by comparison with the 200 years before and forty years after. But scholars familiar with Denis Crouzet's depiction of a society in the grip of eschatological anguish may mistakenly assume that this book takes on such recent historical interpretations. Others may assume that the book deals with the cultural flowering of the French Renaissance under King Francis I. It does neither.

In his introduction, Quilliet comments that "eventful periods, times full of tension, crises, violence, and overt conflict always find more success among historians than what we would call 'flat periods'" (p. 7). Such a statement applied to the first half of the sixteenth century comes as a shock to this religious historian. While the Reformation may not have achieved the same "success" in France as it did in Germany or Switzerland, can we call a period of such dramatic change flat? Similarly, can the period that art historian André Chastel calls "one of the most lively, inventive, and delightful in all of French architecture" (*French Art: The Renaissance, 1430–1620* [1995], p. 138) be termed dull? A period in which Rabelais wrote some of the most imaginative pieces of world literature? The answer is quite simple: Quilliet is not interested in religion or culture. In a book that is nearly 700 pages long, sixteen pages are devoted to religion and twenty-five to culture. For culture, Quilliet's reasons are justifiable; the culture of the French Renaissance had virtually no impact on ninety-five percent of the population. But the beginnings of reform, the clash with Catholic orthodoxy, and the implantation of Calvinist churches in France affected quite a large proportion of the French people.

Quilliet comments that the period from 1490 to 1560 is "one of the most ignored in our historiography" (p. 8). That may once have been true, at least in France, but the work of Crouzet, whom Quilliet mentions but does not use, has altered the picture. Whether or not one agrees with Crouzet, his views have definitively changed early sixteenth-century French historiography. Yet nowhere in this long book does Quilliet

explore Crouzet's vision of a culture consumed by visions of the end of time. The chapters on religion and culture appear to be an afterthought. The forty-one pages devoted to these subjects are often simply lists of church and chateau renovations, and a paragraph or two on such events as the Affair of the Placards. Many of the notes for the chapter on religion cite references that date from the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Quilliet ignores most recent North American scholarship on early sixteenth-century France, which is substantial. It is incomprehensible that he does not cite the work of Frederic Baumgartner, Mack Holt, and James Farge, among others.

Quilliet's work exemplifies the *longue durée* approach to social, economic, and political history characteristic of the 1960s and 1970s, even though he focuses (with considerable detail) on a seventy-year period. He also incorporates some of the recent work on daily life and culture by Alain Croix and others, including brief forays into hygiene and sexuality. He asserts (quite correctly) that for a large segment of the French population, these seven decades were *relatively* good, at least from the standpoint of climate, nutrition, and freedom from outside invasion. They were certainly an improvement over the centuries of plague and warfare that preceded them. Yet Quilliet admits that there were already, in these years, signs of the social and economic pressures to come that cast a somber glow over the time. In this respect, his failure to discuss religious *mentalités* and actions undercuts the entire work.

It is difficult to say for whom this book will be useful. Although it provides a solid picture of socioeconomic life, the lack of attention to recent serious scholarship on cultural and religious history limits its usefulness. English-speaking students of sixteenth-century France can find most of this information in the works of R. J. Knecht, David Potter, and Baumgartner. The general French reader may find the work too detailed, and French graduate students and scholars will need to engage with the more recent historiography.

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NORMAN HAMPSON. *The Perfidy of Albion: French Perceptions of England during the French Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xiii, 181. \$59.95.

That many Frenchmen and Englishmen regarded each other as hereditary enemies throughout much of the eighteenth century is conventional wisdom among most historians of Western Europe. There were men among Louis XV's and Louis XVI's ministers who accepted English enmity as a given in any political decision. Some French ministers, however, did not. Some honestly thought that Great Britain could be converted into a friend and ally. Outside official circles, there were also those who nurtured pro-British views. Philosophes in France admired British constitutional checks on censorship and political authority.

Adam Smith was known in France as well as Great Britain. The French court postured, horse-raced, and gambled its way through the fad of Anglomania. Englishmen such as William Petty, Earl of Shelbourne, Richard Price, and Joseph Priestley enjoyed close and trusting relations with individual Frenchmen. When James Cook explored the southern seas, the French navy was instructed to provide him with any assistance he needed if French naval ships encountered him, even in wartime. Generally, military officers of each country regarded themselves as belonging to the same fellowship of gentlemen, and they treated each other accordingly. Thus, when the French Revolution appeared on the European stage, more than one alternative avenue was available for the evolution of Franco-British understanding.

In the early days of the revolution, Norman Hampson says, French political leaders, while usually still skeptical of the trustworthiness of Englishmen, often looked to British models for examples to imitate, modify, or avoid in order to solve some of the practical problems facing them in shaping their own "New France." As Jacques Necker wrote later, although the French eventually gave up the option, "The British government was there to serve as an example to the Constituent Assembly" (p. 65). At the same time, counter-revolutionary Royalists counted on their friends in England to intervene and restore absolutism. Other revolutionaries reasoned that no matter how corrupt or hostile the English ruling class, the English people would never allow its government to harm the revolution.

British opinion, according to Hampson, was almost unanimous in welcoming the early events of the French Revolution. Many Englishmen saw the revolution as an attempt by Frenchmen to develop a constitutional system on the English model and were flattered. The Foreign Office saw it as immobilizing French influence in foreign affairs and therefore had no desire to interfere. Only Edmund Burke reacted immediately with a hostility that grew more extreme as the revolution developed. In fact, Burke's violent tirades against the French throughout the revolution are matched only by the excessive rhetoric of the French *enragés*.

The turning point in English-French perceptions of each other was the prison massacres in September of 1792. These bloody killings ended all possibility that France and Great Britain would be brought closer together by the revolution. From the beginning, some French radicals had believed that the British government was working behind the scenes to provoke acts of sabotage in France and to set revolutionaries one against the other. By the end of 1792, nearly every revolutionary, regardless of his affiliation, was convinced that British agents were everywhere spreading dissent, sabotaging, and spying. William Pitt was blamed and became a demon in the eyes of Frenchmen. At first, it was believed that it was only the British government that was hostile; now Frenchmen were

convinced that it was the entire British population. "[A]n inadequate degree of intensity in one's hatred for the British had come to be equated with a lack of republican *vertu*" (p. 133).

Because the title of the book inspires only modest expectations, on first sight the potential reader is apt to ask: is this one more book compressing French public opinion and politics under one or two umbrella themes or "cultures"? But Hampson promptly puts that reaction to rest in his introduction. Although such simplistic approaches, he maintains, give the reader the "exhilarating impression" that he or she understands the essentials, "what actually happened [in history] was much more complicated, more interesting and less predictable" (p.x). Hampson readily admits that he is not always certain about what *did* actually happen, but he assumes that his story concerns a variety of perceptions somehow related to events (rather than to a controlling, self-generating "culture"). These perceptions were grounded in wars, political and personal conflicts, financial corruption, economic hard times, and commercial rivalries. From this starting point, Hampson guides the reader through a familiar period of French history, offering fresh insights, new blends of evidence and interpretation, and a narrative that frequently sparkles with wry humor.

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PIERRE DARMON. *L'Homme et les microbes, XVIIe-XXe siècle*. Paris: Fayard. 1999. Pp. 592. 170.00 fr.

This lively book by Pierre Darmon departs from ordinary academic patterns of history writing. The book divides into three contrasting parts. The first hundred pages deal with what Darmon calls the "pre-history of microbiology," beginning with the invention of the microscope and Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's truly remarkable discoveries between 1674 and 1723. But the medical profession was not impressed, holding fast to established theories of disease. For a century and a half, the minute forms of life that the microscope made visible remained mere curiosities, although they figured in controversies over the spontaneous generation of life and the role of sperm in procreation. This part of Darmon's book is a sample of internalist history of science, attaching otherwise meaningless names to hastily summarized ideas in confused competition with one another.

But his story comes to life with "La révolution Pasteurienne, 1875-1879," followed by "L'essor de la microbiologie, 1880-1920." Louis Pasteur is indeed a hero for Darmon, a man devoted to the experimental discovery of truth, generous to his assistants and colleagues, and a French patriot whose triumphs over German rivals made him into a national monument long before his death in 1895. Darmon seeks to modify Pasteur's legend by giving due credit to his assistants

and associates. But his account of how Dr. Robert Koch announced that he had discovered a cure for tuberculosis in 1890 and then, five months later, after disastrous experiments on patients, had to retract his claim (pp. 269–280) reaffirms, or seems to reaffirm, Pasteur's moral and scientific superiority to his German rival.

In this section of the book, Darmon also departs from an internalist intellectual history of science by arguing that the initial clash between the medical establishment and Pasteur's microbiologists reflected sociological as well as intellectual differences. Accordingly, he points out that Pasteur and his associates were of humble social origin, hands-on experimentalists, and eager to entertain new ideas, whereas the medical profession was dominated by men of solid bourgeois background for whom established theories and longstanding cures were preferable to anything microscopes might seem to show.

Darmon's next chapters deal with public efforts to escape the newly apparent risks of infection that microbiologists had made apparent between 1880 and 1920. He takes up water management, air purification, and campaigns against living and inanimate carriers of infection. This section of the book reverts to hasty, often amusing, accounts of diverse ideas and projects for minimizing human exposure to infectious microbes, such as a proposal for attaching baskets to horse harnesses to catch manure before it hit the ground (p. 423) or the problems of dirty money (p. 474) and infectious telephones (p. 507). Still, Darmon shows how pervasively sanitary campaigns altered everyday urban life in France and other Western countries.

The book concludes with a brief epilogue about the triumphs of antibiotics beginning in 1943 and recent setbacks to the short-lived hope of emancipating humankind permanently from lethal infections.

Overall, Darmon's view of his subject is deeply and profoundly French. Walter Reed does not appear as the conqueror of yellow fever, for example, and Darmon rather snidely remarks that although Alexander Fleming is publically credited with the discovery of penicillin, "one hardly knows why," whereas René Dubos, "the father of the first antibiotic remains the great forgotten of history" (p. 516). To be sure, nationalistic blinkers are normal among historians, but Darmon's book is a conspicuous example of the genre, and it reminds me of the cartoon that portrays a New Yorker's map of the United States by showing Manhattan as large as the rest of the country. For Darmon, Paris and Pasteur dominate the history of microbiology. English-speaking scientists (and historians) attract minimal attention, while Germans (and Japanese, who claim equal right with one of Pasteur's associates, Alexandre Yersin, to the decipherment of bubonic plague in 1896) figure mainly as discredited rivals.

This style of scholarship has its pitfalls. For example, relying on old and now outmoded authorities, Darmon affirms that yellow fever existed in America when

Columbus arrived in Santo Domingo and started to "conquer the world" by spreading across the Atlantic toward the end of the seventeenth century (pp. 320–21). This error was corrected long ago by Henry Rose Carter's *Yellow Fever: An Epidemiological and Historical Study of Its Place of Origin* [1931]), which showed that the virus was endemic among African monkeys and only reached the New World in 1648.

Nonetheless, Darmon's information is usually accurate, so far as I can tell, and his account of the rapidity, recency, and radical adaptations of human behavior provoked by the rise of microbiology is colorful, convincing, and refreshing for a reader accustomed to the Anglo-American tradition of medical and historical learning.

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PATRICE DEBRÉ. *Louis Pasteur*. Translated by ELBORG FORSTER. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. xxv, 552. \$39.95.

Honoré de Balzac and Gustave Flaubert would have loved this book, which tells a wonderful story of a young man from the provinces and his struggles to succeed in the cauldron of Paris. American historians, especially historians of science, may lament Patrice Debré's lack of interest in the social construction of science and his willingness to center his account around the person and exploits of Louis Pasteur. Certainly, Debré's biography of Pasteur does not belong to the genre that tries to knock great men off their pedestals. But while Debré is much more approving of Pasteur than Gerald L. Geison (*The Private Science of Louis Pasteur* [1995]), his book is not hagiography.

Born in 1822 to an eastern French family of tanners, Pasteur went to Paris in 1838 for schooling but, saddened by loneliness, returned home. Painting provided a sort of therapy for a year, and then he set off to Besançon for more studies to pursue his goal of entrance to the prestigious École normale supérieure, a goal he achieved in 1843. Debré depicts the struggles and worries of Parisian student life vividly. Immersing himself in the field of crystallography, Pasteur came to the attention of Jean-Baptiste Biot, who in 1848 praised the young scientist's work to the Académie des sciences.

With no suitable positions available in Paris, Pasteur taught in the provinces, making a suitable (and advantageous) marriage to the daughter of the rector of the University of Strasbourg. The Strasbourg appointment was followed by one at Lille, where Pasteur combined his academic chemical inquiries with practical assistance to Lille agricultural interests. From this consulting work came his discoveries about fermentation. Pasteur's use of the microscope to address the problem of beet root alcohol spoilage was unusual for the time. Debré, a scientist himself (he is the chief of the

biological immunology laboratory at the Pitié-Salpêtrière hospital in Paris and directs a research unit associated with the French National Center for Scientific Research), goes into great detail about Pasteur's scientific endeavors. But he also furnishes lively material on Pasteur's foray into academic administration under the Second Empire. No friend of student protest, Pasteur came down hard on dissenting students and their ally, the critic Sainte-Beuve.

The Pasteur who emerges from this book is a hard-working, sometimes stubborn scientist. His contributions to the debate on spontaneous generation, aseptic surgery, and the diseases of wine are all described in considerable detail. Throughout, Debré emphasizes Pasteur's dedication to France and the empire and his patriotic aversion to Germany.

Debré views Pasteur as a valiant pathbreaker in the study of disease, a person in some way favored by fate. ("There was something of Christopher Columbus in Pasteur: the same obstinacy, the longing for distant shores, the endeavor to join different universes, the exploitation of new resources" [pp. 359–60].) Debré sees Pasteur's linking of fermentation and contagion as key to establishing microbial theory. Although Pasteur identified specific disease-causing organisms (he showed that streptococcus was the agent of puerperal fever), he "was much more interested in the functioning of microbes than in their precise analysis" (p. 345).

From this interest followed Pasteur's work in the production of vaccines. The story of the development of a vaccine for anthrax and its dramatic testing in a field at Pouilly-le-Fort in 1881 is told vividly. Debré refers to the parallel efforts of Jean-Joseph-Henri Toussaint but is less interested than Geison in showing that Pasteur drew improperly on Toussaint's work. Similarly, Debré tells the rabies story, emphasizing both the scientific and dramatic aspects (researchers working with rabid dogs kept a loaded rifle in case one of them was bitten when handling the dogs). Debré answers Geison's concerns about early use of the rabies vaccine by pointing out that the horrific aspects of a rabies death made Pasteur act aggressively with all dog bites.

The creation of a group of disciples around Pasteur (Adrien Lenoir, Albert Calmette, Charles Nicolle, Alexandre Yersin, even the reluctant Émile Roux) is well described, as is the creation of the Pasteur Institute and its overseas branches.

In sum, this study presents Louis Pasteur and the world of nineteenth-century Parisian science in a thorough and approving fashion. Had Balzac written it, it might have contained more musings about the arcane aspects of the life of the people and the streets. Debré, by linking the world of a particularly successful provincial striver with the world of Parisian science, has produced a work that should be useful for students of nineteenth-century France.

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ANDREW R. AISENBERG. *Contagion: Disease, Government, and the "Social Question" in Nineteenth-Century France*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 238. \$45.00.

The history of contagion has often been written with reference to political discourse and ideology. Particularly in relation to pre-Pasteurian times, historians have demonstrated that sociopolitical interests were central to the construction of the medico-scientific theories and practices elaborated around infectious diseases. In part, Andrew R. Aisenberg's study is an extension of these insights to nineteenth-century France. He historicizes the political origins of this historiography, revealing how the advocates of Pasteur construed their predecessors' deliberations on contagion as "political" rather than "scientific." Why they did so, according to Aisenberg, hinges on their perception of the earlier discourse as enabling social reform only through state regulations that would impinge the rights of individuals. The Pasteurians, on the other hand, saw "social duties" in relation to the control of disease within a framework of political rights. Their science, they maintained, was rooted in human reason, which made possible political rights. Thus their "scientific" discourse on contagion articulated better with republican views of liberty.

Aisenberg's concern is not with the Pasteurians' construction of the science/politics divide but, rather, with the unquestioning acceptance by historians of the terms in which the advocates of Pasteur understood the earlier articulations of contagion. The regulation of contagion in the Third Republic, he submits, was defined by characteristics that are effaced by the acceptance of the Pasteurian rhetoric; only by entering into the earlier discourse can we understand how contagion came to preoccupy government in the Third Republic and came to define a social interest that transformed the lives of free individuals in intimate ways. Moreover, it is only by this route that we can comprehend why the control of contagion found its ideal instrument not in French law but in police regulation, and why the regulation of contagion defined the family and the home as the locus of state intervention. In the elucidation of these and other features, Aisenberg enters into an analysis of the discourses on contagion in nineteenth-century France that takes us from the writings of Louis-René Villermé and later hygienists to police reports in a sample of Parisian neighborhoods. The novelty (particularly of the latter) together with the depth and nuance of Aisenberg's analysis, and his objective to understand the discursive operations of science that "constituted the possibilities of government in a free social order through a knowledge of the moral and social capacities of the 'individual'" (p. 6), distinguish his work from all that has previously been written on the history of contagion.

Overall, Aisenberg succeeds in his task. He more than proves his case for the need to return to the

earlier part of the century in order to make historical sense of the understandings that came later. And he also proves, if proof be needed, that the fear of contagion in nineteenth-century France and its metaphorical expressions were central to the articulation and implementation of social policy. Yet this book is difficult to recommend. Unlike related historical studies, such as those on cholera by Richard Evans and Charles Rosenberg (or even that by François Delaporte, whose Parisian focus and Foucauldian approach overlap with Aisenberg's), this study is so closed in on itself as to be virtually inaccessible to the general reader. Its appreciation demands enormous prior knowledge, not only of the history of public health in nineteenth-century France but also of French social, political, and intellectual history. A part of the problem is that Aisenberg provides too few historiographical signposts. Even from the endnotes, where the relevant work of Bruno Latour, Gerald Geison, and others is cited, it is not always clear where Aisenberg begs to differ or to what extent. One would never guess, from text or notes, that there exists a substantial body of literature on the social history of public health in nineteenth-century France, and that Aisenberg is in fact challenging some of its central assumptions: not least, the notion that French public health protagonists lacked connection with wider social movements and bodies of social discourse. Aisenberg's Foucauldian interest in discursive practices and formations places heavy demands upon his reader. Admittedly, the intellectual task he sets himself is arduous, but his discursive style frequently obscures the very discursiveness and social complexity that he seeks historically to illuminate. Over-long sentences bearing multiple ideas do not help. The signs of a poorly edited, revised doctoral dissertation are all too apparent. This is unfortunate, for Aisenberg's insights into the origins and nature of social regulation in France, and into the political construction and function of medico-scientific discourses on disease merit the close attention of the widest possible audience.

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HERRICK CHAPMAN, MARK KESSELMAN, and MARTIN A. SCHAIN, editors. *A Century of Organized Labor in France: A Union Movement for the Twenty-First Century?* New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xi, 260. \$49.95.

This is an ambitious, interesting, and on the whole successful collection deriving from a conference on the centennial of the Confédération générale du travail (CGT) in 1895. The book mixes essays by American and French experts, by historians and representatives of other social science disciplines, by academics and trade union practitioners. (Although AFL-CIO representatives attended the conference, they contributed no papers to the volume.) Collectively, the essays deal with French trade unionism generally, with emphasis

on the CGT in its various incarnations and with particular though not exclusive attention to developments since 1968.

This is, of course, a conference volume, and the reader may here insert some of the standard reviewer vocabulary about such products, including adjectives such as uneven and phrases such as lack of coordination. There is, indeed, surprisingly little direct cross-referencing. Some of the essays are extremely short and evocative at best, while others provide a really satisfactory sketch.

The historical component is present but not always explicit. A good introduction by editors Herrick Chapman, Mark Kesselman, and Martin A. Schain establishes some longstanding characteristics of the CGT and French trade unionism. On the whole, substantive essays assume a knowledge of developments prior to the 1960s; the essay that goes back directly to 1936, in terms of unionism generally, is one of the briefest entries. But treatments of topics such as women and unionism or the CGT and internationalism offer an appropriate history, and most of the entries genuinely use historical perspective. This is not a volume for beginners, at least among historians, but by the same token it uses history appropriately.

Several essays, including the introduction, evoke the special French features of the national union tradition, which harks back to syndicalism. Frenchness is not systematically analyzed, however, and although there are a few comparative nuggets (such as the unusually sharp drop in membership in recent decades, or the unusual lack of collective bargaining), the national case is not proved. Indeed, an essay that took up the balance between distinctive history and shared patterns would be most welcome, in keeping with the larger effort to use history to inform the understanding of recent developments. There are other omissions. The policies of French employers, including their obdurate hostility to unions in present and past, are frequently evoked but receive no systematic treatment.

Substantive essays deal well with the relationship of unions and politics since the 1980s (the explicit subject of Anthony Daley's essay and also embraced in W. Raul Smith's later assessment of the unions' relationship to the Mitterrand government). Longstanding tensions with the state, a heritage both of syndicalism and then of the lengthy association between majority unionism and the Communist Party, are handled well. The importance of government direction, overriding more independent collective bargaining, shines through clearly. The larger assessment provides a context for recent conundrums and failures, including, Smith claims, an inability to take advantage of favorable government dispositions in the 1980s. Other systematic treatments include the checkered relationship with women workers (Laura Frader); the equally problematic handling of immigrant workers (Martin Schain, again, with a useful if brief retrospective); and the inclusion of the white collar sector (Guy Groox, taking off from the diversification of the economy after

1960). Two other major essays (Jean Magniades) tackle the recent (1980s) restructuring of the economy and the problem of technological change (Mark Kesselman). The book's two final sections deal mainly with current issues, including public opinion surveys (the article by Roland Cayrol) and the problems of national unionism in a global economy (by Jean-Pierre Page and George Ross). Ross's offering on this subject includes a solid historical overview.

The book suggests two other, related claims. From the introduction onward, a number of essays point to a special relationship between unionism as a measurable entity and the larger French public. The general point is that French unions have normally boasted unusually small formal memberships, including of course the dramatic recent decline, but have been able to rouse much larger support, including the capacity to appeal in major strike movements. While the article that specifically deals with current public opinion about unions provides only qualified support for this view (though the general attitude is considerably more favorable than its American counterpart), a number of essays make the case persuasively. These include an interesting entry on "virtual unionism" by Chris Howell, arguing that in French politics unions, as one of few strong voluntary associations, play a role far beyond what formal numbers would suggest.

The second claim involves a recurrent sense that French unionism is about to take off again. Bernard Moss studies the 1995 strike wave against a conservative government, and other essays also evoke recently rising membership and strike rates. It would be tempting—as the book's title might suggest—to see in French unionism a wave of the future, the trade union component of French leadership in resisting the Anglo-American free market model. Tempting, but unproved: there is no elaborate prediction ventured.

What remains is, if no blueprint for the future, a lively discussion of the travails and persistence of a major union tradition, in which a host of recent developments and problems unfolded against the background of a rich history.

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ROLANDE DEPOORTERE. *La question des réparations allemandes dans la politique étrangère de la Belgique après la première guerre mondiale, 1919–1925*. Brussels: Académie Royale. 1997. Pp. 440. 1500 F.

Until now, there has not been a satisfactory full investigation of Belgium's policy formation and implementation of the German reparations issue after World War I. Rolande Depoortere's superbly documented and well-argued book constitutes an intensive exploration and analysis both of the external influences and of internal conditioning factors. The author does not dispute some basic facts about the small state's expectation that Germany's aggression and Belgian innocence would result in *L'Allemagne paiera*. She

does, however, give this mammoth problem a broad context beyond the economic and financial one, stressing the related security issues and relations with London and Paris in addition to the role of domestic political party pressures, in particular the incipient ethnic friction between Flemings and Walloons.

The central contribution of this work is its detailed thesis concerning Belgian mediation between France and Great Britain on reparations (and the gold standard), which found Brussels constantly forced to compromise its basic national interests and needs. Depoortere has examined the complete Belgian public records and employed the private papers of three dozen central actors, along with the French and British government files, fourteen major Belgian newspapers, and six political magazines. She does not differ significantly with the conclusions of two recent American students of this issue, Jonathan Helmreich and Sally Marks, but the opening of several documentary collections in the last two decades has allowed her to make more substantial arguments. Her usage of private papers and family archives is particularly telling in the cases of Georges Theunis, Paul Hymans, Henri Carton de Wiart, Jules Renkin, Jean De Lannoy, Jules Van Den Heuvel, and Charles De Broqueville. She demonstrates clearly how the linkage between security concerns (now that neutrality could no longer be the cornerstone of Belgian foreign policy and alliance with France was necessary) and financial/economic prerequisites was negotiated during the peace talks and early 1920s, particularly as the Anglo-American powers backed off from solid support for German reparations that would be substantial enough to resolve Belgium's plight.

The systematic sacrifice of Belgium's more immediate financial desires for a higher priority and consolidated Allied consensus position finally hinged on avoiding the alienation of the British and French but also on the perceived necessity to rebuild Germany. On the economic front, Depoortere mentions but does not delineate in depth the private industrial/investment connections between Brussels and the Anglo-American economies that developed in the 1920s, in large measure based on the close and sympathetic relations among public and, more important, private elites in all three countries during the post-Versailles reparations diplomacy. The book is a compelling case study of the outstanding limitations of a small power in dynamic interaction with two Great Powers and the United States.

Depoortere accentuates the half-decade of continuity in Belgian diplomatic leadership from Theunis to Henri Jaspar and Hymans. Although in part the result of the carte-blanche authority that each cabinet gave to its prime, foreign, and finance ministers in reparations matters, it was frequently the subject of cabinet debates, especially during the London Conference and Dawes Plan negotiations. Continuity was maintained, for good or ill, despite increasing recognition that Belgium's stance was viewed by the British as uncon-

ditionally pro-French. Although they constitute the lesser part of Depoortere's book, the sections about the impact of this diplomacy and Belgian (and even French) economic recovery on Belgian politics are most interesting and fruitful. The reconfiguration of a rebuilt nation was an important topic of postwar debate, and the communitarian passions between francophones and the newly organized, vocal, and insistent Flemings of the northern half of Belgium were inserted into foreign policy controversies. The book makes it clear that the interwar attempt of the Belgian Socialist Party to remain allied with both ethno-linguistic regions grew, in part, out of the reparations problem.

In sum, this convincing study should be mandatory and indispensable reading for all interwar historians. The thoroughness of its archival research, not any revisionist theme, makes it excellent and successful.

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FABIAN PERSSON. *Servants of Fortune: The Swedish Court between 1598 and 1721*. Lund: Wallin and Dalholm. 1999. Pp. vi, 278. 320 KR.

Sweden's "Age of Greatness" appears to be enjoying something of a renaissance among Swedish historians, encouraged and inspired no doubt by the huge success of Peter Englund's account of the battle of Poltava, which appeared more than a decade ago. Fabian Persson's book is not only a worthy addition to Swedish history but also a valuable contribution to the literature on early modern courts.

The chapters on the organization and economy of the royal household are rich in detail and clearly structured, and the theme of career in royal service is brilliantly drawn out and lavishly illustrated. One of the great strengths of this book is the author's continuous engagement with the principal writers on the subject, from the introductory essay to the conclusion, in which he offers his own definition of the Swedish court as relatively modest and parsimonious, top-light in structure, and essentially military in character. This may have offered an economical solution appropriate to the hard-working lifestyles of the Caroline monarchs, but, Persson maintains, it also had major drawbacks, not least in that contact between the noble elite and the monarch suffered, and the court had problems in fulfilling its role of upholding and defending the sacred character of kingship. On the whole, historians have tended to focus their attention on the council of the realm, rather than the court, as a center of power in Sweden. Persson advances a spirited argument in favor of a substantial revision of this view, though it may be objected that his arguments are in the end concerned more with personal, aristocratic power-wielding than with state affairs. The relationship between court and other centers of power is not really examined seriously: there is, for example, surprisingly little said about the role of the court in the establish-

ment of Caroline absolutism in the 1680s, and moments of political crisis such as the last years of Charles XII's life (and the months following his death) are hardly touched on.

In fairness to the author, however, it should be noted that he has considered the politics of the minority of Charles XI elsewhere, and that more detailed examination of Swedish elite politics here would have detracted from what is, after all, a truly absorbing and in many ways pioneering study.

Persson has availed himself of an immensely rich collection of primary material, and he succeeds wonderfully in bringing his characters to life through skillful use of contemporary sources (admirably rendered into English). He is superbly sensitive to the petty jealousies, the scheming and patient waiting for the right opportunity, and the often stultifying routine of court life. A career in the royal household was often ill-paid (salary arrears could stretch over decades), but it was safe—few were ever dismissed from the royal service—and there were other perks and advantages. There appears to have been a distinct change from the rather chaotic and boisterous days of the Vasa court, which young aristocrats used as a springboard to further career opportunities, to the altogether more sedate and elderly court of the Caroline monarchs, where many were in royal service for decades.

This was in large part due to the drying up of career opportunities outside the court, reinforced by the personal desires of the monarchs for continuity, for old faces in preference to new ones. Dismissed by one later critic as "little work, many officials, little worry, idle days" (p. 146), service in the royal household was nonetheless never entirely cushioned from the outside world. The long list of courtiers killed or maimed in the campaigns of Charles XII, and the author's dry comment that "if the King still rode into battle himself, his court would have to follow him, even if it was middle-aged and less than enthusiastic about the idea," underline his reminder that this remained a campaigning court throughout the Age of Greatness.

The Swedish court was modest by French or even English standards, resembling more the kind of establishment prevalent in northern Germany. Although patronage of the arts was not entirely lacking, it was accorded a low priority; and even though polish and good manners were expected of the Swedish nobleman, he was also meant to be a fighter.

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H. ARNOLD BARTON. *Northern Arcadia: Foreign Travelers in Scandinavia, 1765–1815*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 223. \$39.95.

This book may be considered as a companion volume to H. Arnold Barton's *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era, 1760–1815* (1986). In the latter, Barton's goal was to provide a coherent inside perspective on historical

developments in the region in the years between the end of the Seven Years' War and the defeat of Napoleon; his new study looks at how the Scandinavian countries were refracted through the lenses of some of the many outsiders who traveled in this northern periphery of Europe and wrote about their visits during the same half century. The result is an entertaining compendium of eyewitness observations and opinions that often tell us as much about the travelers' cultural horizons as about Scandinavia and Scandinavians. Nonetheless, as Barton demonstrates, the perceptions of outsiders played a significant role in the construction of a sense of "a common 'Scandinavian' heritage and destiny" during a period of bitter and divisive conflicts (p. 177).

Barton sometimes finds it necessary to provide factual correctives to the partial and even contradictory views of the travelers. In general, however, he is less interested in proving them right or wrong than in investigating the symbolic geographies that emerge in their writings. As his title suggests, he argues that these various geographies converge in one dominant image, and he explains this image of an uncorrupted Northern Arcadia populated by "peasants living among sublime scenery and the legends of a heroic past" (p. 161) in terms of the conflict of values that characterized the transition from Enlightenment to romanticism. More specifically, he sees the Arcadian image as a manifestation of an anthropological impulse, "a groping for some viable conception of race and ethnicity—between the environmental determinism of Montesquieu and Buffon, on the one hand, and Herder's concept of distinct and immutable folk-types, on the other" (p. 155).

Among the many hundreds of narratives by foreign visitors to the Nordic countries written between 1765 and 1815, Barton has chosen to mobilize and quote extensively from almost thirty, over half of them British. In terms of the actual geography covered, the narratives usually stay close to the beaten path (relatively speaking) that connected the cities of Copenhagen, Christiania (now Oslo), and Stockholm. But some of the most interesting deal with adventurous journeys further afield, even to the Ultima Thule of Iceland, the Faeroe Islands, or the subarctic regions of Sweden (including Finland) and Norway. The structure of Barton's study roughly follows a similar expansion of range, moving from accounts of the southern centers of population and an urban culture familiar to the travelers via less accessible and more romantic rural areas to the Atlantic islands and the exotic Far North with its nomadic "Lapp" inhabitants. The range of opinions and insights represented is equally wide. Many of the accounts Barton draws on seem to be well worth reading in their entirety. Yet with the exception of Mary Wollstonecraft's famous *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796), they are surprisingly little known, and one merit of this book is that it puts Wollstonecraft's narrative in perspective.

Although Barton defines the texts in his corpus as literary travels, he does not often consider the poetics of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century travel writing or the narrative contexts of the various observations that he cites. The complex negotiations of meanings and identity that distinguish first-person narratives of travel from many other sources of historical knowledge are likewise neglected. Instead, Barton's Scandinavian travelers are generally treated one-dimensionally as more or less reliable eyewitnesses and, more troubling, as disengaged observers who unilaterally impose their views on Nordic peoples, landscapes, and cultures. A different emphasis might have highlighted the many examples of cultural exchange that occur in his quotations, both in passages describing intimate encounters between visitors and individual Scandinavians and, more subtly, in references to strange or revolting smells, tastes, or sounds and to involuntary physical or emotional reactions. When one young Italian traveler describes his "extreme embarrassment" at being sexually aroused in a Finnish sauna (p. 101), for example, the episode is not only an amusing anecdote but a demonstration of the impossibility of detached observation. In my opinion, Barton's valuable book would have benefited from a greater focus on such revealing and self-reflexive moments.

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OUTI KAREMAA. *Vihollisia, vainoojia, syöpäläisiä: Venäläisviha Suomessa 1917–1923*. [Foes, Friends and Vermin: Ethnic Hatred of Russians in Finland, 1917–1923] (Bibliotheca Historica, number 30.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1998. Pp. 221.

Outi Karemaa deals with aspects of an important topic. Finnish attitudes toward Russians and Russian attitudes and behavior toward their neighbors have played an important role in their history and mutual relations. Since the Russians have been for the most part more powerful than their neighbors, their behavior has usually shaped attitudes toward them. Karemaa concentrates mainly on describing Finnish attitudes toward Russians. More attention to the roots and causes of these attitudes would have added to the significance of the book.

By limiting her topic to a short time span, although an important one in Finnish history, she undercuts her ability to explore and analyze fully the problems of causation concerning it. Her efforts to use the concept of "otherness" as both a descriptive and an explanatory device is understandable but not altogether satisfactory as an effort to link her work to wider international research efforts. This ambition is commendable, except when it leads her to ignore or to refer only briefly to potentially significant alternative factors and explanations.

Karemaa connects Finnish attitudes concerning Russians to German and Swedish racial thinking and

contempt of Russians as well as to Finnish alarm over the behavior of the Russian military during the turbulent summer and fall of 1917. She further argues that the Finnish "Whites" made the Russians scapegoats for the Finnish Civil War in 1918 in order to deny that social problems were the real causes for the war.

Focusing singlemindedly on these matters prevents Karemaa from coming to grips with other factors shaping Finnish attitudes towards Russians. Centuries of war and conflict accompanied by vast devastation and cruelty, russification policies, and, most importantly, fundamental cultural differences have had also an important impact. The Lutheran Finns shared in many ways the Nordic value system with its high stress on literacy, self-control, industriousness, punctuality, tidiness, and hygiene. These values were, to large extent, not shared by the Russians, and this affected Finnish opinions about them.

Karemaa's coverage of the Civil War also ignores several critical matters. These include fundamental causes of the Civil War such as the sudden collapse of the Tsarist regime in Finland and the resulting power vacuum, the ensuing struggle to fill it, and socialists' bitterness over losing the elections to the Finnish parliament in 1917. Furthermore, the Russian example and encouragement were important in urging the Finnish socialists to go to war, and the Russians provided them the weapons and military planning to stage an armed uprising.

Karemaa's source use also has some peculiarities. She largely glides over or ignores work by several Finnish historians who have concentrated heavily on Finnish-Russian relations, including Tuomo Polvinen, Osmo Jussila, and Sune Jungar, while she relies on some historians whose focus lies elsewhere. Related to this is less that satisfactory representation of other cited historians' views. Karemaa has made a contribution to the debate about an important general topic, but she could have produced a better book by extending her research to cover a longer time span and by analyzing and thinking more about her own material.

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ESKO SALMINEN. *The Silenced Media: The Propaganda War between Russia and the West in Northern Europe*. Translated by JYRI KOKKONEN. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 198. \$65.00.

This English translation of a book originally published in Finnish in 1996 is a rare treat to those who are interested in the phenomenon of Finlandization but cannot master the Finnish language. Esko Salminen sets out to explore "how the Soviet Union succeeded in silencing and manipulating the media of [Finland] for many years, to serve its own ends" (p. ix). By manipulating security considerations and, in particular, the centrality of Russo-Finnish relations to Finland's post-war foreign policy, the Kremlin managed, Salminen

argues, to curtail free speech in this Nordic country. And they did so with the help of the Finns themselves. In particular, longtime president Urho Kekkonen (1956–1981) was instrumental in creating a climate of self-censorship, in which the Finnish media sanitized news about Soviet atrocities in the name of maintaining a working relationship with the USSR.

To his credit, the author uses a variety of sources: archival materials in Finland and Russia, memoirs, interviews, and published accounts. With numerous examples—including the coverage of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's fate in the Finnish media—Salminen makes a convincing case about the restrictions to free speech that existed in Cold War Finland. He also describes how "dissidents," including the prize-winning political cartoonist Kari Suomalainen, came under strong criticism in Kekkonen's Finland. Only after his retirement in 1981 and the ascendancy of Mikhail Gorbachev to Soviet leadership in 1985 did the Finnish media gradually begin to move closer to "Western" standards of journalistic freedom without governmental pressure.

Salminen also explores the Western response to Finnish self-censorship. Starting in the 1950s but particularly in the 1970s, this was summarized in the term Finlandization; consequently, Finland and its self-censorship became a symbol of what could happen to other non-socialist countries should they lower their guard. In brief, they would gradually—as Finland had from the 1950s—lose parts of their internal freedoms. That Finlandization applied merely, if at all, to Finland alone was often lost in this debate, which was part of the attack on the merits of detente in the United States and Western Europe. Still, the Western debate did leave a mark on Finland's image. As Salminen puts it in his conclusion: "The worst aspect [of self-censorship] was the tarnished image of Finland abroad."

Overall, the book is clearly written. Yet it is also somewhat disappointing, in that it adds relatively little that is new to what a number of Finnish historians, such as Timo Soikkanen, have argued before: namely, that Finlandization was, indeed, a reality. There is also a somewhat moralizing tone to the book, in that Salminen, who worked as a journalist during much of the period he explores in the book, was very close to the events he describes. Perhaps inevitably, he thus sees little value in any realpolitik defense of self-censorship.

In this, he may be right, for the Finnish media did, by and large, treat the Soviet Union with kid gloves throughout the Cold War. In retrospect, this seems hardly to have been necessary. But, then, many other by-products and even some central facets (from various spy games to a number of nuclear weapons systems) of the Cold War appear to have been equally inconsequential to the eventual outcome of that protracted conflict. In that context, the fact that some Finnish journalists, under pressure from their government, chose not to publish as much "dirt" about a superpower with which their country shared an 800-

mile border appears less than crucial. If Finlandization does matter today, it is mainly because of the political culture it created in Finland itself.

Ultimately, the book is therefore an interesting chapter not only in the post-1991 debate about Finlandization but in the history of Finlandization itself. For it affirms a deep-seated irony that has emerged since the end of the Cold War: while during the 1960s and 1970s—at the height of self-censorship and Finlandization—the Finns themselves denied that any such phenomenon applied to their country, many Finns are now, even more vehemently than the Western critics two decades earlier, pushing the subject further. In a very clear sense, then, the new Finnish debate about Finlandization—of which this book is an important part—is about airing the dirty laundry that piled up during the Cold War.

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SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN. *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*. (Christianity and Society in the Modern World.) New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. 282. \$74.95.

It is indeed strange, as Susan C. Karant-Nunn observes at the outset of this book, that the obviously crucial problem of ritual change in the German Reformation has hitherto been neglected. It has long been an axiom that the reformers made a bid to restore religious rites to Biblical standards of simplicity, to do away with all that they saw as superstitious ornaments accreted during the previous centuries, in short to “disenchant” them—and instead to instill in the people the pure Word of God. The study of ritual in this period may thus give the historian a powerful tool for exploring the process by, and the extent to which, the theological ideas of the reformers were translated into religious practice.

Based on mainly eastern German sources, the book examines minutely five areas of ritual practice that framed the life of Christians from cradle to grave. Each of the corresponding chapters offers a systematic description of ritual procedures before and after the Reformation. The result is a distinct picture of the kind and degree of change that had taken place. Ritual emerges from this analysis as a “tug of war” between the Protestant clerical elite, backed up by government, and the common people on whom they sought to impose their views. The nature of this campaign is the focus of the book, which demonstrates that for all their zeal and governmental support, the reformers registered very limited success.

These are by no means novel insights. Recent works, such as C. Scott Dixon’s *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach, 1528–1603* (1996), have amply documented the massive if often evasive opposition encountered by the reform program. It was not simply that the attachment of simple folk to ancient and honorable traditions was a

formidable obstacle; as the late Robert Scribner showed, the elimination of sacramental-psychological “safety kits” only exacerbated matters by making the world seem a more exposed place, thereby enhancing the temptation to have recourse to magic (“The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the Disenchantment of the World,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23:2 [1993]: 475–94). And, as Karant-Nunn argues throughout, not only the reform program but its apostles, too, were out of touch with those whom they sought to enlighten: unlike the pre-Reformation clergy, the better-educated Protestant clergy were identified with the structures of domination. One interesting implication of Karant-Nunn’s account is that the Reformation had transformed first and foremost the complexion of the clergy, and had done this so well that it backfired. Like other momentous early modern intellectual movements—Renaissance, Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment—the Reformation only widened the gulf between elite and masses. The new breed of evangelical pastors were mentally too distant from their flocks, a circumstance scarcely conducive to the accomplishment of their own ends. And indeed, the ritual through which they tried to implement reform “attempted to be what ritual in fact cannot become—exclusively a means of making a populace over into an image envisioned by those in positions of power” (p. 193). Small wonder, then, that ritual became a “battle-ground.” Karant-Nunn is disarmingly aware that the dichotomy between elite and people, what has been called “a two-tiered model of culture,” is crude (pp. 5, 198). Yet she makes no sustained effort to transcend it. She confines herself to an anthropologically oriented elucidation of the conflicts surrounding ritual and does not try to work out their sociological dimension. How relevant the latter is can be inferred from evidence, presented by the author herself, which betrays the actual complexity of the process of Reformation, the cross-cutting and shifting alliances formed around contentious issues. One learns, for instance, that the struggle in Saxony against the banishing of exorcism from baptism was led by the local nobility (p. 59); or, more generally, that “all levels of society . . . sustained a lively spectrum of . . . paraitual, and resolutely refused to abandon it” (p. 193). On that account, it is indeed inadvisable to try and draw a boundary between a disciplining elite and those at the receiving end. But Karant-Nunn does not provide an alternative, dynamic interpretation of the “gradations, the overlapping, the multiple hues and nuances” (p. 198) of a society involved in ritual change and conflict. Given the book’s central arguments, and its ambition to interpret the Reformation from the perspective of ritual, this is regrettable. The leitmotif of a contention between elite-official and popular culture is not adequately embedded in the contemporary social and economic setting, a problem that, as Karant-Nunn has so cogently shown, handicapped the Protestant reformers.

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JOHN B. RONEY and MARTIN I. KLAUBER, editors. *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth, 1564–1864*. Foreword by ROBERT M. KINGDON. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 59.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1998. Pp. xiv, 228. \$59.95.

This collection of essays on Geneva between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, edited by John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber, brings together an introduction and twelve contributions examining different aspects of religion and society in a city that has been a reference point on the political and religious scene since the days of John Calvin. A study spanning three centuries is particularly welcome, as it brings to light many aspects of life in Geneva, especially in the lesser-studied seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, until Geneva joined the Swiss Confederation in 1864.

The question of religious identity is particularly acute for a city that was known by its detractors in the sixteenth century as “the Protestant Rome.” Yet Calvin died in 1564, and his successors as pastors and professors of theology were theologians in their own right, men who shaped the Genevan church’s approach based on Calvin’s legacy, certainly, but also following the theological currents of their own day. The issue of continuity and change in Genevan theology is addressed in this volume by Richard Muller, Joel Beeke, Timothy Phillips, and Klauber. Their research provides a helpful reminder that Calvinism should not be understood as an unchangeable doctrinal stance. Instead, Genevan theologians modified their approach over time, in response to specific pressures and challenges, such as the need to establish a theory of political resistance against the persecutions of civil authorities in the later sixteenth century and the influence of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Genevan theologians proved to be particularly receptive to the ideas of natural theology, which flourished in the 1700s.

Yet another facet of a city’s identity lies in its citizens’ response to social issues, whether on an individual or a collective level. Jeffrey Watt, Linda Kirk, Jeannine Olson and Gabriel Mützenberg examine Genevan identity from a sociological perspective, analyzing issues that affected Geneva’s self-perception such as the care of the poor, the causes of suicide, and relations between the Reformed and growing numbers of Catholic inhabitants in Geneva by the late nineteenth century. Watt’s article on suicide in Geneva helpfully assesses the relative weight of social and economic causes versus religious deterrents in his analysis of what was an increasingly prevalent problem by 1800. The contributions on broader social problems such as education and the care of the poor suggest that while Geneva’s sense of unity stemming from common confessional standards did weaken over the centuries, the consequence was not necessarily Genevan decay by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Instead, eth-

ical considerations stemming in part from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution brought the population together on matters of general concern like poor relief and schooling. Indeed, one of the strengths of this volume lies in its analysis of the social problems faced by Geneva and their largely successful resolution through a combination of philanthropy and active intervention by the state.

Thus it would seem that the story of Genevan identity in the later centuries was one of increasing secularism, while preserving a social conscience. Yet even by the nineteenth century, three hundred years after Calvin, certain sectors of Genevan society still had not fully resolved the question of the contemporary significance of the Reformation. Roney’s contribution on nineteenth-century Genevan perceptions of the Reformation highlights how divided Protestant Genevans were in their assessment of Calvin and his legacy and shows how the debate over religious roots was shaped by contemporary religious divisions in the nineteenth century.

One contribution, that of Otto Selles, discusses the importance of Geneva for the French Reformed churches that were forced to meet in secret during the eighteenth century, the *églises du désert*. This article is one of the few to look at the question of Genevan identity from the outside, and indeed, it is disappointing that the editors did not include more work of this kind. Identity is a construct, based on self-perception but also on the perception of oneself held by others: to get a complete picture, one needs the views of both the internal and external observer. To a certain extent, Francis Higman’s article on the myth of Geneva does provide more information on external perceptions of the city, but only for the sixteenth century.

Although this work provides a number of fascinating insights, especially on later Geneva (about which little has been published in English), readers may be let down by the lack of any common approach linking the contributions together. The introduction provides the main historical overview but fails to establish much of a theoretical framework. Moreover, although the editors and contributors have made a creditable effort to integrate references to sources in other languages—especially French—in their notes, a more careful proofreading would have helped to eliminate many errors, especially in the introduction. Overall, however, this collection of essays is a good contribution to current scholarship on Genevan history.

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DAVID GENTILCORE. *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*. (Social and Cultural Values in Early Modern Europe.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin’s Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 240. \$79.95.

GIANNA POMATA. *Contracting a Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna*. Translated by

the author, assisted by ROSEMARIE FOY and ANNA TARABOLETTI-SEGRE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 294. \$42.50.

Here are two lively contributions to the campaign to write the history of illness and its treatment in a more democratic fashion, with proper attention to the views and experiences of patients as well as those of doctors. Interested in "medical pluralism," both David Gentilcore and Gianna Pomata extend their inquiries beyond the "orthodox" medicine defined by learned practitioners educated in universities and consider many other varieties of healing process, spiritual and physical, favored by people of all social ranks. In these books, the healer is just as likely to be a priest, a female "living saint," or a charlatan as a physician, an apothecary, or a licensed barber-surgeon.

Pomata's work is an elegant translation of her *La promessa di guarigione: Malati e curatori in antico regime* (1994). Gentilcore's book is a further exploration of the themes discussed in *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (1992); he has extended his investigation from a single province to the whole of the viceroyalty of Naples. Both books move confidently between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Pomata's ranging back into the Middle Ages and even into Roman and Visigothic laws in search of rules and precedents governing the relationship between practitioner and patient and influencing the rewards that the medical man was entitled to seek. Both studies are contributions to the history of charity as well as of medicine, for in the eyes of authorities, including the medical college of Bologna, the sick, like widows and orphans, constituted a privileged social group in need of special care and protection by means of expeditious legal procedures designed to secure their interests.

Poor people are often absent from conventional histories of hospitals and poor laws, which reflect only the standpoint of administrators; so are students from histories of schools and universities, which often give accounts only of the governing body and the professoriate. Even so patients, especially those not rich enough to become the regular patrons of the physicians they engage, have tended in surveys of medical history to become anonymous, passive objects. Seemingly these unfortunates lie at the mercy of omniscient practitioners and sometimes become the victims of negligent and cruel hospital nurses, from whom a lucky few are rescued by more dedicated volunteer workers and by devout members of newly formed nursing orders such as the Camillans. In the writings of Gentilcore and Pomata, however, patients are more than capable of diagnosing their own afflictions, of entering and discharging themselves from hospitals as they choose, and of selecting from a wide range of practitioners the people who may have the skill to cure them. Learned physicians may be struggling for supremacy over the various subordinate branches of the medical profession, and over unlearned empirics who make no

claim to understand the principles that lie behind the secret remedies they purvey. But the struggle is a long one extending over centuries, a war of attrition marked by no sudden and dramatic victories. Both writers see analogies between medical procedures and religious rituals; physicians of souls and of bodies are seldom far apart, and doctors may be officially forbidden by ecclesiastical laws to treat patients who have persistently refused to confess. Expelling the "poison of the soul" at the feet of a confessor bears some resemblance to expelling poisonous matter from the body by bleeding, purging, sweating, or vomiting. The votive offerings to a saint recall the contracts made between patients and practitioners. The Lenten regime imposed by the church for the health of the soul stands parallel to the regime imposed for the well-being of the body by a physician, the controller of "diet" and of everything taken into the body by the mouth.

Opportunities to write history from below are always constrained by the inability of unlettered people to create their own records. Trial summaries and transcripts frequently provide the best chances of hearing the people talking, although they can only do so within a framework created by social superiors, and the preoccupations of the judges need as much investigation as the psychology of the witnesses. Civil litigation, in which poor persons may appear as plaintiffs, can have advantages over criminal proceedings or heresy trials in which they are subjects of investigation or candidates for punishment. Pomata has skilfully exploited the records of the Protomedicato, the judicial arm of the exclusive College of Medicine in Bologna, and has explored a number of cases in which patients sued practitioners for breach of contract, particularly for failing to honor promises to cure them of afflictions within a specific time. She shows how the court favored payment for services, for the time spent on treatment, rather than payment by results, which they considered appropriate to a craftsman rather than a professional practitioner. Lawyers, too, were inclined to consider medical contracts invalid, chiefly on the grounds that they were vitiated by the patient's fear of sickness and death. Pomata traces, as far as the records will allow, the slow decline of the contract, which implies the equal standing of client and practitioner, in favor of a more mystical and hierarchical relationship between the doctor who cannot be sued and the patient who must respect his authority.

Less sharply focused but more comprehensive, Gentilcore's survey draws form and a sense of direction from its conceptual framework: the notion of three overlapping spheres, religious—ecclesiastical, popular, and learned—medical, to which the agents of medical care have a habit of belonging. Seldom can sharp distinctions be drawn, for charlatans and midwives are both popular and learned, while hospitals are both ecclesiastical and medical, places for saving souls and scenes of a struggle to find Christ as well as to cure physical ailments and attend to injuries. Charlatans, their histrionics, and their cure-all remedies against

the ever-present threat of poisoning are discussed with emphasis. As Gentilcore argues effectively, facile contrasts should not be drawn between popular and learned culture, because patent remedies such as "orvietan," although sold by charlatans, rest on intellectual assumptions about bodily humors that many learned physicians would have applauded, and their contents were examined and approved repeatedly by medical authorities. Much space is given to the organized charities of Naples and lesser cities—from the great hospitals of the Annunziata and the Incurabili to the general-purpose charitable funds called Monti—in so far as these were concerned with financing the care of sick people.

Both books supply vivid detail to a broad picture of the organization of medical and charitable care in early modern Italy. With the passage of time, from the late Middle Ages through the eighteenth century, charity and medical provision seem to become more ordered, paternalistic, and hierarchical, as though reflecting a more aristocratic and authoritarian society. No longer do hospital patients join communities of hospitaliers to live and die among them as their weaker and more dependent members; no longer do religious confraternities embrace people of all social ranks, for each social grouping tends to have exclusive brotherhoods and sisterhoods of its own; no longer can quacks and mountebanks sell their secret remedies without license; no longer can patients sue their medical practitioners for failing to honor promises of a cure for, say, the pox or a hernia or a badly ulcerated throat.

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GIOVANNA FARRELL-VINAY. *Povert  e politica nell'Ottocento: Le opera pie nello Stato liberale*. (Collana del Dipartimento di Storia dell'Universit  di Torino.) Torino: Scriptorium. 1997. Pp. 375. L. 45,000.

In an 1892 article in the *Economic Review*, Francesco Nitti described poor relief in Italy as a "dark and tangled forest." Unlike the progress toward creation of a welfare system in England or the secularization and centralization process undertaken in France, unified Italy in the nineteenth century faced the historically rooted legalities of preunification states that, along with a moderate liberal philosophy of avoiding excessive government control, produced a multifaceted charitable system. Attempting to untangle the complex laws administering the thousands of charitable institutions of the preunification states, those of the various provisional governments of 1859–1861, the Minghetti Law of 1862, Francesco Crispi's legislation of 1890, and the Giolittian reform of 1904, Giovanna Farrell-Vinay presents an exhaustive and meticulously researched analysis of the legal structures through use of the extensive archives of the Ministry of Interior in Rome and Turin and the periodical literature of the period.

The Papal States and southern Italy provide Farrell-

Vinay with prime examples of the difficulties facing unified Italy. Chapters three and four outline the southern ecclesiastical structure, which was economically dependent on the parish and lay patronage, involving a multitude of shelters, asylums, confraternities, poorhouses, and parochial churches. Rather than the laicization that some scholars have assumed (by accepting ecclesiastical sources), Farrell-Vinay documents the Bourbon restoration of church control over charitable organizations after the French occupation. Her statistical analysis of the communes of Principato Ulteriore are especially revealing of the church's usurpation of resources for religious maintenance from the revenues of the charitable institutions, literally plundering the "patrimony of the poor" (p. 135). In 1861, the data show that seventy-three percent of revenue went to church maintenance, while only twenty-seven percent was directed to welfare (p. 120). Individuals like Nicola De Luca, governor of the province in 1861, attempted unsuccessfully to reform the system, yet the *Consigli degli Ospizi* set up to assist the distribution of welfare over which he presided ended as an institution to assist itself rather than the poor.

Historians presently examining the formation of the modern welfare state in Italy argue the pros and cons of the August 7, 1862 law, which Farrell-Vinay sees as the most favorable for which the church and local notables could hope. Despite the lack of data available concerning parliamentary debates on the reform, it represented compromise between state and provincial and communal authorities, an unwillingness on the part of parliament to impose centralized control, and continuation of a tradition of respecting the wills of charitable patrons. Given the delicacy of the unsolved "Roman Question" at that time, concessions to religious authorities may have been as important as liberal ideology.

In the south, the 1862 law (which permitted confraternities to continue there) was a "dead letter" (p. 195). Its implementation depended on the good will of provincial and communal authorities and on a civic commitment that did not always exist (p. 162). Revealing the corruption that permeated the charitable system in 1892, Nitti claimed that the political party that won the Neapolitan elections was the one in control of those institutions. With the left in power in 1876, commissions were named to study the 1862 law, and a Royal Commission established in June 1880 illustrated (using often incomplete data gathered by questionnaires sent to local authorities) that the largest part of revenues continued to go toward church maintenance. Yet in the list of priorities, commissions relegated the question of charitable distribution to third place. Crispi's reform of July 17, 1890, which defined thirty-two categories of institutions, anticipated regrouping and eliminating those that were unprofitable and outdated and removing the worst abuses, yet it failed to establish a supervisory council, and none was created until 1904. Provoking an intensive reaction by Catholic hierarchy in defense of the church's charitable role, Crispi's

reform led to increased Catholic political activity aimed at gaining electoral control of local and provincial councils.

Unlike the more positive assessment of nineteenth-century legislation secularizing charitable organizations in the work of Valeria Fargion or Franco Della Peruta's evaluation of the preparatory role that the laws of 1890 or 1904 played in creating Italy's welfare system, Farrell-Vinay is far more skeptical. Emphasizing that the Italian poor paid the price for conserving precapitalist charitable institutions (p. 220), she observes that the remittances of emigrants escaping poverty provided a form of welfare where the government failed. Conceding some degree of rationalization of the system to the legislation of Crispi and Giolitti, Farrell-Vinay concludes that it still fell short of establishing a welfare system. One can readily agree with her that more local studies are needed to assess fully the implementation of the legal framework that she has carefully constructed. While her statistical charts are an asset, however, an index would have increased the usefulness of this notable study.

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LUCY RIALI. *Sicily and the Unification of Italy: Liberal Policy and Local Power, 1859–1866*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. viii, 252. \$65.00.

This is an important and interesting book that attempts to break through the ideological "dialogue of the deaf" that has afflicted the historiography of Sicily for much of this century. Combining substantial primary research with an impressive grasp of the secondary literature, Lucy Riall reconstructs the critical early years of unification within the larger context of southern Italian history in order to understand why Sicily proved so consistently "ungovernable" following the Risorgimento. More specifically, she asks why the administrative and political mechanisms of the Savoyard monarchy, which had led to the creation of a "modern" state in Piedmont, failed so completely when applied to Sicily. Yet she answers these questions primarily by understanding the problems of the pre-unitary regime, and thence derives the originality of her study.

Rejecting standard portrayals of Sicily as simply a backward society caught up in feudal mentalities, Riall focuses on the negative impact of "modernizing" reforms carried out by the Bourbons in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus, attempts from Naples to eliminate aristocratic privileges alienated much of the Sicilian nobility, while the abolition of feudalism led to the creation of a new class of non-noble elites intent on improving their social position. Agriculture, however, remained the primary form of wealth and status, and, consequently, competition for land intensified and led to increased factional conflict in local communities, often characterized by

the use of personal violence and armed retainers. In addition, elites recognized the potential of holding local office in the Bourbons' newly centralized administration, and bureaucracy became a tool of personal power and factional struggle as opposed to an instrument of government policy or civic benefit. Even more disruptive was the effect of the reforms on the peasantry, most of whom had been unable to buy land and for whom the privatization of communal land had been an unmitigated disaster. With fewer resources and facing more rapacious landlords, peasants became increasingly likely to resort to violence, revolt, and brigandage (the latter often organized by elites in pursuit of factional goals or simple protection), and their collective anger consistently became the wild card in any political upheaval. All of this added up to a crisis of public order marked by frequent attempts at revolution that made a mockery of Bourbon claims of sovereignty. By 1860, the situation was out of hand, and the Neapolitan administration had collapsed in many areas well before Giuseppe Garibaldi arrived in Sicily, a fact that explains much of his success. But the problems did not disappear with his triumph. On the contrary, the revolution of 1860 only complicated matters further, especially because peasants looked to Garibaldi for land reform and landowners looked to him for protection of their property. Moreover, with the total breakdown of the old forces of order, crime increased, armed gangs proliferated, peasants occupied estates, and factionalism was rebaptized in various political guises. In short, successful revolution brought even more disorder and this was a major factor in explaining why the Sicilians voted in the October 1860 plebiscite to annex themselves to Piedmont.

The Piedmontese thus inherited a region in which public security had vanished and conflict was the order of the day. Unfortunately, the new regime's leaders knew little or nothing about Sicily and were convinced that the area's problems were simply the result of bad administration. They therefore ignored the fundamental social problems, reimposed a centralized bureaucracy taking orders from an even more distant capital, and concentrated all their efforts on restoring public order through policing rather than politics. Any attempt at elite consensus was stymied by continued local factionalism, an entrenched tradition of opposing outside control, and the regime's tendency to criminalize its political opponents, especially the democrats. New taxes, imposition of Piedmont's anticlerical legislation, and, above all, the introduction of military conscription further alienated the general populace. The new regime thus found little cooperation at the local level and faced a rising tide of draft evaders and deserters who swelled the ranks of the criminal/political "squads" and bandits in the countryside. With witnesses unwilling to testify and juries refusing to convict, normal legal procedures proved impossible, and the government found itself using more and more arbitrary methods such as preventive probation, house

arrest, and military justice. The Piedmontese thus found themselves in a vicious circle in which unpopular police practices provoked more resentment and unrest, which called forth even more draconian measures (including the occupation of entire villages and using suspects' families as hostages), which in turn provoked more disorder. The bankruptcy of this policy finally came home in 1866 when full-scale rebellion in Palermo had to be put down with military occupation and courts martial. From that point on, the government tended to let Sicily slide, using local strongmen to mediate local affairs. "Thus the Sicilian mafia emerged in the 1870's as political 'middlemen,' and as a permanent shadow over Sicilian public life" (p. 223).

Riall makes her case effectively and should be commended for stressing public order and local administration as critical to understanding the Risorgimento in Sicily. If there is anything to criticize, it is that she tangentially betrays her own lament that the historiography of southern Italy has been dominated by an effort to affix blame for the region's problems. Thus she ends the book with a condemnation of Camillo Cavour and his failure to use the opportunities of 1860 to tolerate the democrats, reject the status quo, and adopt land reform. This inversion of Antonio Gramsci's concept of *rivoluzione mancata* reveals a more general methodological problem, which is that the real comparative pole for Sicily should not have been Piedmont but rather Modena, Lombardy, or the Romagna, all of which underwent Piedmontization with little opposition. Conscription, new taxes, and illiberal police techniques had proved effective in the newly acquired states in the North, so it is easy to understand why they were adopted in Sicily. Likewise, the larger comparative purview would have demonstrated how many moderates in the North turned to Piedmont and its "administrative revolution" specifically to protect the social status quo in the face of radical rebellion. To support the peasantry against the landowners in the South would have been a betrayal of much of the liberal movement. To bemoan, as Gramsci did, the failure of the democrats to act like Jacobins is forgivable, but to criticize Cavour for not playing the role of Maximilien Robespierre is ahistorical. Be that as it may, this is a minor flaw in an otherwise excellent book that will, I hope, help to influence a reevaluation of the entire "Southern Question."

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MARINA CATTARUZZA. *Socialismo adriatico: La social-democrazia di lingua italiana nei territori costieri della Monarchia asburgica; 1888-1915*. (Società Cultura, number 17.) Manduria: Piero Lacaita. 1998. Pp. 192. L. 25,000.

GIOVANNI ORSINA. *Senza Chiesa né classe: Il partito radicale nell'età giolittiana*. (Ricerche: Storia, number 29.) Rome: Carocci. 1998. Pp. 310. L. 34,000.

The Italian Radical Party was never as powerful and influential as its counterpart in France. The Italian Radicals only officially established a national party in 1904 and did so then primarily in response to the growing strength and success of the Italian Socialist Party. But in the years after 1904, the Radicals failed to promote a particular cause to distinguish themselves from the other parties on the left in Italy. They could not, for obvious reasons, use the separation of church and state as their primary issue, as did the Radicals in France. Hence the party was limited chiefly to serving as a bridge between the Liberals and Socialists.

Because of its ambiguous position, the Italian Radical Party has not received much attention from historians. Until this most welcome monograph by Giovanni Orsina, the most recent works, by Alessandro Garrone and Giovanni Spadolini, appeared over twenty-five years ago. Orsina's book is not, in the traditional sense, a history of the Italian Radical Party. Rather, the author has successfully reconstructed the principal characteristics of the movement through an examination of its cultural and ideological foundations. In particular, Orsina provides an excellent explanation of the influence of philosophical positivism on Radical thinking. Although Radicals such as Francesco Saverio Nitti refused to accept the most blunt form of dialectical materialism, they did recognize the link between the moral and mental activity of the individual and the actual world in which the person lived. Hence, the Radicals constantly supported the proposition that the state and its politics had to be rooted in the principle of maintaining the social equilibrium.

Freemasonry provided a second fundamental foundation for Radical ideology. In fact, as the author explains, the Radicals and Freemasons shared the same ideological presumptions as well as identical political strategies. Under Masonic influence, for example, the Radicals emphasized the fraternal value of brotherhood. Indeed, the Radicals and the Masons shared the desire, based on their mutual anticlericalism, to establish a lay, scientific, and universal education system throughout the peninsula. As Orsina ably demonstrates, the support of both for popular sovereignty was directly linked to the elimination of illiteracy and superstition among the population. Otherwise, both firmly believed, to support universal suffrage for the illiterate and politically unsophisticated would be to hand over control of Italy to their greatest enemy, the Roman Catholic Church.

The Radical Party, from its establishment in 1904, was always weak in numbers and national influence. It never created a national newspaper, such as the Socialist party daily, *Avanti!*, to influence public opinion and, because its deputies were always elected on the strength of their own individual personalities, the party could never enforce discipline among its parliamentarians. As the author notes, since the party contributed little to the electoral success of the deputies, they felt no obligation to follow its agenda. Hence, when a majority of the deputies led the movement away from

absolute opposition to the government and made the decision to allow four Radical deputies to join the Luzzatti government in 1910, the majority of the party, since it could not prevent this reversal of policy, unwillingly accepted it on the grounds that Luigi Luzzatti had proposed an agenda of liberal reforms.

In this regard, Orsina argues that if the Radical Party moved closer and closer to Giovanni Giolitti after 1910 (as most historians have asserted), the party did so because Giolitti was becoming more and more Radical. This argument supports the author's contention that the true contribution of the party was its attempt to narrow the gulf between the people and the ruling class in the last years before the Great War. Unfortunately for Italians, the gulf proved too wide for the Radical Party's bridge-building effort.

Orsina has produced an excellent study of the Radical Party during the Giolittian era. If at times overly detailed, the analysis flows logically and smoothly through each of the four sections. It is disappointing that the author did not offer a conclusion, which would have softened what is now a rather abrupt ending. The book includes a number of very useful appendixes but no bibliography.

Marina Cattaruzza's book is a much more traditional history of the development of socialism among the Italian-speaking population of the Habsburg-controlled eastern Adriatic coast. The author's objectives are to situate the Italian socialist movement within the historical context of the region and to explore its links with Austrian social democracy. As Cattaruzza points out, however, although the Italians considered their movement a fundamental part of the Austrian one, the view from Vienna was that the Italian movement was basically irrelevant.

Cattaruzza also dedicates much space to a discussion of the national question so important to the Italian and Slovenian inhabitants of the Adriatic coast. In that area, the socialist doctrine of internationalism planted deep roots that survived the collapse of the empire in 1918. Although the Italians and Slovenians established separate socialist organizations, both supported the important activities of the Austrian party, as, for example, when they combined forces during the 1905 demonstrations advocating universal suffrage throughout the empire. There were, however, difficulties in the relationship, as Italian socialists aggressively maintained the superiority of Italian culture over that of their Slavic neighbors.

In turn, as the author explains, Austrian socialists believed that Italians, because of their temperament and culture, would not be able to join successfully in the creation of a united socialist organization. As she points out, the Austrian socialist Wilhelm Ellenbogen bluntly asserted that Italian socialists too often found themselves engaged in grandiose actions with no clear objectives, little determination, and inadequate organization. In addition, of course, the Austrians found cooperation difficult because most of the Italians living within the empire supported the Irredentist movement.

Cattaruzza examines the development of socialist organizations in both the Italian and Slovenian communities from the establishment of the first worker cooperatives to the formation of an official party organization. In the Italian case, this means from the creation of the Trieste Workers' Society in 1869 to the formation of the Socialist Workers' Party in Austria, Italian-Adriatic Section, in 1902. Although the author chronicles these developments in some detail, she does not explain their larger meaning. Every detail and event seems equally important, and there is no overall thesis. The book would have been greatly improved by a concluding chapter that brings together the various parts of the story and explains the significance of Adriatic socialism. Even with these weakness, Cattaruzza's monograph makes an important contribution to a very neglected field of study.

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R. J. B. BOSWORTH and PATRIZIA DOGLIANI, editors.
Italian Fascism: History, Memory and Representation.
New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. viii, 245. \$65.00.

This collection of essays by an international cast of scholars attests to the new, if belated, penetration of postmodern preoccupations with knowledge, memory, and meaning into recent Italian historiography. Despite the book's title, the essays are less analyses of Benito Mussolini's dictatorship than pioneering forays into the contemporary history of Italian culture and its constructions of public memory since 1945. They explore how Italians have selectively recollected, used, abused, and forgotten their fascist past to satisfy shifting psychological, political, and ideological needs over the past half century.

In their introduction, editors R. J. B. Bosworth and Patrizia Dogliani do an excellent job of bringing out the assumptions, themes, and conclusions that tie together the individual essays. At the outset, the editors explicitly locate themselves and their collaborators within the current historiographical debates on fascism and the resistance. Above all, they establish a critical distance from the pretensions to scientific objectivity of "anti-fascist" historians such as Renzo De Felice and Emilio Gentile, whose work has dominated international scholarship on the regime in the past decade. At the same time, they emphasize how many of the essays reflect a new interest in the multiple constructions of national identity that has been occasioned by the crisis of the "First Republic" and the rise of separatist movements and anti-immigrant racism in the 1990s.

Taken together, the contributions underscore the centrality of the years 1943–1945, largely to the exclusion of the interwar dictatorship, in defining recollections of Italy's fascist past. The experience of occupation, war, and civil war in these years fundamentally shaped perceptions of the regime by defining the meaning of collaboration and resistance and by giving

Italians a sense of victimization. The resulting recollections constitute a history of memory in Italy that unfolds in four chronological phases: an immediate post-1945 period, when the war and resistance dominated the collective memory as a common national patrimony with good defeating evil; the Cold War years characterized by anticommunism and silence on Mussolini's regime, a silence that was only partially broken in the 1960s by the reappearance of vague and comforting public memories; a brief phase in the 1970s of intense public debate about the experience of fascism and the resistance as sites of political and moral guidance; and the years since 1980, when a process of conservative normalization has transformed the fascist era into an instrument of pacification and entertainment.

In broad terms, the contributions fit into one of two thematically and methodologically distinct categories. One set of essays examines the evolving representations of fascism and the resistance in the monuments, films, television, and literary works of the past fifty years. A second set of essays mines oral history sources to illuminate and analyze private recollections of the regime and the war years on the territorial periphery and among subaltern groups.

Within the first category, Dogliani's and Bosworth's essays offer broad surveys that provide a context for the more focused contributions of their collaborators. Dogliani argues convincingly that the fragmentary monumental representation of the nation after World War II was not simply a general reaction to fascist memorial excesses but also reflected profoundly different regional experiences of the war—as well as a lack of consensus after 1945 on the figures deserving of memorialization. Bosworth, for his part, examines cinematic treatments of fascism between 1945 and the 1990s to challenge the conventional view of Marxist cultural domination of the medium in Italy. He shows how a variety of mythic representations of fascism and the resistance have vied for position within the Italian film world. While the left did enjoy a brief period of primacy in the national cinema in the 1970s, it never represented any unified political vision and was quickly ousted by an anti-Marxist wave in the 1980s.

Significantly, films and television rather than literature receive the lion's share of attention in the book, accounting for one third of the contributions. Ruth Ben-Ghiat and David Forgacs advance iconoclastic interpretations in their respective treatments of post-war neo-realist films and cinematic fascination with fascism as sexual perversion after 1968. Ben-Ghiat argues that neo-realism, despite its antifascist pretensions, constructed a collective memory of Mussolini's dictatorship that served to exonerate ordinary Italians of all culpability by projecting responsibility for fascism on to foreign powers. In a wide-ranging if somewhat unfocused essay, Forgacs attributes the "hot eruption of pseudo-history" in the films on the fascist past between 1968 and 1976 to the rapid process of sexual liberalization in the 1960s and to a generational

revolt against the collective repression of historical memory during the 1950s. Not surprisingly, Guido Crainz's review of Italian state television's historical treatment of fascism and the resistance highlights the close link between programming and the political climate in the country during the past half-century.

The second set of essays, which examines private recollections, fits less comfortably into the interpretive framework advanced in the introduction to the volume. Roger Absalom's imaginative, if admittedly speculative, treatment of rural memories of the resistance attempts to decode peasant cultural practices to make sense of the complex and contradictory responses of country folk to wartime conditions after 1943. Similarly, Elda Guerra's survey of female autobiographical literature stresses a pluralism in women's representation of fascism and the resistance that reflected generational, political, class, and familial differences as well as issues of personal freedom. In their examinations of ethnic border areas and colonial experiences, Glenda Sluga and Nicholas Doumanis show how post-war political conditions largely determined indigenous memories of Mussolini's regime and antifascism.

Like most multi-authored collections of essays, this volume has some problems of interconnectedness and uneven quality. Mirco Dondi's argument for the persistence of a "Fascist mentality" in Italian society, for instance, is limited by the author's failure to provide a clear definition of what he means by this term. Likewise, Bruno Mantelli's piece on Italians in Germany fits only tangentially into the thematic framework of the book. These problems aside, the volume does offer an English-speaking audience access to the best research on one of the hotter new historical topics of the 1990s.

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RICHARD HELLIE. *The Economy and Material Culture of Russia, 1600–1725*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 671. \$42.00.

Unlike Oscar Wilde's cynic, who knew the price of everything and the value of nothing, in this massive monograph Richard Hellie analyzes everything in Russia between 1600 and 1725 that had a price and tries to discover its value. His database, coded by dozens of research assistants, consists of over 100,000 records extracted almost entirely from approximately 350 published books, both sources and monographs, supplemented by salary data from Marshall Poe and Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) records courtesy of Maria Arel (see appendix two). Hellie is no doubt correct that additional archival research is unlikely to alter his analyses.

The first chapter summarizes those events—wars, riots, and currency devaluations—that affected prices in Russia during this period. The next twenty-two chapters survey the prices of agricultural products; domestic animals and fowls; wild animals and furs; fish

and sea products; processed and imported foods; forest products; construction materials; metals and minerals; paints, inks, dyes, and oils; gems, perfumes, spices, drugs, and jewelry; metal, glass, and wood manufactured goods; books, candles, paper, rope, rugs, tapestries, and tents; textiles; notions and linen; clothing and accessories (etymologies suggest the overwhelmingly Turkish origin of most Muscovite apparel); real estate; wages; vehicles and transportation costs; services and income transfers; and taxes, fees, and fines. Chapter twenty-four compares the confiscated possessions of V. I. Tatishchev from 1608 and V. V. Golitsyn from 1689–1690, and chapter twenty-five is the conclusion.

For each of approximately 1500 commodities, Hellie supplies the English name (these names comprise the index, which lacks personal or geographic names); name in Russian; primary unit of measurement; number of database records; dates; and minimum, median, and maximum prices. Hellie graphs price distributions in 110 figures, showing the median and regression lines. For most commodities, he calculates their aggregate value and the percentage of their chapter's value. There are 137 tables. Hellie has aggregated around 126 million rubles' worth of goods and services.

Hellie is sensitive to the fact that his database is not a random sample; however, the data is so consistent that it seems randomized. He carefully assesses the impact of geographic and chronological, including seasonal, dispersion of prices, trying to explain away many outliers as scribal or transcription errors (for a confirmation of a transcription error, see p. 439). He takes into account the biases of different types of sources: donations tend to exaggerate value, confiscations to minimize value, and customs records to be right on the money. He is straightforward in acknowledging scores of anomalies that cannot be explained on the basis of available information. Obviously, Hellie and his team have accomplished an enormous quantity of background statistical analysis to substantiate his interpretations, including rationalizing units of measurement (see appendix one). As usual, it is assumed that the reader is familiar with statistics.

Hellie finds that except for wars, riots, and the disastrous issuance of copper money, prices remained relatively stable throughout the seventeenth century and even returned to normal during the last ten years of the reign of Peter the Great. The government could not set prices, but it did of necessity dominate many factors of the economy, since Russia's enemies were unwilling to wait while "natural" economic processes produced the technological improvements necessary for Russian survival. Overall, between 1600 and 1725 there was a significant increase in economic inequality as a product of cultural Westernization, which Hellie superbly concretizes in contrasting portraits from ca. 1725 of typical members of the lower class and of the elite, which end the book (pp. 644–45).

Even this weighty book represents a "condensed" version of Hellie's study. For reasons of space, most of

the comparative aspects of the project were scrapped except in the conclusion (Hellie believes the "crisis of the seventeenth century" to be largely irrelevant for Muscovy), as well as much analysis of buyers and sellers and more detailed examination of some commodities. Perhaps lack of space explains the absence of illustrations, unfortunate in a study of material culture. The book's length cannot excuse, in a work of this quality, the surprising number of typographical errors, sentence fragments, awkward constructions, and missing or superfluous words producing grammatical distortions. The most egregious are "Apocathery" (p. 255) for Apothecary, "goatgoatskin" (p. 276), and "oprichinna" (p. 636) for "oprichnina"; the same words were doubled on the last line of page 602 and the first line of page 603. "Pope, cable" in the index (p. 668) should be "Rope, cable." As has been observed, money talks, but its conversational range is limited. It was doubtless difficult to keep the prose lively, but even so, there is much stylistic and substantive repetition. It was hardly necessary to recapitulate that Golitsyn's Crimean expeditions failed nearly every time his name came up. Prices were in the correct "ballpark" (or "ball park") so often that, with all of Hellie's allusions to Chicago, I began to hear Harry Caray singing.

The "tilt" of the source base in favor of government and institutional, especially monastic, purchases may be less significant than the problem of the degree of monetization of the economy. Any study of prices in an economy in which most people grew or gathered most of their own food and made most of their own clothing risks distortion. Hellie deals directly with this methodological problem (see especially pp. 628–29 for a macro view; p. 466 on a peasant's or laborer's budget; p. 633 on incalculable rents). Hellie's biggest disappointment was his inability to derive a meaningful median price for land, decommoitized in the seventeenth century (p. 411). Therefore, a great deal remains unknown about the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Russian economy. Nevertheless, as a comprehensive analysis of prices, this book is arguably definitive.

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ESTHER KINGSTON-MANN. *In Search of the True West: Culture, Economics, and Problems of Russian Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 301. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$27.95.

Since the fifteenth century, Russian social thought has had to find ways of handling the apparent contrasts between an advanced "West" and a backward "Russia." Esther Kingston-Mann's new book is an important addition to the literature on these debates. Her aim is to criticize stereotypical accounts of this contrast. The cover of her book, which shows a bearlike Boris Yeltsin dancing to a Westernized rock band, captures the stereotypes well. But it is also misleading,

for this book is not really about Russia's modern confrontation with "the West," nor about all aspects of that confrontation. It focuses on the imperial period and on issues of agrarian reform. In particular, it discusses the role of communal peasant agriculture. In Europe, there emerged a belief that progress meant private property. Small-scale farming, with its mixture of collective and private tenure, was therefore doomed. This idea is central in the thought of both Adam Smith and Karl Marx. The Bolsheviks took it from Marx, and it justified their destruction of traditional forms of peasant agriculture.

Kingston-Mann insists that conventional critiques of peasant communal agriculture were simplistic and one-sided, and they also failed to capture the "light and shadow" of Western debates on economic development. In reality, as she has shown in her previous research, nineteenth-century Russian peasants were quite capable of technological innovation and often innovated *within* traditional communal structures (see Esther Kingston-Mann, "Peasant Communes and Economic Innovation: A Preliminary Inquiry," in Esther Kingston-Mann and Timothy Mixer, eds., *Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800–1921* [1991], pp. 23–51). Further, "the West" did not always mean liberty or even freedom of property; for many in Russia, it meant military and managerial modernization ("repressive modernization"). Her new book shows that there were always Russian thinkers who understood these nuances well. They understood the diversity of Western economic thinking and knew, therefore, that Prussian or Danish models might be as relevant to Russia as that of England. For such thinkers, progress meant studying the best ways of integrating foreign experiences within the distinctive traditions of Russian agriculture. The cruder forms of "Westernizer" thought may have won out in the long run, but they were not always so influential and were never unchallenged.

Most interesting for this reviewer is Kingston-Mann's extended discussion of the impact of "historical economics" within Russia and of the contribution of Russian thinkers such as N. F. Daniel'son (the translator of Marx), N. K. Michaylovsky, A. I. Chuprov, and A. S. Posnikov. Pioneered by German thinkers such as Wilhelm Roscher, "historical economics" was more sensitive than the emerging mainstream economics to the historical peculiarities of each nation. It was less inclined to see economic development as a process shaped by universal laws, and it was more aware of the role that communal tenures had played in the agricultural history of all countries, including Britain. Marx, too, at the end of his career, came to accept many of these arguments, particularly with regard to Russia. In his famous letter to Vera Zasulich of 1881, he argued that perhaps in Russia, at least, the peasant commune would be incorporated into a distinctive and noncapitalist path of development. The emerging Marxist orthodoxy was eventually to bury this heterodox strand in Marx's own thought.

Kingston-Mann's book is an important reminder of the richness of Russian thought on economic development. She also shows that it can offer fresh perspectives on "the West." Unfortunately, a review such as this cannot do justice to the richness of her treatment. But the question remains: why did the "historical economists" lose? Were there really alternative paths for Russian economic development? Of course, there was nothing inevitable about collectivization. But does it follow that capitalism was avoidable or that the peasantry and commune were *not* doomed in the long run? The long-term history of agriculture in the modern world suggests that eventually traditional peasant agriculture really was doomed. Indeed, the failure of Soviet experiments with a modernized form of collective agriculture is a case in point. This is not the conclusion Kingston-Mann wants us to reach, but sadly her book does not persuade this reader, at least, that it is wrong. Perhaps the book does not have quite as much contemporary significance as its cover implies. Having said this, let me repeat that this is an important survey of a neglected, but interesting and significant, aspect of Russian economic development in the imperial era. Kingston-Mann has successfully rescued from the "condescension of posterity" an important group of intellectual outsiders.

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Sydney

DENISE J. YOUNGBLOOD. *The Magic Mirror: Moviemaking in Russia, 1908–1918*. (Wisconsin Studies in Film.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 197. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Movie attendance skyrocketed in Central and Eastern Europe during World War I. Germany's 2,446 cinemas in 1914 became 3,130 by 1917. The number of Russia's cinemas increased from around 1,500 in 1913 to 4,000 in 1916. In Zagreb, in the major cities of Bulgaria, and in Romania, people increasingly resorted to movies for entertainment and escape.

The impact of this mass medium on the viewers' sense of self and the world must have been considerable. Some years ago, Tartu semiotician and cultural historian Iuri Lotman showed how theater had, in the early nineteenth century, galvanized a segment of Russia's elite by suggesting the "plottedness" (*sujetnost*) of life. When Tsar Nicholas II, who had enjoyed private screenings of films, recalled the meetings, official receptions, weddings, and maneuvers of his last weeks at Petrodvorets, it seemed to him that "all this went on just like a moving picture."

Denise J. Youngblood sets out to trace the early years of Russian cinema in this prequel to her very successful *Movies for the Masses: Popular Cinema and Soviet Society in the 1920s* (1992). Besides reading hundreds of reviews and synopses, she has viewed as much as possible of the extant film. Unfortunately, only about twenty percent of what was produced has

survived, only a third of that is viewable, and it is often unclear how the fragmentary remnants were originally connected.

When Yuri Tsivian plowed this ground, he explored Russian cinema's originality within the context of Russia's prestigious literary culture. He explains, for example, how a static prerevolutionary style very different from anything in American or Western European film, but enthusiastically supported by Russian audiences, perpetuated the dramaturgy of Anton Chekhov by furnishing just enough movement to link long, drawn-out pauses. "The Russian product was preoccupied with feeling, with the vibration of the atmosphere surrounding motionless figures" (*Silent Witnesses: Russian Films 1908-1919* [1989], p. 32). Youngblood, eschewing Russian high culture, sees her work as complementary to Tsivian's, only construing the material from the "bottom up."

Russian studios for film production date from 1907. The first attempts to develop clear narrative structures in the domestic product appeared around 1910. (In Italy this happened a couple of years earlier.) By 1912, studies determined that native audiences were capable of following complex narratives. *Twilight of a Woman's Soul*, a feature film made in 1913, demonstrated lighting and camera techniques that altogether superseded the visual language of theater. Thus, by 1914-1915, when foreign film imports suddenly dwindled to a trickle and sharply rising disposable income and moviegoing made a star system possible, Russian cinema was ready to take off with "its own energy and aesthetic system" (p. 15).

The first half of the book treats the business of film making, the advertising and reception of movies, and attempts to make the new mass medium respectable. (Material on audience reactions, sadly, is nowhere near as rich as for the decade of the 1920s.) The second half considers the strategies and impact of particular films, moving from genre to genre. Besides melodramas and comedies, the Russian industry produced costume drama, folktales, fantastic animation, and even episodes from Jewish life.

Youngblood finds the Russian cinema most effective when reflecting the challenge of modernity (not to be confused with modernism). The medium attracted urban viewers keen to get on by offering guidance on tasteful consumption and the presentation of self in everyday life. Close attention is paid to the proliferation of commodities, the ever sharper juxtaposition of public and private space, the speeding-up of life, and redefinition of gender roles in the cash nexus.

There is little to quibble with here, except perhaps the value placed on recasting Russian literary monuments into film. "The classics, fascinating though they might be, were too far removed from the demands of 'real' life, that is, the modern, urban lifestyle that the typical filmgoer either enjoyed or aspired to enjoy" (p. 127). In fact, the great nineteenth-century Russian plays registered the costs of adapting to the new with exquisite subtlety. (Would not the Russian language be

infinitely poorer without the concept "Khlestakovian?") A Russian sensibility had been formed on the way to the technological and social challenges of the early twentieth century. We are told that Russian wartime cinema was distinctive with respect to its violence, its open expression of class antagonism, its assumption that nothing is permanent, and its penchant for unhappy endings. Although the war may account for the medium's breakneck pace of development, the national sensibility must be more deeply rooted.

A novel and suggestive historical source, this heap of broken images.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JACK PASTOR. *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. xv, 281. \$69.95.

Forms of landownership and land use in Graeco-Roman antiquity have become important questions again in the past two decades, especially under the impulse of new archaeological work by British, French, and other scholars. Scholars of Second Temple Judaism have long been interested in these questions, spurred by land issues in modern Israel as well as by the need to understand the context of the dramatic changes within Judaism at the beginning of our era. The present book by Jack Pastor presents the results of a wide-ranging investigation in the structure of land ownership and its evolution from the Persian period to the Bar Kokhba revolt.

The status of the land is surveyed in helpful detail across the centuries, and the social identity of landowners is abundantly discussed. It is convenient to have all these important questions, as well as issues like famines, demographic evolution, or the nature and extent of royal domains, thoroughly reviewed in one book. The assessment of the textual and archaeological evidence and secondary literature is sober, and Pastor shows good judgment in surveying previous opinions. The chapters on the Persian and Herodian periods were especially interesting in generating new questions.

Regarding the Persian period, it would have been illuminating to replace Nehemiah's role in the social context of the empire. The tensions in Jerusalem may have been caused by the level of taxation, as they were in other areas of the empire (see P. Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* [1996]). Pastor blames borrowing on the new money economy. But the attested existence of tribute and the "table of the governor" suffice to explain this kind of pressure. Further, one cannot speak strictly of a money economy, since it was uncoined weighted silver that was used.

The chapter on Herod paints a complex picture of the landholding structure. The resulting portrait of this

ruler is less negative than usual, and the reassessment of his social and economic policies is not dissimilar from other recent reevaluations. Pastor urges caution for instance regarding the often repeated claim "that the tenant farming system expanded outrageously during Herod's rule" (p. 105). He does not see Herod as an innovator, however, but as a king operating efficiently within the Hellenistic monarchic traditions (p. 99). The author remains prudent regarding the existence of a tribute to be paid to Rome under Herod. Perhaps it is impossible to know exactly the nature of this "tribute," or whether it was fixed, given the long-term fluidity of the political situation under Augustus and his successors. Pastor thinks that interpretations explaining the discontent under Herod and his immediate descendants through economic reasons are simplistic. At the end of his critical analysis of Herod's policies, however, there remains to explain "the sudden violent outburst shortly upon Herod's death" (p. 126). Cultural and religious reasons are not a sufficient explanation for the outcry, and the economic reasons for the difficulties at the end of the reign cannot easily be dismissed, as the author recognizes.

One could wish for an even more critical analysis of land ownership, war, rent, and debt than is offered in this work. For instance, the role of debt and debt forgiveness could be better understood as one form of control of labor in a society in which there could not be any sure forecasting of yield and tax revenues. From the landowners' point of view, to have indebted tenants was the only practical way to know they were being submitted to sufficient pressure. A history of land ownership should also include a systematic study of the forms of agricultural labor, especially rents. Regarding famine, Pastor recognizes war as a major cause of famine (p. 3) but considers that its extraordinariness places it outside the purview of his study. One could argue that war was actually a most relevant part of the system of land exploitation, a basic means to secure access to grain and other food staples, and therefore "ordinary."

One might also quibble with certain formulations, such as passages regarding low life expectancy in ancient society or the effect of Jewish cultural mores on population increase. Numerous typographical errors appear in Greek quotations. All in all, however, this book is an analysis of land issues that should prove useful to all students of Jewish society in the Second Temple and Roman periods.

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RAPHAEL PATAI. *The Children of Noah: Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times*. Assisted by JAMES HORNELL and JOHN M. LUNDQUIST. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 227. \$24.95.

It took more than sixty years to research, write, and publish this fascinating work on ancient Jewish seafar-

ing. Raphael Patai began working on the subject as a graduate student in 1933 (he subsequently changed his dissertation topic). Soon after receiving his Ph.D., Patai returned to his research on ancient Jewish seafaring and published a book in Hebrew titled *Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times* (1938). In 1944, Patai translated this book into English and sent it to an American scholar, James Hornell of Utah (who had written an article on seafaring in antiquity), to request Hornell's opinion of the translation. Hornell urged Patai to publish the work, but Hornell died in 1949, when Patai was already working on another of his thirty books. It was not until 1993 that he resumed his work on ancient Jewish seafarers. Patai died in 1996, two years before publication of this monograph, which in some ways is both his first and last book. The genesis of the volume is so remarkable that it is almost as interesting as its contents, which include—in honor of Hornell's encouragement—an appendix by John M. Lundquist entitled "Biblical Seafaring and the Book of Mormon."

Patai's book, well constructed and written with clarity, exhibits exemplary knowledge of the sources. Hebrew sources include the Bible, the Mishnah, and the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. The ancient writers of Greek and Latin—such as Josephus and Plato, Livy, and Varro—were also studied, as well as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew inscriptions. Patai has used recent archeological discoveries extensively, such as the 1986 excavation of an ancient fishing boat on the shore of Lake Kinneret.

The format of the book is clear and easy to follow. It begins with Noah's ark and examines the story in Genesis, noting that the ark is described there as a rectangular box, 450 feet long, 75 feet wide, and 95 feet high, dimensions that Patai considers impossibly high for ancient times when the story was written or for antiquity in general. Then he shows how the Talmudic writers looked on the ark as a seagoing vessel that had ideal dimensions and floated upright on the water. The Talmudic authors also speculated extensively on the number and shape of the compartments within the ark.

In similar format, Patai describes ships and seafaring in the Bible; types of ships, ship construction, and parts; and maritime trade. His chapter on ancient Jewish naval warfare is especially interesting. The Bible tells us nothing about Hebrew use of warships, but the early Hasmonean rulers Jonathan and Simon conquered Jaffa and made it a gateway to the seas. Later Alexander Jannaeus ruled the entire coastline of Palestine from Raphia to Acre, and Aristobulus, the last Hasmonean king, was accused of piracy before Pompey. Also, some of the coins of Herod Archelaus depict warships with oars and rams.

Josephus describes how, during the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E., the Romans had to fight the Jews on land and by sea on the Mediterranean and Lake Kinneret. He describes in detail how the Roman fleet defeated the Jewish fleet in a naval battle on Lake Kinneret, an

event unique in Jewish history. Patai quotes Josephus's entire account of this engagement.

In his chapter on the Jewish laws of the sea and the river, Patai describes how Jewish sailors attempted to obey Jewish laws. The biblical law prohibiting the taking of interest on loans was a problem, for there were great risks in ancient maritime commerce. This difficulty was removed by offering the ship owner a higher freight rate than originally stipulated. The Tannaitic sages even went so far as to amend the laws so that sailors could tie temporary knots and adjust the ship's rigging on the Sabbath.

There is a delightful chapter on ancient Jewish sea legends and tales; another about the Red Sea and the Mediterranean port cities; and a final one on Lake Kinneret, describing the lake's port cities and fishing.

This unique work of scholarship, well written in a nontechnical way, will be of interest not only to scholars but also to the general reading public.

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ZACH LEVEY, *Israel and the Western Powers, 1952–1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 203. \$39.95.

This is a curious book. Undoubtedly Zach Levey has identified a topic that needed a new and challenging evaluation. Although Uri Bialer's *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1948–1956* (1990) considered the Israeli position within the context of the early Cold War, no scholar has produced a monograph on the more complex issue of Israel's shifting relationship with Britain, France, and the United States. Studies were either limited to bilateral relations—Stephen Green's work on the U.S. and Israel, Sylvia Crosbie's *A Tacit Alliance: France and Israel from Suez to the Six-Day War* (1974), and the revelations of officials such as Abel Thomas in *Comment Israel Fut Sauvé* (1978)—or considered multilateral relations in the significant but restricted context of the Suez crisis of 1956. Even more important, the release of unpublished Israeli documents in recent years affords a perspective beyond that of works dependent on British and U.S. archives.

Yet Levey, seeking “to fill a large gap in the history of the formation of Israel's foreign policy during the 1950s” (p. 1), inexplicably limits himself to the question of Israeli arms procurement. I have no doubt that the issue was important, with Israeli fear of military inferiority vis-à-vis Egypt contributing to the Anglo-French-Israeli collusion in 1956. I can accept a thesis, even if I do not agree with it, on “the centrality of arms procurement” (p. 5) in Israeli strategy. Levey, however, makes this the exclusive concern of Tel Aviv. There is almost no reference to Israeli economic concerns, especially over the continuance of U.S. aid, and no consideration of a complex Israeli diplomacy that not only sought security through cooperation but

also tried to limit British, French, and U.S. support for Arab countries and played the Western powers off against each other. Even Levey's concept of the arms issue is restrictive. For example, he only refers to Franco-Israeli exchanges over nuclear development from 1957, ignoring evidence that those exchanges began before the Suez crisis and, indeed, helped to spur the French into proposing joint operations against Cairo. At the other end of the scale, Levey never acknowledges that the immediate military problem for Israel throughout the 1950s was not the threat of large-scale conventional conflict but the ongoing issue of cross-border *fedayeen* raids and the question of Israeli retaliation.

The outcome is that Levey's history is badly skewed, whether from Israeli, regional, or international perspectives. Consider that the critical issue for Israel in the autumn of 1953 with regard to the United States was not military but economic, with Washington threatening to cut off aid and remittances after the Israeli attack on Qibya in Jordan. Consider that the primary issue in Egyptian-Israeli relations in 1955–56 was the political question of ALPHA, the Anglo-American attempt to forge a long-term settlement, and that one of the catalysts for the 1956 war was the breakdown of that process. Consider the union of Egypt and Syria, the Iraqi revolution, and U.S. and British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. The extent of Levey's concern with arms procurement is such that he only mentions the United Arab Republic in a footnote and gives exactly one sentence to the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy. Levey does consider the possibility of an Israeli invasion of Jordan (which was never seriously considered by the cabinet) but misses the key point that the real reassurance for Israel was the division in the Arab world and the inability of Washington, London, or Paris to forge a stable “alliance” with a major Arab power.

If Levey had presented this book simply as a study of Israel's arms procurement policy between 1952 and 1960 and eschewed any sweeping claims beyond this, then the work would stand as a limited but valuable and, at points, interesting contribution to Israeli and regional history. He does not do so. Instead, in his last sentence, he proclaims, “For Israel's leaders always believed that in the long-term, their relationship with the United States was paramount” (p. 138). It is an intriguing assertion, given the assumption of the primacy of the Franco-Israeli relationship after Suez, with which I have sympathy. It is also an assertion that has no support in the text.

Levey is quite right to take the reader beyond the limited perspective of the Suez crisis. Yet, it is the approach of scholars such as Avi Shlaim and Shimon Shamir, in their examination of Israeli foreign policy before 1956, that shows the way forward. The complexity of policy makers such as David Ben-Gurion, Moshe

Sharett, and Moshe Dayan deserves equally complex treatment.

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M. W. DALY, editor, *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Volume 2, Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 463. \$100.00.

This is one of two volumes published simultaneously by Cambridge University Press; the other examines Egyptian history from the Islamic conquest to 1517. The purpose of both volumes is to provide a comprehensive survey of Egyptian history that is informed by new scholarly methods and approaches, that will "synthesize from discrete sources," and that draws on and incorporates the considerable new material on Egyptian history made available in recent specialized studies (p. xi in both volumes). This volume contains fifteen essays, each by a different author. Four examine the history of Egypt in the Ottoman era (1517–1798); seven consider the "long nineteenth century" from 1798 to 1922; two deal with the liberal age from 1922 to 1952; one (the longest essay) treats Egypt since 1952; and the final essay surveys the evolution of modern Egyptian culture since 1798. An alternative breakdown of essays might distinguish those that focus primarily on politics (eleven of the fifteen), those emphasizing economic and social history (two), and those devoted to cultural life (two).

Individually, the majority of the essays are impressive contributions with valuable insights on the subjects with which they deal. Most draw on the findings of recent research, including the growing body of Arabic monographs based on newly available Egyptian archival materials. Those concerned primarily with politics offer authoritative narratives of the specific periods under consideration, and in most cases they provide thorough and balanced discussions of contested issues in the historiography. Especially worthwhile are the two thematic essays on social and economic patterns over the long nineteenth century (Ehud Toledano) and during the liberal era (Joel Beinin), both of which offer original and convincing reinterpretations of the dominant trends in the relationship among state, economy, and society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Equally stimulating is Nelly Hanna's account of Egyptian cultural life during the Ottoman period, with its decentering of cultural history and its attention to popular culture and intellectual currents emanating from non-elite sectors of society.

For a comprehensive survey, the volume has some problems. As noted above, most of its essays emphasize political history. Some incorporate a few pages on economic trends, social patterns, and the life of the mind; others largely ignore these topics. The focus on politics of necessity results in only occasional and passing attention being given to subordinate groups—

women, peasants, minorities—in most essays. There are surprising imbalances in temporal coverage for a comprehensive survey. Whereas the years of the French occupation and its immediate aftermath from 1798 to 1805 are dealt with in an essay of twenty-six pages, and the turbulent events of 1879–1882 that led to the British occupation of Egypt are narrated in another essay of twenty-two pages, the forty years of the British occupation itself (1882–1922) receive only thirteen pages. It is also arguable that more attention needed to be given to Egypt's involved history in the nearly half-century since the revolution of 1952. Although Alain Roussillon's long essay on the years since 1952 is a penetrating analysis of the influence of social forces and economic constraints upon regime dynamics, it gives less attention to Egypt's involved external history under Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar al-Sadat, and Husni Mubarak.

Summarizing the main insights to be had from a work with fifteen discrete essays, each by a different author, is a difficult task. Nonetheless, a few broader themes do stand out. One, apparent in the articles on Egypt before 1798 and in some of those on the nineteenth century, is contemporary scholarship's emphasis on the Ottoman character of Egypt from the sixteenth until well into the nineteenth century. In contrast to Egyptian nationalist historiography, which has tended to view the long Ottoman era as one of alien domination and sociocultural stagnation, the essays in this volume stress both the degree to which Egypt's elites were a sub-set of Ottoman elite society and the vitality of Egyptian social and cultural life under Ottoman rule. Thus Michael Winter's account of the spread of the "Turkish" form of Sufism; Jane Hathaway's insistence on political factions and rivalries based on the Mamluk or regimental household as a provincial variant of a more general Ottoman pattern; Hanna's demonstration of the dynamism of popular culture under the Ottomans; Khaled Fahmy's portrayal of Muhammad 'Ali as "at heart an Ottoman in an Ottoman world" (p. 167); and Ehud Toledano's account of the emergence of an "Ottoman-local" elite in the nineteenth century (pp. 257–263) all point in the same direction: toward grounding Egypt in an Ottoman context.

Eventually, of course, Ottoman Egypt gave way to something else. A second overarching theme in the work is the creation of a new Egyptian state and society from 1805 onward. Several of the essays (by Fahmy, Robert Hunter, Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, and Toledano) stress the ambiguous nature of the nineteenth-century process of state building, which created a centralized, increasingly independent, and more Egyptianized state and elite but also a regime involving unprecedented regimentation and exploitation of the mass of the indigenous population of Egypt as well as of its new colonial population in the Sudan. Roussillon's essay on post-1952 Egypt in some ways echoes the same theme for the contemporary era: how the state further extended its sway to the economic and cultural

spheres under Nasser, and the ongoing struggle between regime institutions and civil society under Sadat and Mubarak.

Overall, the second volume of the *Cambridge History of Egypt* is a valuable book. While many of its essays summarize findings previously developed in the monographic works written by its contributors, it brings their findings together in concise form in one volume. As a comprehensive survey it has gaps; as a compendium of the latest scholarship on important aspects of modern Egyptian history it is well worth reading.

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SELIM DERINGIL. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*. London: I. B. Tauris. 1998. Pp. xi, 260. \$59.50.

This exemplary book on power and ideology during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II is well-conceived and articulate; it is, in fact, such a major contribution to the study of this sultan's reign that it can be said to have no parallel in Turkish or other languages. The two major strengths of Selim Deringil's study lie in the author's original analysis and thorough use of sources.

Sultan Abdülhamid II's long reign (1876–1909), and the policies enacted during his thirty-two-year rule, continue to be a subject of contention among not only historians but also politicians and journalists in Turkey. This undoubtedly has great significance for modern Turkey, where for decades republican historians have considered pre-1919 history as largely irrelevant to the understanding of Turkey's recent past. Abdülhamid II is one of the rare late nineteenth-early twentieth-century figures in Ottoman history who is still remembered and whose policies continue to be discussed and debated. That discussion, however, has generally been far from dispassionate, despite the high number of scholars who have engaged in the debates. Turkish historiography contrasts portraits of Abdülhamid drawn by "official" historians and by proponents of the romantic, neo-Ottomanist historical school, the latter of whom have gained considerable strength in Turkey over the past two decades. Those promoting official historiography have consistently vilified Sultan Abdülhamid II, while "neo-Ottomanists" have tended to glorify his personage and his policies. Between such extremes, there has been little room for gray areas. Even writing a book on Abdülhamid II's policies is not as simple an accomplishment as it might seem, because every issue, however minor, is a bone of contention in present-day Turkey. This is why many historians have simply avoided conducting research on topics that are directly related to Abdülhamid II's reign and policies. Therefore, despite the enormous importance of the subject, scholarly books that treat it directly are relatively few and far between.

Deringil's pioneering and balanced book may be considered a starting point for the reevaluation and

reinterpretation of the policies articulated and pursued by Abdülhamid II during his long reign. Deringil pays no heed to the nonscholarly approaches that have dominated the field to date and places his own findings in a proper historical context. This is the first major strength of his study.

Deringil also makes extensive use of the available sources, which is an exhausting task in itself, given the scope of the study and the richness of the Ottoman archives. But he does not stop here; additionally he synthesizes his sources with current theoretical methods in history to arrive at uniquely insightful evaluations of Ottoman political and administrative processes. Herein lies the second major achievement of his book.

In the field of Ottoman history, the traditional school refuses to interpret, analyze, and even contextualize the historical material it uses as sources. This school has produced solid works based on archival and other primary source materials but has refrained from offering substantial analysis, providing the reader merely descriptive and documentary essays instead. A second school, which emerged to challenge this approach, consists mostly of sociologists, political scientists, and economists, who often do not have the background necessary to work on historical subjects. Many of these scholars do not even bother to learn Ottoman Turkish—an extinct language that is difficult to master—to decipher Ottoman documents and read other relevant material. Instead, they attempt to explain Ottoman history simply through the use of current theories in the social sciences. Deringil's book is one of the very rare studies that offer insightful analyses of the political and administrative processes of the Ottoman Empire under Abdülhamid II through a skilled combination of sources and theoretical interpretation.

Furthermore, Deringil's study deftly demonstrates that, as opposed to what has been claimed by most diplomatic historians, the turn-of-the-century Ottoman Empire had its own internal dynamic. It was not merely a puppet that was animated at the whim of the Great Powers; rather, like other members of the European concert, the Ottoman Empire pursued policies in inventing tradition, creating a self-portrait, and reinterpreting religion to imperial advantage. These policies were not as peculiar as they had been depicted by early twentieth-century foreign statesman and scholars, who could not comprehend their real nature and who attributed to them exotic and alien characteristics.

Deringil has rendered a major service to the study of the Ottoman Empire under Abdülhamid II, a topic of importance not only for Turkey but for all former Ottoman territories in Europe and the Middle East. The book is written with precision and authority. Now students of late Ottoman history will look to Deringil to produce a book that covers the topic in a broader manner, treating all aspects of Abdülhamid II's reign,

the research for which will require both the industry and imagination reflected here.

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MOHAMMED ENNAJI. *Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth-Century Morocco*. Translated by SETH GRAEBNER. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xxii, 166. \$49.95.

Originally published as *Soldats, domestiques et concubines: L'esclavage au Maroc au XIX^e siècle* (1994), this book by Mohammed Ennaji is one of the most important studies of slavery in an Islamic context to be published in many years. Seth Graebner's English translation makes the book accessible to a wider audience, including those interested in slavery but also those interested in the wider Mediterranean world and the history of Islam. Despite the occasional idiosyncratic translation, the English version is sufficiently accurate to give students of slavery a detailed and extensively documented picture of slave life in nineteenth-century Morocco.

There were probably several hundred thousand slaves in Morocco in the nineteenth century. Except for a few European captives, these slaves came mostly from various parts of sub-Saharan Africa, especially Senegambia and Timbuktu, but also from as far away as the Hausa country and Borno in the central Sudan. Many slave women were concubines and domestics, thereby conforming to the common image of slavery in Islamic lands. Some men were in the army of the king or in the militias of the various warlords in the countryside, which is also consistent with the practice of using slaves in military service in Islamic countries. Slaves worked in craft production as well, and besides being ubiquitous in the palaces, they were found in every corner of the state bureaucracy. But other slaves also worked the land, especially in southern Morocco. Hence slaves were not only used in domestic and government service but also in production.

The study is based on an impressive array of primary source materials, including official correspondence from the Bibliothèque Hassaniya in Rabat, court records, tax returns, and materials in several other Moroccan archives. Ennaji also used Arabic manuscripts from the nineteenth century and French and other European sources, including travel accounts and captivity narratives. There are extensive references to these materials and numerous examples to elaborate the complexities of master-slave relationships. The slavery revealed from the documents is neither benign nor ameliorative. Although religious factors and the "non-capitalist" setting have often been cited to suggest otherwise, Ennaji shows that to be a slave in Morocco in the nineteenth century was, typically, not pleasant.

In exploding a number of myths about slavery and Islam, Ennaji carefully confines his analysis to Morocco and the empirical data that he has. He states that

much of what has been written on slavery in Morocco is simply wrong and that, by extension, generalizations about slavery and Islam are open to question. He specifically states that it is premature to generalize about the condition of slaves and the impact on society in the Islamic world. Although Ennaji refers to the literature on Islam and the manner in which slavery and Moroccan society have been discussed in the past, he chooses not to engage this literature. Nonetheless, his frank historical and sociological exposé reveals more about certain themes than is generally the case in the study of slavery, whether in an Islamic context, the Americas, or elsewhere. For example, he looks more closely at the sexuality and domesticity of slavery than do most scholars. The book is central in considering issues of gender and slavery.

Although the racial factor is often minimized in discussions of slavery under Islam, Ennaji shows that a racial distinction often isolated slaves from the dominant population of the Maghreb. Despite pronouncements to the contrary and an ideology that preached otherwise, slaves, former slaves, and freed slaves were not safe in Morocco in the nineteenth century. Through reference to numerous court cases, Ennaji makes it clear that legal pronouncements aside, slaves, former slaves, and their descendants were harassed, bullied, and violated at will, and even safeguards such as flight to the king's palace did not guarantee safety or protection. Despite this uncertainty, the striking thing about Ennaji's evidence is the extent to which slaves also experienced times of relative security, a modicum of prosperity, and chances of advancement. Slaves married, they had children, and they went on pilgrimage to Mecca. Some became free, with independent crafts and the hope that their children would do better still.

This praise for the book does not extend fully to the translation, which occasionally interferes with the meaning of key terms. "Guild" is a curious translation for the French *corporation*, (p. 100), when it is clear from the context that the term is being applied to titled slave households in the Makhzen (the central government of the king) who constituted the state bureaucracy and hence were certainly not guilds in the usual meaning of that term. Neither glossary nor index refers to the *hajib*, the official in the Makhzen who was responsible for the various slave households. The term is curiously translated as "chamberlain," although not until page 101 is the reader told that the "chamberlain" was the *hajib*.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CHRISTOPHER EHRET. *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. xvii, 354. \$45.00.

For more than a century, scholars have been discussing the historical implications of the fact that the 500-odd Bantu languages, spoken over the southern half of Africa, are much more closely related to each other than those of any other group of African languages. Comparative linguists have long agreed that these languages must have dispersed from their common parent much more recently than the rest, and the earliest suggestions, framed against a background of apparently triumphant European imperialism, favored a military interpretation: the Bantu must have conquered their predecessors with the iron spear. By the 1950s, interest had shifted to food production and population increase. Then it seemed that the Bantu had probably assimilated their hunting and gathering predecessors by bringing the appropriate food plants and cultivating them with the aid of the iron axe and the iron hoe. By the 1960s, linguistic research had advanced far enough to show both that the external affinities of Bantu were with the Niger-Congo languages of southern West Africa and that the oldest of the Bantu languages were those spoken in the north-western, mainly forested corner of the Bantu sphere. The first radiocarbon datings were emerging from the laboratories, and they seemed to indicate the outlines of a credible diffusion of iron technology, moving from eastern Nigeria to the southeastern extremity of the continent between about 600 B.C. and about A.D. 400. Since archaeology had turned up only very meager evidence of Stone Age food production within the Bantu sphere, it seemed that the spread of iron could be linked with a revolutionary change of the entire economy on a scale sufficient to explain the rapid spread of a new family of languages. It only remained to be determined at what stage in their expansion the Bantu acquired their iron technology—and by what route.

Christopher Ehret, now probably the doyen of African historical linguistics, has long participated in the ongoing debate, and has hitherto done so from the interesting angle of an initial specialization in the linguistics of the region to the northeast of the Bantu sphere, the southern Sudan and Ethiopia, which belong to totally different language families from Bantu. Time and again, in his publications and at international conferences, he has insisted that Bantu languages and those of the once widely spread Khoisan languages of the hunter gatherers were not the only players in the process of Bantu expansion, but that it could be proved from the study of loan words that Bantu languages had borrowed extensively from Central Sudanic, Nilotic, and Cushitic languages, the speakers of which must have been present deep down the eastern side of the continent at the time of the first Bantu contact. The borrowings, he claimed, showed that it was from these peoples that the eastern Bantu, who had been until then merely woodland planters of root crops, learned the rudiments of seed agriculture, cattle pastoralism, and even iron working.

Now Ehret has at last published the first fruits of

many years' study of the eastern and southern Bantu languages. He allows some 3500 years for a slow expansion of proto-Bantu fishermen and riverside gardeners, following river lines eastward through the equatorial forest from Cameroon to the Congo/Nile watershed, where his story begins. His book covers the much more rapid expansion of Bantu speakers through the length and breadth of eastern and southern Africa between about 1000 B.C. and A.D. 400, with their languages dividing and subdividing as they dispersed. The basic evidence is that of the retention or loss of common elements of vocabulary, and the borrowing of other elements from non-Bantu sources, at every stage of the dispersal. The subjects covered include words for landscape, seasons, flora and fauna, domesticated animals and plants, tools and weapons, house building, pottery, furniture, clothing, musical instruments, mining, and metallurgy. Briefly, Ehret sees the Bantu pioneers first occupying the wooded highland fringe of western East Africa, then learning from non-Bantu neighbors the arts of seed agriculture and cattle pastoralism needed for effective food production in the drier country to the east and the south. Thus equipped, they could cross the dry plateau between the Great Lakes and the Indian Ocean coast, where their water-side skills ensured them a further period of rapid expansion. It all makes a beguiling interpretation, despite the lack of archaeological confirmation of the gifted non-Bantu neighbors. In general, Ehret downplays the importance of iron working and leaves the enigma of its transmission unsolved. Nevertheless, this book makes an important contribution, deserving the serious attention of all concerned with the history of Africa.

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ISIDORE OKPEWHO. *Once Upon a Kingdom: Myth, Hegemony, and Identity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 252. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European traders were much impressed by the city of Benin, comparing it to Amsterdam. Capital of a large conquest state that at its height controlled many surrounding peoples in today's Nigeria, its power center was the palace, where its ruler, the Oba, was a sacred king who wielded life and death powers besides operating a cycle of rituals to ensure the healthy life of the kingdom. In 1897, a British punitive expedition sacked the city, banished the Oba (although a successor was later reinstated), and took away most of the famous bronzes, whose fame has replaced the first colonial image of Benin as "the city of blood" (from human sacrifices) with one of great art and thus of African civilization. The appeal to Africans of Benin's reputation is exemplified by the appropriation of its name for a state well to the west of its influence, the former Dahomey.

Isidore Okpewho's study analyzes another kind of

representation: Benin as imaged in stories told by Igbo people, from communities abutting the west of the kingdom today and conquered, or subject to its exactions, in past times. Several scholars have noted that acephalous peoples in southern Nigeria—including peoples much further afield than Okpewho's subjects—tell of "Idu" (Benin) as a fantastical city, glamorous as well as fearful, on which heroic quests are centered. In this, "Idu" resembles "Rom" and other representations of Byzantium that long outlasted its fall among those very barbarians Byzantium distinguished from itself. This book, therefore, is interesting to anyone who wishes to reconstruct the cognitive and emotional impact of powerful empire builders on their weaker neighbors (or prey).

Okpewho proceeds by painstaking discussion of several tales, collected by him or by his close associates over the past twenty years or so. He accords these oral performances the care in presentation expected by scholars for documents, and he relates the character and status of the tellers—and their interlocutors—to the development of their narratives. In these respects, the book is exemplary. Okpewho pays attention to the form, symbolic structuring, and emotional tempo of stories as well as their surface content and derives from them themes that include the power of the Oba—arbitrary and extreme but also a dispenser of justice—and the resistance of the weak, who may circumvent bloodthirsty dominance, expressed sometimes through familiar folkloric motifs like the successive attempts of three brothers to rescue a woman kidnapped to Benin or the successful agency of marginal and isolated old women in outwitting the Oba or his wives.

Okpewho's material is not susceptible to extrapolating chronological data. His repeated assertion that "Benin had such an impact on these peoples' lives as to dominate their historical imagination" (p. 8) could only be substantiated by exegesis of other genres as well, and his own historicizing of Benin narratives can be questioned: centers also examine their pasts through myth. He certainly supports his argument that terror, especially through war, has survived in stories as Benin's characteristic effect on others.

To the historian, this substantial text may seem to proffer somewhat limited findings. Its strengths lie additionally in suggesting how tellers may be recollecting Benin-centered plots partly as a way to comment on current local, and indeed national conflicts, a key point when trying to explain oral transmission, which must always be socially relevant at some level. By careful elucidation of context, Okpewho opens up the past significance of what may be presented as minor details. Defining Igbo culture as essentially "republican" dehistoricizes it, although he finally makes modest suggestions, mostly derived from non-literary evidence, about what neighboring cultures and polities also gave to Edo/Benin culture, and these imply some common developments of hierarchy.

Okpewho also shows honestly how Benin-centered

stories can provide convenient loci for local uncertainties about power and authority. His own moral is clear. "If we continue to sing the praises of successful warmongers and usurpers of other peoples' lands and wealth, what right do we have to chastise European colonizers who did exactly the same? And do we not see a disturbing resemblance between some of these figures . . . and the ignoble villains who continue to lead their nations to ruin in . . . Africa" (p. xi)? Although some final ideas for reforming Nigerian politics seem sadly unrealistic, Okpewho here contributes to the transmission of past experiences by relating them to the present.

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DERYCK SCARR. *Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xi, 238. \$65.00.

During the eighteenth century, a mercantilist interest in tropical colonies brought European settlers and capital to different tropical areas seeking to emulate success in the West Indies. Deryck Scarr's book deals not with the whole of the Indian Ocean but rather with the French colonies on the Mascareigne Islands: Reunion (originally Île de Bourbon), Mauritius (originally Île de France), and the Seychelles. In fact, more than half of the book deals with illicit slaving between 1807 and 1833. Originally strategic ports of call for the Dutch and Portuguese on the route to the Indies—Mauritius was named by the Dutch—the Mascareignes saw the development of agricultural production in the eighteenth century. French planters took over the underpopulated islands and used slave labor to grow coffee, cotton, and cinnamon, and in the nineteenth century, sugar.

The slaves came primarily from Madagascar and Mozambique, although some also came from Asia. By 1805, the slave population outnumbered the free by more than four to one and more than half of the free population was Colored. The islands were closer than the West Indies to their sources of labor, but treatment was harsh and the mortality rate on the short voyage seems to have been higher than that on the Middle Passage (twenty-five percent on voyages from the East African coast). Like the West Indies, these were very much slave societies, afraid of slave rebellion and committed to brutal punishments in order to maintain order. They did not suffer from revolt but did experience a lot of marronage, mostly what was classed as *petit marronage*. No maroon state was ever created, but slaves often went missing for long periods of time. In the 1820s, over a tenth of the slaves on Mauritius were often missing. One result of the harshness of treatment and the cheapness of slaves was that deaths were significantly more numerous than births up to the end of the system, which increased the pressure for imports. Both under British occupation and after the return to France of the Île de Bourbon, the slave trade

was illegal, but enforcement was not efficient on Mauritius and quite lackadaisical on Île de Bourbon. The coasts were hard to police, and where illegally introduced slaves were found, they were often returned to their owners by the courts. This continued until the 1830 Revolution in France and the abolition of slavery on Mauritius in 1833.

Scarr is also interested in sexual relations of white men and slave or free black women and the resulting emergence of a large mulatto Colored population. Racial hierarchies and social distance were very important, but the barriers were frequently crossed and many fathers were apparently concerned about the well-being of both their offspring and former concubines. The result was the emergence of slave-owning small Colored landowners similar to *petits blancs*. Scarr discusses the hostility of the French residents of Mauritius to their British overlords during the 1820s. This made it difficult for the British to enforce laws against the slave trade and laws protecting the slaves against harsh treatment. With the freeing of the slaves in 1833, the British conceded a more important role in administering the island to local elites. Scarr suggests that the emancipation of the slaves was the price Creole elites paid for winning control of local govern-

ment. He does not discuss what this meant for the process of emancipation.

Scarr has done extensive archival research. In particular, he makes good use of notarial and court records. Unfortunately, he uses this information in a fairly anecdotal and unsystematic way. Given his byzantine writing style and the way he organizes his material, it is often not completely clear what his argument is or where he is going with the information he presents. The book could have used the services of a good editor. It could also have used more analysis. Scarr uses information on the Caribbean, particularly on the way events in the Caribbean shaped the fears of planters in the Mascareignes; he does not, however, really compare, and he does not get very deeply into the organization of the plantations or slave culture, beyond repeated references to the very brutal punishments of slaves. Although his own research is extensive, Scarr is primarily a historian of the Pacific and seems unfamiliar with much of the relevant secondary literature on his subject. He has one article by Gwyn Campbell in his bibliography and does not cite either Hubert Gerbeau or Moses Nwulia.

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Film Reviews

THE MESSENGER: THE STORY OF JOAN OF ARC. Produced by Patrice Ledoux; directed by Luc Besson; screenplay by Andrew Birkin and Luc Besson. 1999; color; 130 minutes. Distributor: Columbia Pictures.

In a recent issue of the *American Historical Review*, speaking of the “class and gender implications of Joan’s story,” I expressed the hope that “some future filmmaker will create a new drama of Joan of Arc that will do justice to these issues” (*AHR* 100:4 [October 1999]: p. 1427). So much for my optimism. This second major production within a year based on Joan’s life is even less satisfying than the first. While the television miniseries *Joan of Arc* lost track of a believable Joan by making her saintly from start to finish, Luc Besson’s potboiler *The Messenger* introduces the child Joan as someone enraptured by mystical visions, but the film later destroys this religious basis for her life. In a weird scene where she is cross-examined by a hooded monk (or spirit) played by Dustin Hoffman, Joan is revealed as a self-indulgent egotist.

As for its political point of view, *The Messenger* opens with a brief printed summary of the state of the Hundred Years’ War in Joan’s time but seldom mentions politics again. Its interpretation of the dauphin as a dimwit is a give-away: whereas today Charles VII is credited with having been an adroit diplomat and the founder of the centralized French government, here he is played for laughs. The entire film is confused and confusing.

Apparently, the opportunity to play off Joan’s young innocence against the blood and gore of medieval battle scenes, plus the possibilities presented by her dramatic immolation, is more than many filmmakers can resist. Fifteen major films have celebrated Joan’s fame, as well a number of minor movies and documentaries; that some, like *The Messenger*, have had no coherent interpretation with which to fill the space between these three classic scenes does not seem to deter producers. For the record, I should note the particulars of this newest effort and then move on to a broader question about how history is served by the film industry’s apparent devotion to Joan.

The film begins with the astonishing claim that Joan’s older sister Catherine was killed by enemy soldiers, and then raped, all while the young Joan

watched. There being not a shred of evidence for this horrifying scene, one might accuse the writers of sensationalizing, except that the plot actually uses this fiction as the motivation for Joan’s mission to drive the English out of France. She becomes the hero of France in order to avenge her sister! After this whooper, the audience is at least warned not to expect much attention to the very real issues raised by Joan’s life: for example, the clash between her mysticism and life of activism, the wall raised against her as a woman, or the way church and state combined forces against her spirit-led vision.

Along with the usual meeting with the dauphin, the crowning at Rheims, and other stock bits from Joan of Arc biographies, this film provides surely the longest battle of Orleans ever. That it lasts almost half the film gives away the filmmaker’s ambition to create an action spectacular. The tone of the film wobbles badly. An example of this is that, when in battle, Joan is everywhere at once, exhibiting a moving, heroic audacity, while the rest of the time she relates to her men rather like Snow White with her Seven Dwarfs.

That there are memorable moments only proves that you cannot completely erase the appeal of this young woman. One of these moments occurs after she recants and is sentenced to life in a military prison: the guards are let loose and gang-rape her, a rape that, unlike the attack on Catherine, very probably did happen. As the actress Milla Jovovich plays it, this atrocity forces Joan deep inside herself. Not a word is spoken. She simply puts on male clothing again, thereby condemning herself to the stake.

I would like to declare a moratorium on Joan of Arc movies. No amount of “authentic medieval detail” that recent films have served up can make up for the way most of them ignore the main, exciting issues of her life. Better to give students copies of the trial transcript and let them debate the questions of conscience versus tradition, of the individual versus powerful institutions, that are played out there. If they do that, they will find echoes of Joan’s debate in the recent protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization and in the criticism of NAFTA by the Zapatista rebels in Chiapas. When George Bernard Shaw wrote that Joan is “the queerest fish among the eccentric worthies of the Middle Ages” (*Seven Plays by George*

Bernard Shaw [1951], p. 747), he meant that she was a prophet, born before her time, a trail-blazer in matters of religious conscience as well as in military strategy and in asserting that a woman could live and act as men did. This is the story worth our attention.

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RIDE WITH THE DEVIL. Produced by Robert Colesberry, Ted Hope, and James Schamus; directed by Ang Lee; screenplay by James Schamus, based on the novel by Daniel Woodrell. 1999; color; 138 minutes. Distributor: Universal Pictures.

Significant historical events and characters have seldom been brought to the screen in such a casual, even offhand manner as in *Ride with the Devil*, the Ang Lee/James Schamus adaptation of Daniel Woodrell's novel *Woe to Live On* (1987). The film refuses to foreground the larger issues and conflicts of the Kansas-Missouri border skirmishes leading up to and continuing through the Civil War, when pro-Confederate Missouri guerrillas, "bushwhackers," contended with Unionist Kansas guerrillas, "jayhawkers," to determine the status of the newly opened Kansas territory as either slave or free. Indeed, except for the opening titles, which briefly establish the historical contexts, the movie offers viewers little information concerning the political and ideological dimensions of the conflict. Moreover, real-life characters and events, such as the Missouri guerrilla chieftain William Clarke Quantrill and his infamous raid on the free-state bastion of Lawrence, Kansas—leaving close to 200 dead and Lawrence's downtown district in flames—are given a scant few minutes of screen time. They are underplayed to the point that they seem mere interruptions to the real drama in the foreground: incidents in the lives of the three central characters, Jake Roedel (played by Tobey Maguire), Dan Holt (Jeffrey Wright), and Sue Lee Shelley (Jewell).

These young people are displaced persons who find themselves on the "wrong" side of the struggle. Eighteen-year-old Roedel is a first-generation German-American who, contrary to his father's Unionist political sympathies, rides with his Missouri guerrilla friends. Holt is a freed slave who, out of loyalty to the man who secured his freedom, also rides for the Southern cause. And the woman who enters the lives of these men, Shelley, exists outside of the conflict entirely; a war widow after a brief few weeks of marriage, she has concern only for the fatherless child she must raise. Issues dividing the North and the South are not what motivate these three; rather, they are driven by their loyalty to one another and their fight to stay alive in a world gone mad. At ground level, as Roedel observes not long after Quantrill's massacre, abstract causes do not exist: "There's no right or wrong; things just is."

The film's protagonists are hardly the obligatory

stock heroes of the standard historical film. Roedel and Holt greet the sufferings they incur and the killings they commit with an almost deadpan acceptance. For her part, Shelley is unapologetic in her needs for sex and a husband, and she goes about her business with blunt, practical efficiency. They all see history from eye level, from the ground up, displaying not a trace of that self-conscious hindsight about events that all too often surfaces in pictures of this kind. They blend into the ground of history. At the same time, as director Lee has noted in interviews, their very neutrality enables viewers to regard them as universal emblems of people who find themselves helplessly caught up in other wars at other times, be it the Civil War of seventeenth-century England or the strife of modern-day Bosnia and Kosovo.

Ride with the Devil is the latest installment in a long line of films tackling the subject of the Kansas-Missouri border wars and, specifically, the Lawrence massacre. To a large extent, filmmakers have merely extended the precedents set by the first histories of the period, like John Newman Edwards's *Noted Guerillas* (1875) and William Elsey Connelley's *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (1910), which, respectively, romanticized and demonized the exploits of the guerrilla chieftain. Hollywood's "virtual histories," as Niall Ferguson (*Virtual Histories: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* [1999]) might call them, like Raoul Walsh's *Dark Command* (1940), Ray Enright's *Kansas Raiders* (1950), Edward Berndt's *Quantrill's Raiders* (1958), Melvin Frank's *The Jayhawkers* (1959), and, more tangentially, Clint Eastwood's *The Outlaw Josie Wales* (1976) and Walter Hill's *The Long Riders* (1980), alter and reconfigure events into shapes congruent with the contexts of their own times. In *Dark Command*, the defeat of Quantrill and his dark forces offered reassurance to audiences uneasy about an approaching world war (with John Wayne on hand to reinforce the message by saving the day). In *Kansas Raiders*, border ruffians Frank and Jesse James embodied the postwar cynicism of a newly emerging character type, the juvenile delinquent. *Quantrill's Raiders* pandered to the cheap thrills required of a B-movie melodrama. And *The Jayhawkers* reflected the self-conscious "social problem" films of the 1950s by putting megalomaniac Quantrill on the psychiatrist's couch.

Now, in its turn, comes *Ride with the Devil*, a complex, postmodernist blurring of the lines between figure and ground, reality and myth, frontier wilderness and domestic hearth, between history as violent pageant and as personalized individual story. Lee is determined to smelt down the Civil War and its abstract political and ideological rhetoric to the intimate dimensions of a chamber drama of familial contexts and conflict. This is the sort of thing he has been doing all along in his films, albeit in different historical and social contexts, as is evident in pictures like *Pushing Hands* (1992), *Wedding Banquet* (1993), *Eat Drink Man Woman* (1994), *Sense and Sensibility* (1995) and *Ice Storm* (1997). Like *The Wedding Ban-*

quiet and *Sense and Sensibility* in particular, *Ride with the Devil* concludes not with violence and bloodshed but with the promise of reconciliation and renewal. Perhaps this seems strangely upbeat in light of what has come before. But even in the face of war, these people stubbornly insist on getting on with their own lives.

Concluding the film is a lovely postscript, rather like a benevolent musical grace note. As Holt parts company with his friends, he turns in the saddle to life his hat. It is the most beautiful salute in the history of the movies. Not since Henry Fonda, playing Wyatt Earp, doffed his stetson in honor of the school marm in *My Darling Clementine* (1946) have we had such a graceful gesture. It is a benediction that rises above the flames of war.

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BROTHER, CAN YOU SPARE A BILLION? THE STORY OF JESSE H. JONES. Produced and directed by Eric Strange; written by Steven Fenberg and Eric Strange. 1998; color and black and white; 57 minutes. Distributor: Houston Public Television.

THE STRANGE DEMISE OF JIM CROW: HOW HOUSTON DESEGREGATED ITS PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, 1959–1963. Produced by Thomas R. Cole, Tom Curtis, and Bill Howze; directed by David Berman; written by Tom Curtis. 1997; color and black and white; 60 minutes. Distributor: University of Texas Press.

Their titles suggest that these two documentaries have little in common beyond a shared setting, Houston. Because most historians tend to focus on the national phase of Jesse Jones's career, the link would seem even more tenuous. Taken together, however, these films provide a succinct introduction to the changes that transformed the U.S. South in the first two thirds of the twentieth century.

Jones helped produce, and was a product of, the New South. Although he was the son of a Tennessee tobacco grower, his worlds were those of commerce and the city. Born nine years after Robert E. Lee's surrender, Jones launched his career in his uncle's lumber business in Texas. Shrewd and willing to finance expansion with credit, he grew rich by diversifying from lumber to construction to real estate. His successful leadership of the project to construct the Houston ship canal assured the city's future and caught the attention of Woodrow Wilson.

Like many film biographies, this one devotes too little attention to wider trends and patterns, although the filmmakers do at least sketch many of the most important links. In the case of Wilson, they note that Jones shared the president's general dislike of monopoly power and his particular desire to curb the influence of the financial community on Wall Street. Jones accepted a top wartime job with the Red Cross and afterwards worked to integrate his city and his region

more thoroughly into the economic life of the nation. The Depression brought Jones to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), although not before he organized a successful effort to avert a local banking crisis. The film's interpretation of the Depression comes from Arthur Schlesinger: the New Deal saved capitalism from the real danger of revolution. Why the hard times lasted so long is never really explained.

Jones emerges as an enlightened autocrat who brooked no foolishness from myopic businessmen. The range and scale of RFC activities are noted, as is its record of sound management and cost effectiveness. That these policies carried societal costs is another issue left unexplored, as is the impact of World War II on the South. Instead, the film focuses on the bureaucratic infighting between Jones and Henry Wallace. Viewers will also get a lesson in effective congressional relations, one of the many aspects of his job at which Jones excelled. As biography, perhaps the major shortcoming here is the film's failure to explain why Jones was unable to get Franklin Delano Roosevelt to favor him over Wallace. Perhaps some modern scholars have overemphasized the president's underlying conservatism.

Only three years elapsed between Jones's death in 1956 and the beginning of the period covered by *The Strange Demise of Jim Crow*, yet it is apparent that we are entering a different era. The strains of Leadbelly's "Midnight Special," which open *Strange Demise*, had no place in the life of Jones. African Americans were almost invisible in the Jones biography, but race relations soon became an issue the white Southern elite could no longer ignore. *Strange Demise* introduces us to a world in which a black man found with a white woman's picture in his wallet could be arrested, jailed, and beaten. Such an incident propelled a law student named Eldrewey Stearns into the leadership of the emerging civil rights movement in Houston. As the film notes, Houston lacks the fame of Greensboro or the notoriety of Birmingham. Yet Houston has its own story, and it is fascinating indeed.

Houston desegregated its public facilities because student activists forced it to do so. This was accomplished with a minimum of public turmoil because the city leadership arranged things that way. As the film ably shows, the most striking feature of the process was how effectively it was managed. A key participant in this effort was Jesse Jones's nephew, John T. Jones. The filmmakers were able to locate and interview most of the key African-American leaders of civil rights activity in Houston. Their articulate and compelling voices compensate for a shortage of archival films. Inspired by their peers to the east, students at Texas State University undertook a series of sit-ins, beginning in 1960. The film shows us a variety of outlooks within both the black and white communities and conveys especially well the actual processes of desegregation.

Vital as it was, student activism represents only part of the story. *Strange Demise* reveals the quiet but

crucial role played by African-American business and professional circles. They not only funded legal support but negotiated effectively with white leaders to create concrete plans for change. The white leadership was itself divided. Some were wedded to the status quo; others were not. Avoiding violence was a powerful motive for men like Jones. This is usually ascribed to their desire to protect the business climate, but the film indicates that some white leaders remembered earlier instances of rioting against blacks and were determined to prevent a recurrence of such horrors. The result was coordinated nonviolence in a form unlike anything envisioned by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Twice, local media agreed to ignore the story when scores of downtown businesses were peacefully desegregated in a carefully orchestrated process.

Like the Jones film biography, *Strange Demise* skimps on context. The background on Jim Crow is hardly adequate, and there is no real assessment of what desegregation efforts achieved and where they fell short. Each film nevertheless tells its story engagingly for classroom use and raises issues that should make for effective discussion.

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FRANTZ FANON: *BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASK*. Produced by Mark Nash for the Arts Council of England; directed by Isaac Julien; written by Isaac Julien and Mark Nash. 1995: color and black and white; 50 minutes. UK. Distributor: California Newsreel.

Since his death from leukemia in 1961, Frantz Fanon—the author of *Black Skin, White Mask* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)—has emerged as one of the most influential thinkers of the postcolonial world. As a prophet of Third World liberation, Fanon was embraced by colonial liberation struggles and the international student movement of the 1960s and 1970s. He was an original thinker on the psychological dimension of racism and the relationship between colonized and colonizer, and his work has given rise to a substantial and growing scholarly literature in a number of disciplines. Although it would be perhaps an exaggeration to say that there is currently a resurgence of interest in Fanon (as a recently edited collection of Fanon studies makes clear, interest in him has never really waned), it is probably true that scholarly engagement with his work has intensified and broadened.

Isaac Julien, the director of the critically acclaimed *Looking for Langston* (1988) and *Young Soul Rebels* (1991), has created a documentary that is both part of the intensified interest in Fanon's life and thought and a contribution toward understanding him from a black, British, cultural studies perspective. Julien's film is a highly accessible and visually striking introduction to the life and thought of an extraordinarily complex activist and thinker, weaving together documentary

footage, readings from Fanon's work, dramatizations of critical junctures in his life, scholars' and critics' analysis of his work, and family members' and friends' recollections of him. The documentary footage, much of it drawn from popular culture, effectively establishes the historical ground of Fanon's political and intellectual life. The recollections contribute to establishing the remarkable impact that Fanon had on those around him. Indeed, one of the film's most poignant moments comes when Fanon's brother, Joby, is so emotionally overwhelmed by recalling his brother's death that he is unable to read the last letter than Fanon wrote him.

At the heart of the film is Fanon's quest to come to terms with racism and colonization. In a series of dramatically lit and visually stark scenes, Colin Salmon portrays Fanon as a statuesque and tormented figure, highlighting his integrity as well as his alienation and estrangement. The conspicuously staged dramatizations are juxtaposed against the hectic tempo of the documentary footage and the more relaxed pace of the recollections and analysis. The effect produces variation in visual pacing, but I still found the dramatizations stilted and contrived, magnifying Fanon's remoteness not only from his own world but from the viewer's as well.

What links Julien's documentary to recent trends in Fanon criticism is the commentary by cultural critics Françoise Verges and Stuart Hall that accompanies Salmon's reading from the original texts. It is Hall, a Jamaican-born intellectual living in Britain since 1951 and one of the pioneers of British cultural studies, who draws a picture of Fanon more germane to the experience of the black diaspora than to Third World liberation struggles. He gives appropriate attention to Fanon's experience of the Algerian war for independence, and he acknowledges the importance of *The Wretched of the Earth* as a text of the moment. But he suggests that Fanon at this point in his life was romantic about constructing the "new man" and lacked insights into Algerian culture or the role of religion in it.

Hall (and implicitly Julien) is considerably more enthusiastic about the earlier *Black Skin/White Mask*, and it is no accident that it this work that gives the film its title. Whereas *The Wretched of the Earth* was produced in the context of anticolonial struggle, the earlier text emerged from Fanon's experience of studying medicine in France after World War II. As an intellectual from one of France's oldest colonies, Martinique, brought up to revere French culture, Fanon was compelled to come to terms with metropolitan racism. Hall makes two points. First, he interprets the passage where Fanon was shattered by the look of a French woman and her child in terms of discourse and representation. According to Hall, Fanon was destroyed because the false, depersonalized self, discursively erected as an imitation of the world of the colonizer, suffered an explosion from outside, revealing his lack of an autonomous self with which to

confront the world. Second, Hall calls attention to the sexualized nature of the look that Fanon describes, recalling Homi Bhabha's postcolonial and Lacanian reading of Fanon in the essay "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination, and Discourse of Colonialism" (reprinted in Bhabha's *Location of Culture* [1994]). According to Hall, Fanon was interested in the unstable construction of masculinity, a rereading of the master/slave relationship in Oedipal terms.

Hall's inclination to see Fanon's thought in the context of discourse and representation is situated within the milieu of cultural studies and the context of the black diaspora, and Julien's privileging of Hall's

analysis affirms his own position there as well. Yet, if *Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask* represents a particular point of view, it is likewise a gripping documentary about one of the most important, influential thinkers of the last half century. Visually striking and intellectually sophisticated, the film offers a fresh interpretation of Fanon's life and thought. For those seeking an introduction to this remarkable man, it is an excellent place to begin.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHOD/THEORY

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- TROUBETZKOY, GREGORY, editor and translator. *In the Service of the Tsar against Napoleon: The Memoirs of Denis Davydov, 1806–1814*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1999. Pp. 223. \$34.95.

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- YOUNG, CRAWFORD, editor. *The Accommodation of Cultural Diversity: Case-Studies*. New York: St. Martin's, in association with UNRISD. 1999. Pp. x, 222. \$65.00.
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Communications

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my *Britons in the Ottoman Empire*, Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj misrepresents several of my arguments [*AHR* 104 (April 1999): 538–39]. He wonders what I expect the reader to get out of a partially empirical narrative about Englishmen living on the frontiers of the Ottoman world. The answer is simple. I believe that until historians of the Ottoman Empire, such as he and I, insert personalities and people into our writings and use them to examine and test the formations and structures of the Ottoman world, our texts, narrative or otherwise, will lack the animation and sense of reality that might entice non-Ottoman historians to engage them. I certainly did not expect any reader to conclude from this narrative, as the reviewer seems to have done, that English residents would turn petty and venal “like the Ottomans.” To the contrary, my argument is that exposure to Ottoman civilization made the Briton and other western European visitors more just and more receptive to difference, in other words, less petty and less venal.

The reviewer reads *Britons* in other unexpected ways. For example, he first avows that I do not engage Robert Brenner's *Merchants and Revolution*, then two sentences later implies that I do engage the work, but wrongly. Which is it? He also asserts that I criticize Brenner's analysis for not situating overseas merchants in the struggle between parliament and monarch, whereas I mean to argue something quite different—that the English Levant Company's anti-royalist ambassadorial and consular nominees and appointments

in the 1640s testify that this particular organization was not nearly so royalist as Brenner argues. Nor do I understand the reviewer's contention that I do not compare English and Ottoman societies. My first chapter, “The Proto-Imperialist,” examines the methodological pitfalls of ignoring Ottoman civilization in studies of early modern English expansion; my second chapter, “The Englishman and the Ottoman Other,” ventures that very “comparison between English and Ottoman societies” that the reviewer declares I never undertake; and my third chapter, “Three English Settlements,” attempts to situate individual Englishmen in a diverse and plastic Ottoman world, and show how they engaged with it.

I find particularly disturbing Abou-El-Haj's detachment of individual words from my text to make it seem Orientalist, and especially his claim that *Britons* employs the word “Turk” anachronistically, for I consciously avoid such usage. The expression by necessity occurs in the book, for the English routinely referred to Ottomans as “Turks” and the Ottoman polity as “Turkey.” Nevertheless, I challenge the reviewer to find one instance outside of direct quotation where I refer to Ottoman statesmen as “Turks,” the Ottoman world as “Turkish,” or the Ottoman Empire as “Turkey.” I also would direct the reader to my notes, where I argue, in a discussion of another book, that these terms “did not even exist in the early modern Ottoman mind” (p. 224 n. 18), almost the reviewer's very words.

Finally, it is ironic that in an issue of the *AHR* that contains a forum on the “New British History,” the reviewer chooses not even to mention that one of *Britons'* principal purposes is to argue for the inclusion of the Ottomans in the New British historians' vision.

DANIEL GOFFMAN
Ball State University

R. A. ABOU-EL-HAJ REPLIES:

Daniel Goffman opted to celebrate the efficacies of narrative as providing the “animation and sense of reality that might entice non-Ottoman historians to engage them.” And with his emphasis on narrative, he thus tries to deflect from my sense that his work has shown that under the Ottoman umbrella “English

residents would turn petty and venal 'like the Ottomans.'” A rereading of my review would indicate that most of it was devoted to addressing some of the new demands posed by comparative history. Had Goffman taken up that challenge, we would have had a fruitful exchange. Instead, I find myself questioning the intellectual efficacy of publishing this book.

R. A. ABOU-EL-HAJ
State University of New York,
Binghamton

TO THE EDITOR:

I wish to point out misrepresentations made by Carl J. Richard when he reviewed my book *Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: Origins, Philosophy and Theology* (1998) in the *American Historical Review*, June 1999 [899–900].

My work is an intellectual history study of the political thought of Thomas Jefferson limited to ideas related to the Declaration (pp. 6–7). It is not “a thorough examination” of Jefferson’s “philosophical sources,” as Richard suggests.

Although I examined more of Jefferson’s intellectual sources related to the Declaration than Carl Becker, Morton White, or Garry Wills, I excluded the Stoic theory of knowledge and ideas of Epicurus. Richard criticized this, stating that Jefferson copied Stoic writings before 1776. However, he did not copy Stoic epistemology, and his praise of Epicurus came much later than 1776.

A statement I made in the preface—misquoted by Richard—was egregiously misrepresented. There I mentioned Jefferson’s influence on James Madison to guarantee religious freedom with federal law by adding a bill of rights to the Constitution, which included the right of religious freedom. I stated, “I cannot help speculating—given the religious authoritarianism and sectarian bigotry that existed in the colonies in 1776 and have not been altogether eradicated today—that without the efforts of Jefferson and others, especially Madison, to establish the First Amendment to the Constitution, we could [misquoted as ‘would’] have become another Bosnia, Northern Ireland, or Middle East.” This statement is on legal restraint of religious bigotry. It does not deny a culture of religious tolerance or say tolerance was fully and quickly accepted here because of eloquence. Indeed, it specifies religious tolerance has never been fully accepted here. Yet Richard maintains “Jayne gives the false impression that religious tolerance was an idea without any historical or cultural foundation in America yet was fully accepted there within a short time, presumably because of the eloquence of a few great sages like Jefferson.”

Then, in a comment irrelevant to my statement and book, Richard erroneously maintained that “orthodox Christians like Roger Williams and the Quakers . . . first developed the idea of separation of church and

state.” He also erroneously stated that I characterized “American theology as antidemocratic,” when it was Jefferson who did this. Moreover, his inferential logic that American Christianity was democratic because of “the crucial role played by ministers in fomenting the American Revolution” is fallacious. Many patriot ministers maintained that they or the authority of their church were better able to supply the moral direction of the state than the populace, which they deemed morally tainted as a result of original sin and thereby incompetent for this task. Significantly, some ministers in revolutionary America instructed their congregations on how to vote. Jefferson feared such clerical moral authority in politics—still active in America—could result in a de facto clerical aristocracy or oligarchy. That would vitiate the Declaration’s Lockean democracy based on the moral capacity of individuals comprising the populace to determine the moral direction of the state independent of church, scripture, and clergy.

Nor did Jefferson escape misrepresentation. Richard said he “believed in a Resurrection at the end of time, followed by divine judgment.” This smacks of Christian metaphysical doctrine clearly rejected by Jefferson.

In a particularly distorting omission, Richard stated, “Allen Jayne leaves no doubt that the ‘Nature’s God’ found in the Declaration . . . is the rationalist God of deism, not the personal God of Abraham.” He should have added “and especially not the personal God of Christianity,” since a principal theme of my book is that the Declaration’s politics is driven by deism.

Richard even stated, “Jayne is too inclined to take at face value the claim of Jefferson and the deists to objectivity in deducing a more rational God from nature.” Oh, please! I did not judge, I merely presented Jefferson’s and the deists’ claim.

Richard finally maintained that I did not give a “fair and accurate comparison of Jefferson’s views with those of contemporary Christians.” Jefferson scholar Garrett Ward Sheldon put it differently: “This is an original, persuasive and important study that puts the new theology of Locke and Jefferson in the context of traditional Judeo-Christian thought while illuminating the points of difference between the two.”

Since Richard’s review contains many misrepresentations, I respectfully request that this letter be printed in the *AHR*.

ALLEN JAYNE
Santa Monica, California

CARL J. RICHARD REPLIES:

First, I wish to apologize to Allen Jayne for misquoting his statement regarding America and Bosnia. It was an inexcusable error. However, at the risk of sounding sarcastic, I honestly believe that the cause of my transcription error was shock at finding such prepos-

terous hyperbole in a work of serious history published by a reputable press.

Second, Jayne writes that I erred in claiming that he “characterized ‘American theology as antidemocratic,’ when it was Jefferson who did this.” To borrow Jayne’s own (albeit adolescent) phrase: oh, please. Anyone who reads Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence will see that the incompatibility of orthodox Christianity with democracy is the central theme of the whole book. Why Jayne should now seek to distance himself from the clearly and candidly expressed theme of his own book is quite perplexing.

Indeed, elements of that theme remain even in Jayne’s letter. Witness his specious argument that colonial American Christianity was antidemocratic because ministers sometimes engaged in political advocacy. Does this mean that Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson, and other civil rights leaders were behaving in an antidemocratic manner when they engaged in political advocacy? Jayne’s idea of democracy seems to be that the clergy alone should be stripped of the right of political free speech.

His argument regarding original sin is equally specious. The concept of original sin is a double-edged sword. Yes, it can be used to limit popular power, but it can also be used to limit the power of authority. Early American Christians understood quite well that their government officials and clergymen were as human, and thus as fully prone to sin, as they themselves were. Hence one possible deduction from the doctrine of original sin is that no one, not even a clergyman, should be trusted with excessive power. It is arguable that this deduction has had more force in American history than the interpretation upon which Jayne insists. In any case, Jayne should not write as though there is only one way of thinking about this complex subject.

Third, not only is Jayne incorrect in denying that Jefferson believed in a future resurrection followed by an afterlife of rewards and punishments, but, quite frankly, it is baffling to me that Jayne could write a

fairly good book on Jefferson’s religious views and somehow remain unaware of that fact. Jefferson’s belief in the afterlife was one of the most constant of his religious opinions. He claimed that since virtue was not always rewarded in this life, divine justice demanded some “future state of rewards and punishments.” Indeed, he considered the doctrine of the resurrection one of Jesus’ greatest “improvements” on Judaism (not realizing that such a doctrine had arisen as early as the Book of Daniel). While space limitations prohibit me from providing full documentation, here are some supporting letters: Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, September 23, 1800, and April 21, 1803; Jefferson to William Canby, September 18, 1813; Jefferson to Benjamin Waterhouse, June 26, 1822; and Jefferson to Augustus B. Woodward, March 24, 1824. Although Jefferson did not share the orthodox Christian belief that *Jesus* rose from the dead, he did draw from Christianity the belief in a future resurrection and afterlife for all of humanity.

Fourth, Jayne is incorrect in claiming that Jefferson copied nothing regarding classical epistemology before 1776. His commonplace book contained a lengthy philosophical passage from Cicero that combined elements of Stoic epistemology with Epicurean corporealism.

Finally, I find the spectacle of Jayne quoting his own favorable reviews unspeakably sad. We have all received favorable reviews, as well as unfavorable reviews, so what is the point? One would never glean from Jayne’s letter that my review was a qualified endorsement of his book. I argued then, and still believe now, that the book’s strengths—its clear, concise, and accurate (though not entirely complete) account of Jefferson’s philosophical and religious views—make it well worth reading. If Jayne cannot tolerate anything short of unqualified praise, then, for the sake of his own peace of mind, he may wish to consider a less contentious profession.

CARL J. RICHARD

University of Louisiana at Lafayette

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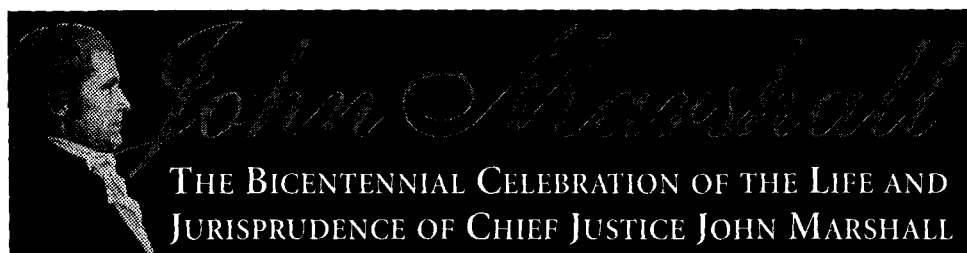
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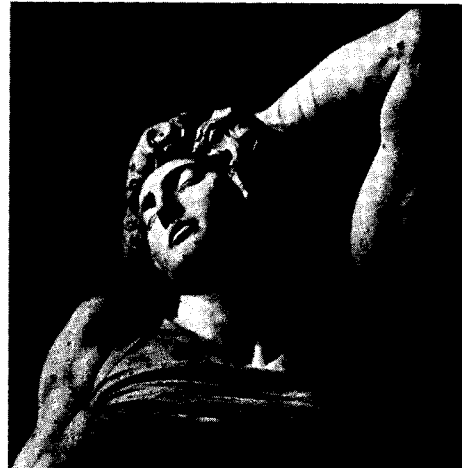
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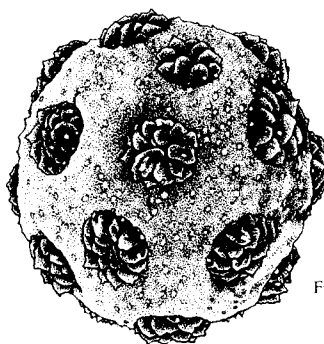
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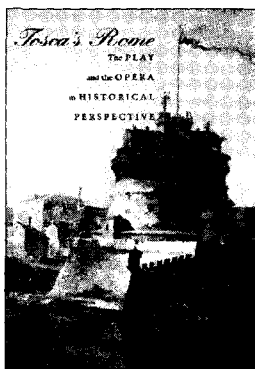
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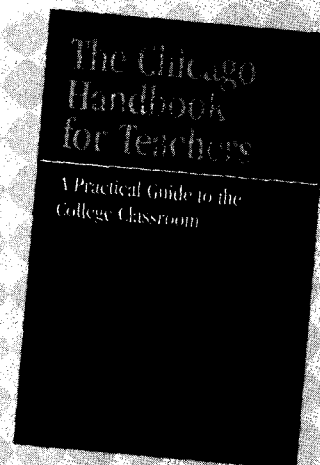
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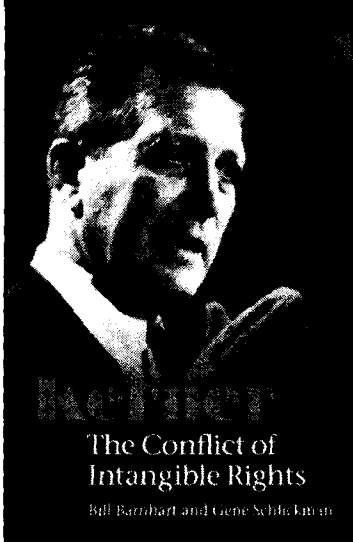
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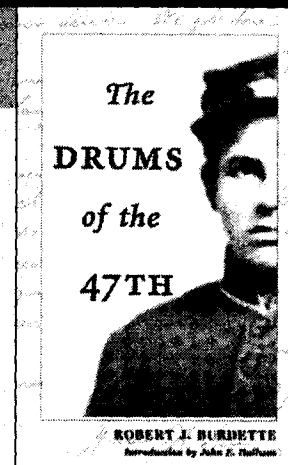
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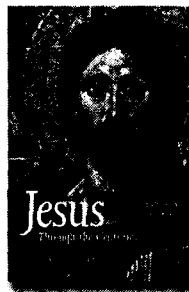
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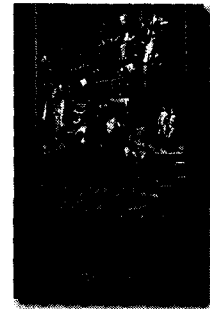
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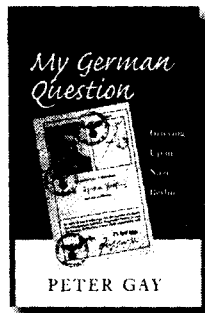
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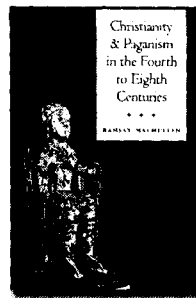
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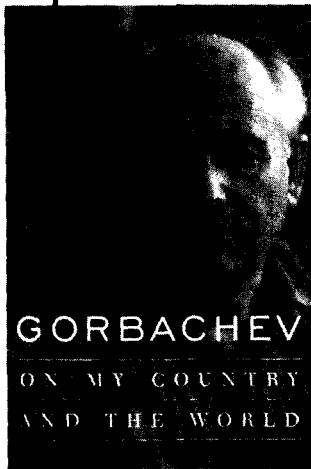
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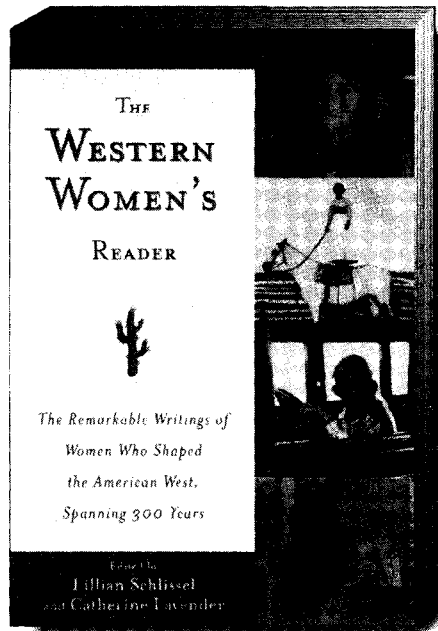
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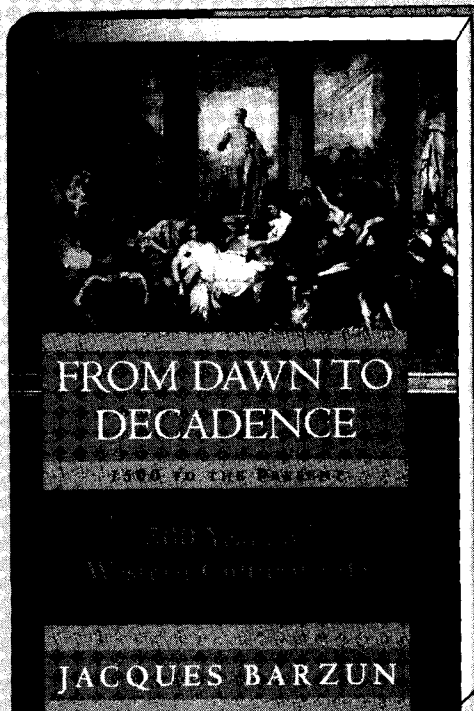
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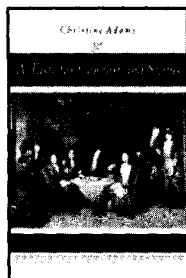
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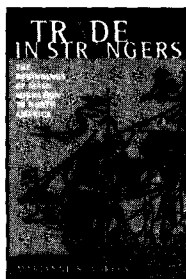
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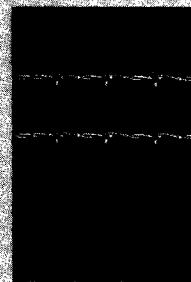
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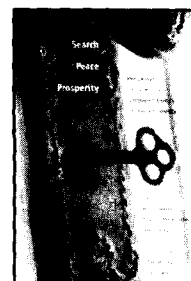
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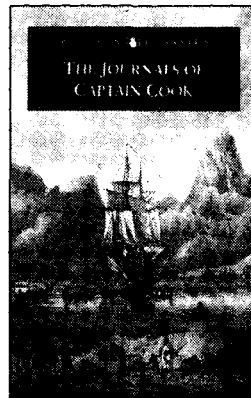
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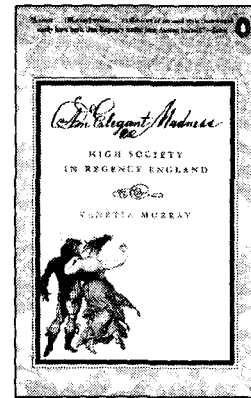
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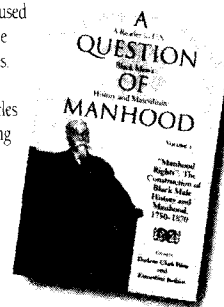
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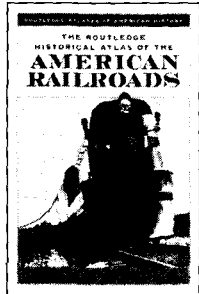
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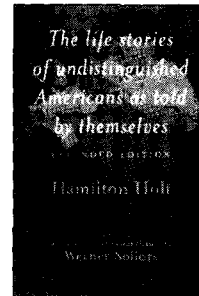
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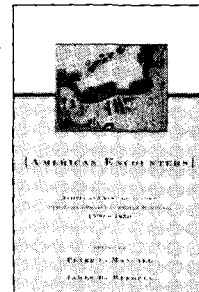
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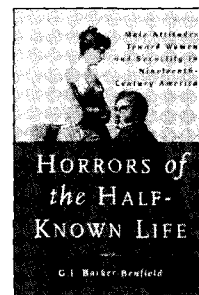
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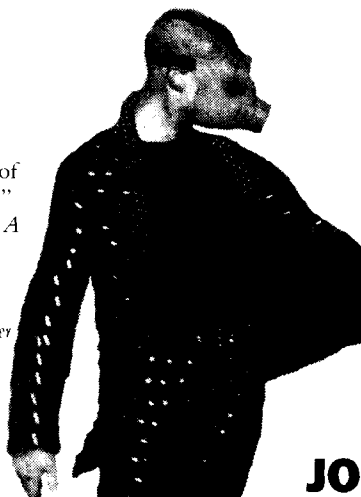
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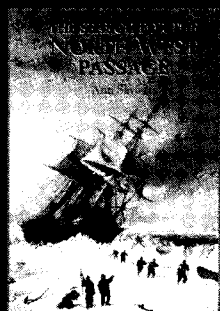
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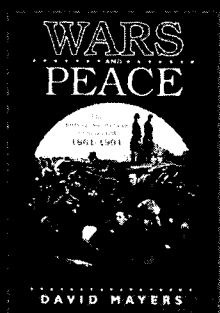
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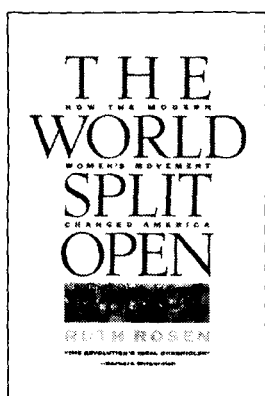
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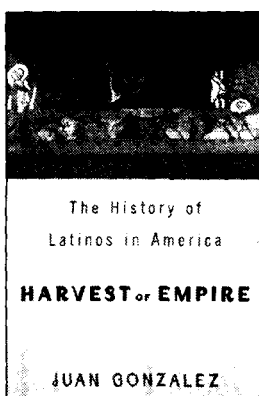
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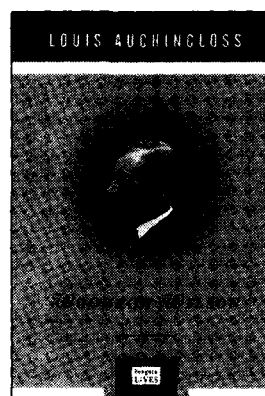


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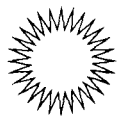
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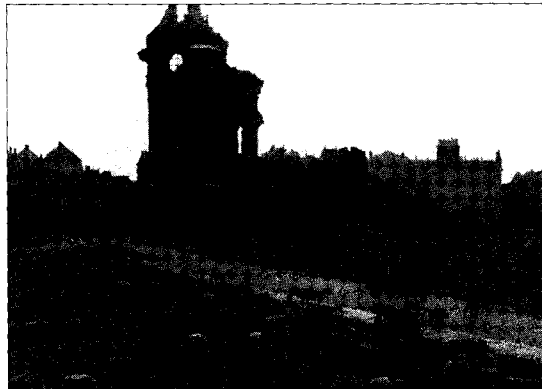
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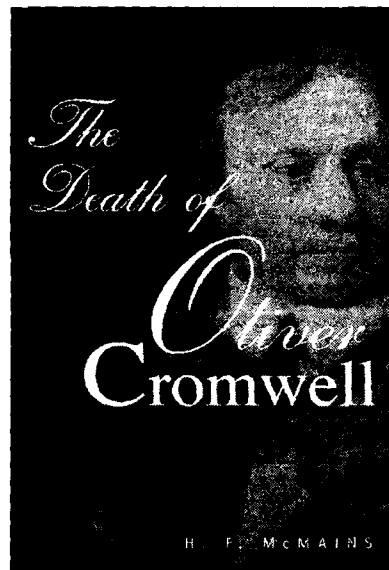
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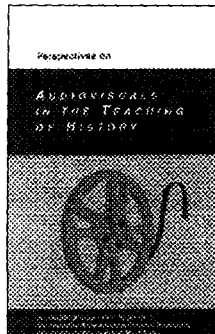
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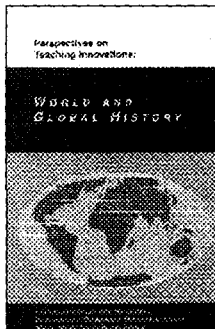
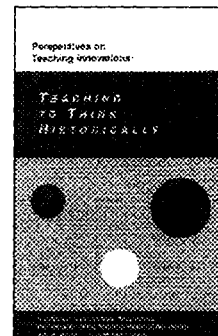


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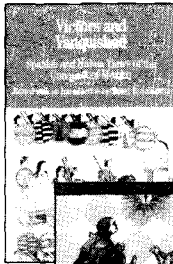


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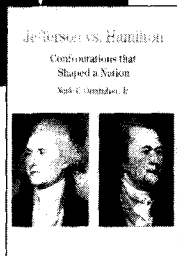
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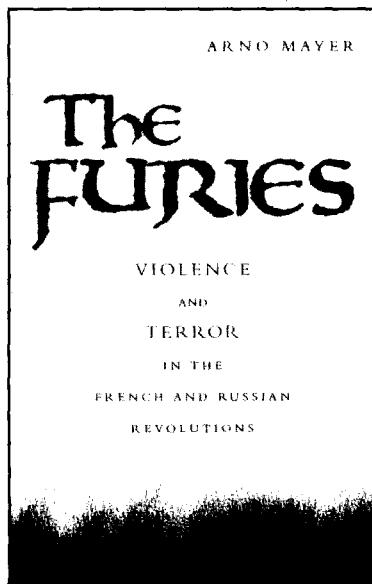
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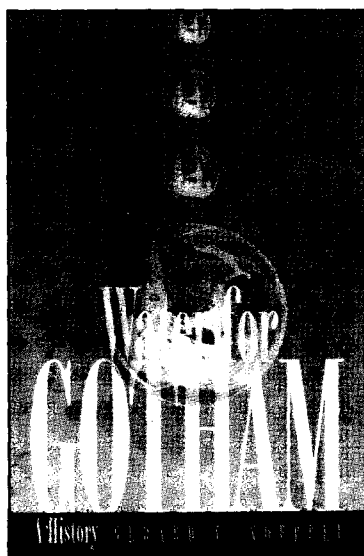
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